January 9, 1961

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council, this is to acknowledge with appreciation The Field Foundation's check in the amount of $12,500. We understand that this represents the third payment on The Field Foundation's award of December 9, 1959 and covers the six-month period beginning January 1, 1961. Our standard receipt form is enclosed.

With renewed appreciation and kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 30, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

CR
1/3/61
RHA

I am enclosing the Field Foundation's check in the amount of $12,500, payable to the order of Southern Regional Council, Inc. This check represents the third payment on the $75,000 award voted by our board of directors at its meeting on December 9, 1959 for the program of the Southern Regional Council and covers the six-month period beginning January 1, 1961.

May I have your official acknowledgment of receipt of this check?

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

via air mail

January 18, 1961

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

This is to put before the Field Foundation a request for renewal of the Foundation's 1960 grant of $25,000 for assistance to independent state and local councils on human relations in the South.

A report on the state councils' performance in program and fund-raising is enclosed. As the report indicates, the past year brought improvement in both respects; this is in large part attributable to the Field Foundation's generous aid.

The list of activities itemized in the report has made it longer than we should wish, or than you will likely care to read in detail. We thought it proper, however, to submit such an accounting for the Foundation's files.

The councils on human relations are still far from the goal of effectiveness and self-sufficiency that we and they hope for. But this period of troubled change in the South will not come again, and we feel it is imperative to enable these groups to make their best possible contributionsnow, when it is most needed.

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council and the state councils, let me express once again our gratitude to the Field Foundation for its 1960 grant in support of these needs.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

January 18, 1961

A REPORT TO THE FIELD FOUNDATION ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 1960

-1-

During 1960, councils on human relations operated with improved effectiveness in nine of the Southern states. The grant of $25,000 from the Field Foundation contributed substantially to this development.

To a greater extent than before, the Southern Regional Council was successful in stimulating the state councils to raise their level of self-support. This was accomplished largely through a program of matching funds. Complete financial reports for the year from all of the state councils are not yet available. It is noteworthy, however, that state councils raised more funds locally during the first three quarters of 1960 than were raised in all of 1959oor in any prior year.

Section I of this report deals with the distribution of the Field Foundation grant and the encouraging upward trend of local support.

Section II is devoted to the role of state councils in the student protest movement. This important development of 1960 provided an interesting test of the usefulness of local interracial groups and of the whole structure of the state councils.

In the general area of human relations programming, the state councils were significantly strengthened. The Georgia Council, which has been served by part-time staff, moved to employ a full-time director. New local groups were established in Memphis, Tennessee; in Raleigh, North

Carolina; in Norfolk and Fredericksburg, Virginia; and in several Alabama communities. The membership of the Virginia Council reached a total of 2,500.

Section III gives a state-by-state accounting of some of the major developments and programs of the state councils.

I. Allocation of the Field Foundation Grant and A Report on Local Fund-Raising:

Column A below shows, by state, the allocation of the Foundation's grant for the grant year March 1, 1960 - April 31, 1961.

Column B shows the funds raised from local sources by each of the state councils during the first three quarters of 1960.

Column C lists, for comparison, the local funds raised in all of 1959.

	A	B	C
Alabama	$3,600	$8,478	$4,593
Arkansas	2,400	1,785	1,897
Florida	2,675	5,326	7,015
Georgia	2,700	4,109	3,295
Kentucky	875	550	---
North Carolina	2,850	6,107	4,145
South Carolina	2,925	4,056	2,537
Tennessee	2,750	3,652	1,138
Virginia	3,100	6,713	7,704
Texas (Houston CHR)	375		
Mississippi (Special Field Work)	500		
State Aid Discretionary Fund	250		
Totals	$25,000	$40,376	$33,324

II. The Student Protest Movement and the Response of State Councils:

During 1960 various of the state and local councils on human relations promoted effective solutions to the problems posed by the spread of the student protest movement. These groups related to thesit-in situations in one or more of three ways: (1) support of the students and their objectives; (2) sympathetic analysis and interpretation of the demonstrations for the general community; and (3) efforts to initiate negotiations looking toward just solutions of the issues.

The Virginia Council on Human Relations and several local affiliates made public statements in support of the students. The councils requested the appointment of bi-racial negotiating committees in Richmond and Petersburg. In Hampton, the Peninsular Council on Human Relations established its own negotiating committee, made up of leading representatives of Negro, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish groups. This committee was helpful in achieving some liberalization of lunch counter practices. In Fairfax County and Williamsburg, local councils negotiated directly with business men and contributed to the desegregation of lunch counter facilities in these communities.

The North Carolina Council on Human Relations was the first organization in the state to support the student movement. The NCCHR issued a series of reports and interpretations of sit-in developments and submitted a report to the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. A committee of the Charlotte Council talked to the business men involved, appealing for negotiation and a change in segregated lunch counter practices. A long-time member of the Council served as chairman of the mayor's negotiating committee in Charlotte.

In Tennessee, the Nashville Community Relations Conference made the appeal to the mayor which resulted in the appointment of an official bi-racial committee. The Chairman of the local group served as a member of the mayor's committee. The Nashville Conference also published two analyses of the issues of the sit-in controversy and sponsored a two-day conference on the situation which was attended by 500 civic leaders. The president of the Tennessee Council, Dr. James Glasse, served as an adviser to one of the negotiating committees. (Dr. Glasse was one of the Vanderbilt theology professors who offered their resignations in protest over the expulsion of James Lawson, student sit-in leader, from the Divinity School.)

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations created an informal bi-racial committee to consider the sit-in protests in Little Rock. The director of the Council serves as consultant to this committee which has among its members a city councilman, a newspaper

editor, several prominent businessmen and clergymen, and the chairman of the local NAACP branch.

In South Carolina, the state council was the only organization with white members to endorse the objectives of the student movement. Here, too, the council undertook to interpret this development to the public.

In Florida, local councils were active in supporting and negotiating efforts in Miami, Daytona Beach, Jacksonville, Pensacola, and Tampa. In Daytona Beach the council secured the appointment of a permanent, official, bi-racial committee.

In Alabama, the Mayor of Mobile asked the president of the state council to serve as negotiator of the issues raised by student protests in that city.

III. Other Major Developments and Program Activities During 1960:

Alabama.

1. Organized and sponsored annual conference of state inter-racial ministerial group concerned with the role of the church in human relations.

2. Organized local inter-racial groups in several new communities.

3. Resisted efforts by a Jefferson County Grand Jury to subpoena the membership lists and financial records of the Alabama Council. The Grand Jury effort was in connection with the libel charges placed by Birmingham officials against the New York Times. The director of the Alabama Council, the Rev. Robert Hughes, spent several days in jail, but was released when the broad subpoena was withdrawn.

Arkansas.

1. Arranged for a specialist in community organization from the Committee on Negro Affairs in Charlotte to spend several days in Little Rock conferring with local Negro leaders.

2. Arranged a series of meetings with Negro parents to assist and encourage a larger number of Negro applicants for transfer to formerly white schools.

3. Worked to establish more effective contact between the local school board and the Negro community of Little Rock.

4. Organized an inter-racial ministers fellowship in Pine Bluff.

5. Organized a new local council group in Fayetteville.

6. Sponsored a workshop for leading ministers of Little Rock and Pine Bluff.

Florida.

1. Acted as secretariat for interagency group concerned with human relations in Dade County (Miami).

2. Sponsored conference for new clergymen in Dade County with emphasis on human relations problems and the available resources of local human relations agencies.

3. Participated in several planning sessions concerned with the problems of the Spanish-speaking groups in Florida.

4. Director served as coordinator of local efforts during the crisis in Jacksonville. The Jacksonville Council played an important liaison role in efforts to stabilize this situation.

5. Director participated in the leadership of human relations workshops at four Florida universities.

Kentucky.

1. In cooperation with the University of Louisville, sponsored a seminar for high school social science teachers. Teachers from desegregated schools attended and considered local human relations problems and the techniques of classroom study of such problems.

2. Organized a group of consultants to assist community groups concerned with problems of merit employment. A training session was held to prepare the consultants for this activity. Requests for such assistance have come from several communities.

North Carolina.

1. Organized a local inter-racial group of 100 in Raleigh.

2. Continued information-education mail project, directing selected materials to various leadership groups throughout the state.

3. Conducted monthly public forums in Charlotte.

4. Addressed a statement to the state civil rights advisory committee calling attention to the use of the state pupil placement act to limit school desegregation to a token basis.

Georgia.

1. The Atlanta Council circulated a list of desegregated facilities and cultural opportunities available to all, urging Negro citizens to support and utilize these opportunities. The statement was read from pulpits of some Negro churches and distributed to parishioners.

2. Publicly defended the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., in the face of hostile statements by Governor Vandiver on the occasion of Dr. King's move to Atlanta from Montgomery. Dr. King addressed a large public meeting sponsored by the Atlanta Council.

3. Joined with other organizations to protest the suspension of the two Negro students from the University of Georgia and to urge that the students be reinstated with protection of law enforcement agencies.

4. The Atlanta Council sponsored several meetings of white and Negro parents to plan for school desegregation in the city in the fall of 1961.

5. Sponsored, in cooperation with the Atlanta group, a public meeting featuring an address by Alan Paton of South Africa.

6. Participated in several conferences with ministerial groups in Atlanta and Augusta in support of student "Kneel-in" demonstrations.

South Carolina.

1. Sponsored a series of workshops involving inter-racial representation from various areas of the state.

2. Cooperated with Penn Community Center in an interagency study of the problems of rural South Carolina.

3. Added a part-time staff worker to work with students. Organized an inter-collegiate, inter-racial group in Columbia.

4. Sponsored a consultation of Negro college presidents on curricular revisions needed to prepare Negro graduates for expanding career opportunities within and without the state.

5. In cooperation with the Penn Center sponsored a state conference on employment opportunities.

Tennessee.

1. Cooperated with the Tennessee Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights on a survey of employment practices.

2. Co-sponsored a conference of Negro leaders on employment practices in Nashville. An analysis of Nashville job opportunities was prepared in connection with the conference.

3. Sponsored, through the Nashville group, two workshops on local human relations tensions. Five hundred persons participated.

4. Worked, in Nashville, with the Council of Community Agencies to encourage the desegregation of local community centers. Director was instrumental in achieving permission to desegregate several Girl Scout troops.

5. Petitioned the University of Tennessee for the desegregation of undergraduate classes. The university board subsequently acted to desegregate all classes and schools.

Virginia.

1. Worked intensively with local Negro leadership in Prince Edward County. Succeeded in establishing some inter-racial communication and discussion in the county.

2. Sponsored inter-racial ministers' workshops in five areas of Virginia.

3. In Fairfax County, the local council secured the appointment of an official committee on housing problems.

4. In Loudoun County the local group sponsored an inter-racial, summer dramatic school.

5. Prepared a statewide Civil Rights Survey, which will shortly be published.

Duplicate

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

January 18, 1961

A REPORT TO THE FIELD FOUNDATION ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 1960

During 1960, councils on human relations operated ~~effectively~~ with improved effectiveness in nine of the Southern states. The grant of $25,000 from the Field Foundation contributed substantially to this development.

To a greater extent than ~~ever~~ before, the Southern Regional Council was ~~able during 1960 to encourage a higher~~ successful in stimulating the state councils to raise their level of self-support. ~~on the part of state councils.~~ This was accomplished largely through A program of matching funds, ~~was inaugurated during the past year. This program was largely responsible for the fact that During 1960 more funds were raised locally by state councils than in any previous year of their existence.~~ Complete financial reports for the year from all of the state councils are not yet available. ~~However,~~ It is ~~interesting to note~~ noteworthy, however, that state councils raised more funds locally during the first three quarters of 1960 than were raised ~~during~~ in all of 1959 or in any prior year.

Section I of this report deals with the distribution of the Field Foundation grant and the encouraging upward trend of local support. ~~These items have been combined, since we feel that the use of the Foundation's grant has had a decided effect on substantially increasing this local support.~~

Section II ~~of the report~~ is devoted to the role of state councils in the student protest movement. This ~~significant~~ important development of 1960 provided an interesting test of the usefulness of local interracial groups and the whole structure of the state councils.

In the general area of human relations programming, the state councils were ~~able to~~ significantly strengthened ~~and expand their work.~~ ~~For instance,~~ The Georgia Council, which has been served by part-time staff,

moved to employ a full-time director. New local groups were established in Memphis, Tennessee; in Raleigh, North Carolina; in Norfolk and Fredericksburg, Virginia; and in several Alabama communities. The membership of the Virginia Council ~~was increased to~~ reached a total of 2,500. ~~The third section~~ Section III ~~of this report~~ gives a state-by-state accounting of some of the major developments and programs of the state councils.

There remains, of course, a great deal which these independent councils must yet accomplish before there will be realized the ideal of having fully developed, professionally staffed, state ~~xxxx~~ groups throughout the South. However, as we list these accomplishments of the past year we are mindful of, and deeply grateful for, the generous support of the Field Foundation.

I. Allocation of the Field Foundation Grant and A Report on Local Fund Raising:

Column A below shows, by state, the allocation of the Foundation's grant for the grant year, March 1, 1960 - April 31, 1961.

Column B shows the funds raised from local sources by each of the state councils during the first three quarters of 1960.

Column C lists, for comparison, the in all of local funds raised 1959.

	A	B	C
Alabama	$3,600	$8,478	$4,593
Arkansas	2,400	1,785	1,897
Florida	2,675	5,326	7,015
Georgia	2,700	4,109	3,295
Kentucky	875	550	-
North Carolina	2,850	6,107	4,145
South Carolina	2,925	4,056	2,537
Tennessee	2,750	3,652	1,138
Virginia	3,100	6,713	7,704
Texas (Houston CHR)	375		
Mississippi (Special Field Work)	500		
State Aid Discretionary Fund	250		
TOTALS	$25,000	$40,376.00	$~~33,000~~ 32,324

II. The Student Protest Movement and the Response of State Councils:

During 1960 ~~a number~~ various of the state and local councils on human relations ~~were actively involved in efforts to~~ promoted effective solutions to the problems posed by the spread of the student protest movement. These groups ~~tended to~~ related to these sit-in situations in one or more of three ways: (1) Support of the students and their objectives; (2) sympathetic analysis and interpretation of the demonstrations for the general community; and (3) efforts to initiate negotiations looking toward just solutions of the issues.

The Virginia Council on Human Relations and several local affiliates made public statements in support of the students. The councils requested the appointment of bi-racial negotiating committees in Richmond and Petersburg. In Hampton, the Peninsular Council on Human Relations established its own negotiating committee ~~on which were~~ made up of ~~with~~ leading respresentatives of ~~the~~ Negro, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish groups. This committee was helpful in achieving some liberalization of lunch counter practices. In Fairfax County and Williamsburg, local councils negotiated directly with businessmen and contributed to the desegregation of lunch counter facilities in these communities.

The North Carolina Council on Human Relations was the first organization in the state to support the student movement. The NCCHR issued a series of reports and interpretations of sit-in developments and ~~presented~~ submitted a report to the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. A committee of the Charlotte Council ~~personally~~ talked to the businessmen involved, appealing for negotiation and a change in segregated lunch counter practices. A long-time member of the Council served as chairman of the mayor's negotiating committee in Charlotte.

In Tennessee, the Nashville Community Relations ~~Council~~ Conference made the appeal to the mayor which resulted in the appointment of ~~a~~ an official bi-racial ~~mayor's~~ committee. The Chairman of the local group served as a member of ~~that~~ the mayor's committee. The Nashville Conference also published two analyses of the issues of the sit-in controverssy and sponsored a two-day ~~workshop~~ conference on the situation which was attended by 500 civic leaders. The president of the Tennessee Council, Dr. James Glasse, served as an adviser to one of the negotiating committees. (Dr. Glasse was one of the Vanderbilt theology professors who ~~originally~~ offered their resignations in protest over the expulsion of James Lawson, student sit-in leader, from the Divinity School.)

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations ~~was able to~~ create ~~a local,~~ an informal bi-racial committee to consider the sit-in protests in Little Rock. The director of the Council ~~is serving~~ serves as consultant to ~~the~~ this committee which has among its members a city councilman, a newspaper editor, several prominent businessmen ~~xx~~ and clergymen, and the chairman of the local NAACP branch.

In South Carolina, the state council was the only ~~group~~ organization with white membership to endorse the objectives of the student movement. Here, too, the council ~~was active in attempting~~ undertook to interpret this development to the ~~people of the state.~~ public.

In Florida, local councils were active in supporting and negotiating ~~activities~~ efforts in Miami, Daytona Beach, Jacksonville, Pensacola, and Tampa. In Daytona Beach the council ~~was able to win~~ secured the appointment of a permanent, official, bi-racial committee.

In Alabama, the Mayor of ~~the city of~~ Mobile ~~xxx~~ asked the president of the state council to serve as negotiator of the issues raised by student protests in that city.

III. Other Major Developments + Programs + activities During 1960: -P6- 3

B

2. In several cases the state councils were able to strengthen and expand their work during 1960. The Georgia Council, which has been served by part-time staff, moved to employ a full-time director. New local groups were established in Memphis, Tennessee; in Raleigh, North Carolina; in Norfolk and Fredericksburg, Virginia; and in several Alabama communities. The membership of the Virginia Council was increased to a total of 2500.

A. Alabama.

1. Organized and sponsored annual conference of state inter-racial ministerial group concerned with the role of the church in human relations.

2. Organized local inter-racial groups in several new communities.

3. At the request of the mayor, the President of the HCHR served as negotiator of lunch counter issues in Mobile. Negotiations are still in progress.

4. Resisted efforts by a Jefferson County Grand Jury to subpoena the membership lists and financial records of the Alabama Council. The Grand Jury effort was in connection with the libel charges placed by Birmingham officials against the New York Times. The director of the Alabama Council, the Rev. Robert Hughes, spent several days in jail, but was released when the broad subpoena was withdrawn.

B. Arkansas.

1. Arranged for a specialist in community organization from the Committee on Negro Affairs in Charlotte to spend several days in Little Rock conferring with ~~leaders of~~ local leaders, Negro ~~civic, religious and business groups.~~

2. Arranged a series of meetings with Negro parents ~~last fall to explain the procedures for filing transfer requests for students and~~ to assist and encourage a larger number of Negro applicants for transfer to formerly white schools.

3. Worked to establish more effective contact between the local school board ~~in Little Rock~~ and the Negro community of Little Rock.

4. Organized an inter-racial ministers fellowship in Pine Bluff.

5. Organized a new local council group in Fayetteville.

6. Sponsored a workshop for leading ministers of Little Rock and Pine Bluff.

E. Florida.

1. Acted as secretariat for inter-agency group concerned with human relations in Dade County (Miami).

2. Sponsored conference for new clergymen in Dade County with ~~There was an~~ ~~an~~ emphasis on human relations problems and the available resources of local human relations agencies.

3. Participated in several planning ~~conferences~~ sessions concerned with the problems of the Spanish-speaking groups in Florida.

4. Director served as coordinator of local efforts ~~and trouble shooter~~ during the crisis in Jacksonville. ~~Florida last fall.~~ The ~~local~~ Jacksonville Council played an important liaison role in efforts to ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ stabilize this situation.

5. Director participated in the leadership of human relations workshops at four Florida Universities. ~~collegiate institutions.~~

F. Kentucky.

1. In cooperation with the University of Louisville, sponsored a seminar for high school social science teachers. Teachers from desegregated schools attended and considered local human relations problems and the techniques of classroom study of such problems.

2. Organized a group of consultants to assist community groups ~~throughout the state~~ concerned with problems of merit employment. A training session was held to prepare the consultants for this activity. Requests for ~~xx~~ such assistance have come from several communities.

G. North Carolina.

1. Organized a local inter-racial group of ~~200~~ 100 in Raleigh.

2. Continued information-education mail project, directing ~~beaming~~ ~~xxxx~~ selected materials to various leadership groups throughout the state.

3. Conducted monthly public forums in Charlotte.

4. Addressed a statement to the state civil rights advisory committee calling attention to the use of the state pupil placement act to limit school desegregation to a token basis. ~~use.~~

H. Georgia.

1. The Atlanta Council circulated a list of desegregated facilities and cultural opportunities available to all, urging ~~The local group urged~~ Negro citizens to support and utilize these opportunities. The statement was read from pulpits of some Negro churches and distributed to parishioners.

2. Publicly Defended the Rev. Martin Luther King, still ~~publicly~~ in the face of hostile statements by Gov. Vandiver on the occasion of Dr. King's move to Atlanta from Montgomery. Dr. King addressed a large ~~the evening~~ public meeting sponsored by ~~connected with the annual meeting~~ of the Atlanta Council.

3. Joined with other organizations to protest the suspension of the two Negro students from the University of Georgia and to urge that the students be reinstated with protection of ~~proper~~ law enforcement agencies ~~in preparation.~~

4. The Atlanta Council sponsored several meetings of white and Negro parents to ~~looking toward~~ plan~~ning~~ for school desegregation in the city in the fall of 1961.

5. Sponsored, in cooperation with the Atlanta group, a public meeting featuring an address by Alan Paton of South Africa.

6. Participated in several conferences with ministerial groups in Atlanta and Augusta in support of student "kneel-in" demonstrations.

I. South Carolina.

1. Sponsored a series of workshops involving inter-racial representation from various areas of the state.

2. Cooperated with Penn Community Center in an inter-agency study of the problems of rural South Carolina.

3. Added a part-time staff worker to ~~the staff of the SCCHR~~ to ~~concentrate on~~ work~~ing~~ with students. Organized an inter-collegiate, inter-racial group in Columbia.

4. Sponsored ~~Organized~~ a consultation of Negro college presidents on ~~to consider needed~~ curricul~~ar~~ revisions needed to prepare Negro graduates for expanding career opportunities within and without the state.

5. In coope ation with the Penn Center sponsored a state conference on employment opportunities.

~~K~~ M. Tennessee.

1. Cooperated with the Tennessee Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission on a survey of employment practices.

2. Co-sponsored a conference ~~for~~ of Negro leaders~~hip~~ on employment practices in Nashville. An analysis of ~~the~~ Nashville ~~situation~~ job opportunities was prepared in connection with the conference.

3. Sponsored, through the Nashville group, two workshops on local human relations tensions. Five hundred persons participated.

4. Worked, in Nashville, with the Council of Community Agencies to encourage the desegregation of local community centers. Director was instrumental in achieving permission to desegregate several ~~Brownie~~ Girl Scout troops.

5. ~~Formally,~~ Petitioned the University of Tennessee for the desegregation of undergraduate classes. The university board subsequently acted to desegregate all classes and schools.

~~M~~. Virginia.

1. Worked intensively with local Negro leadership in Prince Edward County. Succeeded in ~~[illegible]~~ establishing some inter-racial communication and discussion in the county.

2. Sponsored inter-racial ministers' workshops in five areas of Virginia.

3. In Fairfax County, the local council ~~succeeded in gaining~~ secured the appointment of an official committee on housing problems.

4. In Loudoun County the local group sponsored an inter-racial, summer dramatic school.

5. ~~The preparation of~~ Prepared a state-wide Civil Rights Survey, which will shortly be published.

bvia air mail

January 26, 1961

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

Our clipping service didn't turn up the letter published in the Northern Virginia Daily. If it is not too much trouble, we would indeed appreciate a verifaxed copy. (It was, I assume uncomplimentary to both of us.)

With apologies for raising a second matter, I am to be in New York Monday and Tuesday of next week, January 30 and 31. If you are there and would find a conversation timely, I can easily pay a visit to your office while there. Otherwise, I will at least call to say hello.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 24, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W. - Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Did your clipping service catch a letter to the editor in the Strasburg, Va., Northern Virginia Daily for December 9, 1960 in which the Field Foundation grant of $10,000 to the Southern Regional Council is mentioned? If not, we will send you a verifaxed copy of the clipping.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 27, 1961

RECEIVED
JAN 30 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I shall be glad to see you when you are here next Monday and Tuesday. By all means, give me a ring, and we will arrange to get together.

Enclosed is a copy of the clipping from the Northern Virginia Daily.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

THE ORIGINAL
ROMEIKE
PRESS CLIPPINGS
220 W. 19th St., NEW YORK 11, N.Y.
Tel. CHelsea 3-8860
Cir. (D 7,461)
This Clipping From
STRASBURG, VA.
NORTHERN VIRGINIA DAILY
DEC 9 1960

Cites Foundation Gifts Supporting Socialist Activity

Dear Editor,

On November 30 you printed an excellent editorial regarding the fact that many large tax-exempt foundations are using their wealth to destroy private enterprise. Perhaps this is allowed to continue only because people generally do not realize that they pay in taxes to make up for the amount these foundations do not have to pay.

Therefore, it should be of great public interest when, for example, the Field Foundation grants $10,000 to the Southern Regional Council. The Southern Regional Council was described in 1957 before the Louisana Joint Legislative Committee by Manning Johnson as a Communist transmission belt--a front. Another tax-exempt outfit, The Rockefeller Brothers Fund, granted $15,000 to the Urban League Fund in New York for general operating purposes, and this, and the Southern Regional Council are both race-agitation groups.

These mentioned cause raised eyebrows, but worse is to come. the Ford Foundation gave $67,500 to Columbia University and $100,000 to Harvard for international exchange of faculty members with U. S. S. R. universities. Do you want your college child to be educated by a Soviet professor?

Ford Foundation also granted $300,000 for exchange of visiting scholars and specialists with the U. S. S. R. And the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, $16,890 to the Institute of International Education for costs of U. S. S. R. study tour by Executive Committee of National Governors Conference. You recall that American governors tuored Soviet Russian some months ago and in return, so-called Soviet governors came here, but Soviet Russia has no governors really, so the whole thing was a propaganda hoax supported by tax-emempt foundations and the ordinary taxpayer helped pay the bill.

Many foundations seem to love Soviet Russian activities. Here is the Rockefeller Foundation granting $40,000 to the American Council of Learned Socities for visits to U. S. S. R. by American Scholars and to U. S. by Soviet scholars, and The Carnegie Corporation giving $50,000 to the same Council for support of American scholars in the Soviet Union pursuant to U. S. - U. S. S. R. Exchange Agreement. The above information is taken from Foundation News, September, 1960 issue and the grants occurred within the past year.

No wonder we are going broke. Foundations are sending millions of American dollars abroad for socialistic purposes!

Sincerely,
Elizabeth H. Osth (Mrs. R. E.
Berryville, Va.

January 27, 1961

via air mail

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

Thank you for your acknowledgment -- most prompt, despite the storm -- of my letter of January 18 requesting renewed support for state and local councils. Renewal for a two-year period would indeed be of enormous benefit, both to the state groups and SRC, since it would permit sounder planning of budgets and programs by all of the organizations concerned

Many thanks for this consideration, and warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/hs

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 24, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W. - Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

As you may have guessed, our big storm delayed acknowledgment of your letter of January 18th in which the Southern Regional Council requests renewal of the 1960 grant for assistance to independent states' and local councils on human relations in the South. I assume that this assistance will be needed for a two-year period, if it is possible for the Foundation to consider this.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

March 10, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of March 9 and for the audit on 1960 Council operations which you enclosed. This should be very helpful.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

via air mail special

March 13, 1961

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

My schedule has sufficiently cleared up for me to tell you that I expect to be here in the office on Wednesday and Thursday of this week.

As a matter of fact, I will be in New York -- the weather willing -- tomorrow, but since I will be there for less than a full day, I feared I might not be able to reach you. However, it will be fine if you can pay us a visit.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

March 15, 1961

Mr. Harold E. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Things are in such a turmoil here that I probably will not be able to stop in Atlanta tomorrow, -- if I make the trip at all. I regret this, for I would love to have the privilege of sitting down with you and getting your ideas about certain things.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

April 20, 1961

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

I am very glad to acknowledge, on behalf of the Southern Regional Council, receipt of the Field Foundation's check for $50,000, representing payment in full of a grant for a two-year extension of assistance to the state Councils on Human Relations. We fully understand and accept the terms of the grant, as set forth in your letter of April 18, 1961.

This renewal of the Field Foundation's interest and confidence in the state councils, and in the Southern Regional Council as well, is deeply reassuring. It was fitting that your letter was received while a quarterly meeting of our Executive Committee was in session, and the Committee asked me to convey its sincere appreciation to you and the other officers of the Foundation.

Finally, let me note my personal gratitude for your good wishes on my recent appointment.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director Elect

LWD/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 18, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The Field Foundation is pleased to send the Southern Regional Council the enclosed check for $50,000 representing payment in full of a grant for a two-year extension of the Foundation's assistance to the state councils on human relations in the South. The board has adopted the following resolution:

RHA
4/19/61

> RESOLVED that the Corporation appropriate and contribute to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia, the sum of $50,000, or as much thereof as shall be needed, for aid to state councils on human relations in the South for the twenty-four month period beginning May 1, 1961, to be paid in full in April, 1961.

Please acknowledge receipt of the enclosed check, and state your acceptance of the terms of the grant.

You will understand, I am sure, that there is no implied commitment that this grant will be extended upon its termination in 1963.

I take this opportunity, also, to extend to you the best wishes of the officers, directors and staff of the Field Foundation, and to wish you well in your new position with the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

May 1, 1961

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

We acknowledge receipt of the Field Foundation's check in the amount of $37,500.00, which represents final payment on the three-year award for the period ending December 31, 1962.

I hardly need say that we are keenly grateful to receive the full payment in advance. The Field Foundation is, indeed, an understanding friend.

Within the next few weeks I expect to be in New York, and hope that I may have an opportunity to inform you then of how we have adjusted to Harold's leaving.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 28, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director Elect
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

You will find enclosed the Field Foundation's check in the amount of $37,500, payable to the order of the Southern Regional Council. This check represents final payment on the $75,000 award voted by our board of directors on December 9, 1959, and covers the eighteen-month period beginning July 1, 1961. We trust you will find it helpful to receive the Foundation's check combining the payments scheduled for July, 1961, January, 1962 and July, 1962, at this earlier date.

CR
5/1/61
RHA

May we have your acknowledgment?

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

May 24, 1961

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Confirming our verbal request and conversation of early April, we ask the Field Foundation to consider our application for a supplementary grant in the amount of $4,000 to assist us in the preparation of a restatement and re-interpretation of the cultural and historical background of racial relations in the South. The work is to be assigned to James McBride Dabbs, and the grant will enable Mr. Dabbs to carry on studies at several university and other libraries.

The constant flux of events and movements in the South tends to force our attention on the latest headline or on tomorrow's potential crisis. In such a time, participants have a more than usual tendency to lose perspective, and to neglect both the instructions of the past and the right understanding of the values at issue. Reflective thought becomes, therefore, more indispensable than ever, and at the same time less readily available. It is precisely because the Southern Regional Council is so deeply involved in day to day events that we recognize a need and a responsibility to facilitate continuing re-appraisal of the larger scene.

James McBride Dabbs has been in recent years one of the South's most valuable and widely respected interpreters. Both through his notable book, The Southern Heritage, and through numerous articles and lectures, he has kept the South and the nation conscious of the historical and cultural values and issues implicit in the current controversies. The

requested grant will be used to enable Mr. Dabbs to continue his researches, toward the end of another book.

We ask for your favorable consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:A

BCC: Mr. Dabbs

Southern History Project

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 25, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In response to your letter of May 24 confirming your verbal request and conversation of early April, the Field Foundation is pleased to send its check in the amount of $4,000, payable to the order of Southern Regional Council, Inc. This supplementary grant is for the purpose of assisting in the preparation of a restatement and re-interpretation of the cultural and historical background of racial relations in the South. This work, to be undertaken by Mr. James McBride Dabbs, will require research in several university and other libraries, and this grant should enable Mr. Dabbs to proceed with the necessary studies.

CR
5/26/61
RHA

Our directors have been interested in and stimulated by Mr. Dabbs' writings, and we shall look forward to the completion of his planned new work.

May I have the Council's official acknowledgment of this check?

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

May 26, 1961

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Confirming our conversation the other day, I'll be at your office at 10:00 o'clock Friday morning, June 9th. My time has seemingly become constricted, and I am now scheduled to get a 1:40 p.m. plane from Idlewild that same day. If you think this would be cutting things too close, or if there are other people in the Field Foundation whom you would like for me to meet, please let me know and I'll work out something else. I am presently planning to come into New York on a dinner flight June 6th; I could come earlier, if Tuesday would suit you better than Friday.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:a

file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 31, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie Dunbar:

I will look forward to seeing you at 10 A.M., Friday, June 9, at my office. Perhaps it would be well if you would let me know where you plan to stay in New York in the event that we need to reach you.

I imagine you were pleased with the page one story the New York Times gave the SRC this morning.

Sincerely,

Max Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

June 19, 1961

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Max:

I enjoyed so much my visit with you on June 19th. I shall very shortly be sending you some reaction to the Vine City proposal.

Let me tell you again that your project at Benedict College is one which interests us greatly, and if there are any ways we can help I hope we shall be called upon.

Enclosed are two more editorials about our Freedom Ride report which may interest you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:A
Enclosure: editorials,
Wilmington, Del. News
Cincinnati Enquirer

June 19, 1961

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

We have received, and acknowledge with thanks, your check in the amount of $4,000 for the purpose of assisting in the preparation of a restatement and reinterpretation of southern problems and racial relations, to be done by Mr. James McBride Dabbs.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:A
Enclosure: official receipt

File

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

June 21, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thanks so much for your letter of June 19th and for enclosing the copies of the editorials about SRC's Freedom Ride report. I found them most interesting.

I, too, enjoyed our visit on the 9th.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

June 27, 1961

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

Belatedly, I am sending you a copy of my memorandum to our Executive Committee regarding a proposed foreign visitor center at Knoxville. Not much has happened since, except that we have looked at one possible site and are exploring the costs in the picture now.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
Enclosure

TA ✓
SM file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

June 29, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Your memorandum on the proposed foreign visitor center at Knoxville is a knock-out! I still have question whether Southern Regional Council would be wise to divert itself from its main job which to me seems so much more important than to entertain TVA visitors. In any event, let me know what the Council decides.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

July 5, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thanks so much for your confidential letter on Vine City. I will safeguard the data.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

July 25, 1961

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

From time to time we have prepared Newsletters for mailing to the offices of the state Councils. Because of your interest in the state groups, I thought you would like to have a file of these.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
Enclosures

PR ✓
SM - file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

August 8, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thanks so much for your note of July 25 which has awaited my return to the city. I'm very glad to have copies of the Newsletters which you mail to the state councils. These will make interesting additions to our files.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

TA ✓
MMB file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

August 18, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you for the copy of your letter of August 16 to Mrs. Miller of the Edgar Stern Family Fund. The attitude of the TVA board seems fantastic. You are lucky not to be in harness with such an outfit.

My best to you.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

PAV
MJ

THE FIELD FOUNDATION INC

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

To strengthen human relations councils in southern states

This period of troubled change in the South is the time councils on human relations need the most help. The Foundation's 1960 grant had a striking effect on developing local self-support of the councils. The local councils have given support to the student protest movement against segregation in public accommodations, especially working to interpret this movement to the community. In many cases negotiations toward desegregation resulted. Positive progress is reported from councils in nine states—Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia and Kentucky.

The Foundation granted $50,000 over two years.

URBAN LEAGUE OF GREATER NEW YORK

For facts to help achieve school integration

The effort of dissatisfied Negro and Puerto Rican parent groups to secure equal educational opportunity for their children in the public schools is termed by the League "potentially the most explosive area in the field of civil rights in New York." The Urban League believes pupils in non-white neighborhoods will not get as good an education as children in white neighborhoods unless someone gets out and works to make it so. Therefore community groups need facts, now available, with which to inform the Board of Education and to facilitate the implementation of recommendations of the Commission on Integration when issues concerning minority children arise.

The Foundation granted $19,025, one-half of the cost of the two-year research project.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK, SEATTLE

What is effect of urban renewal on minority housing?

Does the surgery of the bulldozer effectively check the disease of urban blight? Or do slum clearance and redevelopment merely hasten the day when our central cities will be vast ghettoes?

October 11, 1961

Mr. Max Hahn, Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

We look forward to seeing you Tuesday, October 17. You have a room at the Riviera Motel for October 16 and October 17.

We shall keep you here at the office Tuesday morning. Dr. Clement is expecting you for luncheon at 12:30; you have an appointment with Dr. Manley at 2:30; Connie Curry will pick you up at Dr. Manley's office along about 3;15 or 3:30 and deliver you back here later in the afternoon. You and I can go together to dinner at the home of Dr. Mayes, and I can take you back to your motel when that is over.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 13, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I enclose the Riviera's declination which came in the same mail as your letter advising me that you had been able to engage a room for me. Needless to say, I am a bit confused and would appreciate your checking with the Riviera for me. If it is going to be necessary to stay in some other place Monday night, please call me collect Monday morning.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

10=16=61

The Riviera

OF ATLANTA MOTOR HOTEL ATLANTA 9, GA.

Dear Mr. Hahn 10-11-61

WE SINCERELY REGRET TO ADVISE WE CANNOT CONFIRM YOUR REQUEST FOR:

accommodations for the nights of October 16th and 17th.

For these dates all available accommodations are already engaged. We appreciate you writing us.

THE RIVIERA OF ATLANTA

By: Jan Slater
Jan Slater Reservation Manager

October 19, 1961
Air Mail S.D.

Mr. Max Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

It was very good to have some time with you Tuesday, and we hope there will be another trip to Atlanta soon. Please plan one.

The memorandum on the general status of the state Councils on Human Relations will not get done as soon as I expected, probably not for a fortnight. In the meantime, I send along some comments, as you requested, on the request from the Tennessee Council.

The proposal of a campus project has great merit. To enlist the good will, the energies, and the thoughts of college students is always a highly desirable end. At the present time, when Negro students are sparking a tremendous wave of reform throughout the South, there is added worth in efforts to involve the concern of more students, and to bring Negro and white students into fruitful dialogue with each other.

The Tennessee Council, after a shaky start, has in the past two years developed strongly and is today under able leadership and has great promise. We believe, therefore, that you could count on adequate supervision and planning of the project.

Although I have not seen a detailed budget, the amount requested - $9000.00 - would seem to me reasonable in terms of the work to be done.

To: Mr. Max Hahn
October 19, 1961

In short, I believe the request of the Tennessee Council merits sympathetic consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

P. S. I understand that John Youngblut of Quaker House tried to see you while you were here. I know how numerous are the deserving causes which come to your attention. Even if the Quaker House program were to fall outside your policies, or resources, or priorities, I believe that you, personally, would enjoy learning more about it. Youngblut is doing, not only a skilled but a very devoted job.

copy for Mr. Dunbar

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 23, 1961

The Reverend James D. Glasse, President
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Glasse:

I suspect that when the Field Foundation group considers the request of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations for a grant to add a full-time staff member to work with college and university leadership, I will be asked whether the Tennessee Council has a specific person in mind for this position and, if so, what his qualifications are. Will you please let me know promptly?

Sincerely,

M.H.

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Original
Fidelity Onion Skin

PRV
MBB-file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 23, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

You will be interested, I think, in the copies of my letters to Mrs. Frances Pauley and to the Reverend James Glasse. Your air mail special delivery letter of the 19th was timely. Although I didn't want to tell Mr. Glasse, I am very hopeful that the Foundation will approve $9,000 a year for two years for the Tennessee Council student work.

Yes, John Youngblut of Quaker House had a telephone message awaiting me when you delivered me to the Riviera after the pleasant evening at Margaret Long's. Mr. Youngblut also telephoned me promptly Wednesday morning, and I promised to see him if I had time, but there was none. If you are talking with him, please explain the situation. I don't have the address of the Atlanta Quaker House.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosures

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 23, 1961

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Georgia Council on Human Relations
c/o Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Pauley:

I wonder whether you would like to send the Field Foundation a request for a grant to add a Negro man to the Georgia Council staff? When you and I talked last Tuesday morning, we did not have an opportunity to discuss budget. I think I have a chance of persuading the Field Foundation to consider a request of $9,000 a year for two years. If the work can be carried on for less, it would mean just that much more available for some other useful purpose. I doubt, however, that our group would make more than $9,000 a year available which would have to cover salary, travel and incidentals.

Has the Georgia Council federal tax exemption? If so, please send me a copy of the letter from the Internal Revenue Service. I routinely ask agencies applying to the Foundation for a copy of their audit for the last fiscal year and also a list of the 10 largest donors with the amounts contributed by each.

You can see from my letter that I found our conference very persuasive. I shall look forward to hearing from you promptly.

Sincerely,

M.H.

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

cc: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

November 17, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

The Field Foundation board has voted $9,000 a year for two years to the Georgia Council on Human Relations to add a Negro man to the Council's staff to work with various groups where a white person would be less effective. Our board declined to grant funds to the Tennessee Council for a college liaison project. Instead the Foundation granted the Tennessee group $7,500 a year for two years to strengthen its staff for general work. I called Miss Katherine Jones to tell her of the grant and to imply that other things being equal, we hope that they could add a Negro professional worker on the basis of our grant.

Again let me express my appreciation for the advance copy of the confidential memorandum on the state councils on human relations.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

November 21, 1961

Telegram to:

Wiley Branton.

TACONIC GRANTED FUNDS FOR VOTER PROJECT.

THIS IS CONFIDENTIAL.

LES DUNBAR

November 22, 1961

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

Enclosed is a status report on the state Councils on Human Relations. I would prefer that you keep this more or less confidential though if you, at any time, see a reason for sharing it with members of your board please do so.

We are all extremely pleased around here over your action in regard to the Georgia and Tenessee Councils. This should be a great boost for them.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. 1

PR ✓
MMB-file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

November 24, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thanks so much for the revised status report on the state Councils on Human Relations. I shall respect the request to keep this confidential.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 28, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thanks so much for your suggestions relating to our annual report. We are happy to make the changes.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

December 29, 1961

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

I have just a couple of small suggestions regarding the paragraph in your annual report on your grant for state councils. In line five I would suggest "accommodations" instead of "services". The last sentence might be more clear if it read "positive progress is reported, etc." Also, though you note progress in nine states you list only seven; the two missing are Georgia and Kentucky.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 13, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing the Field Foundation's annual report copy relating to the Foundation's grant made in April to the Southern Regional Council and would very much appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience if this statement meets with your approval. Any corrections of error will, of course, be welcomed.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

January 3, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

Enclosed are ten copies of Report L-30. Let me know if you wish more.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. 10

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 2, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I would appreciate it if you would send me 10 copies of Report L-30.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Report L-30
December 28, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Southern Regional Council believes these two editorials, from centers of Deep South resistance to civil rights, are thoughtful and important expressions from states recently troubled by race violence and faced with desegregation court rulings. The STATE TIMES *editorial is one of a series on Mississippi race problems, inviting public discussion, which appeared also in the* McCOMB ENTERPRISE JOURNAL.

The editorial from the BIRMINGHAM NEWS *appeared shortly after a court decision had been handed down. However, the city of Birmingham may respond to this decision, the editorial is still pertinent and deserves thoughtful study throughout the Deep South.*

State Times

Published Each Evening and Sunday at Jackson, Mississippi, by STATE TIMES PUBLISHING CORP.

O. A. ROBINSON, Publisher

J. OLIVER EMMERICH, Editor
ROBERT E. WEBB, Associate Editor
JIMMIE McDOWELL, Sports Editor
PAUL TIBLIER, Executive Editor
ROBERT BAEHLER, Advertising Director
JOHN HUDSON, Circulation Mgr.
JOHN W. GRAY, Mechanical Supt.

6A State Times, Jackson, Miss. Friday, Nov. 3, 1961, Vol. VII, No. 249

A Positive Plan To Help Solve Our Racial Dilemma

By OLIVER EMMERICH

The citizens of the State of Mississippi are confronted with this question: Do we want to be constructive in coping with our disturbing racial situation?

If the answer is in the affirmative then two conclusions appear to be reasonable. First, the racial dilemma in Mississippi will grow worse, not better, unless we meet it with a forthright sense of maturity. Second, positive action, not mere negation, is essential if our conflicts are to be met with mature judgment.

Twice within this decade the State of Mississippi applied positive action and reaped the benefits of success. Positive action was evinced in the legislative decision to equalize white and Negro teachers' salaries. Positive action was applied in the legislature's decision to spend 150 million dollars for needed class rooms—95 millions going to Negro schools and 55 millions to white schools.

★ ★ ★

Herewith we submit four additional positive steps—steps which if taken by the State of Mississippi can contribute much to the solution of our impending problems.

—I—

The sword of Damocles that dangles over Mississippi is the threat of what can happen as a result of the mass voting of illiterate and untutored individuals. Our people are as apprehensive over this threat as were the citizens of Galveston on the eve of hurricane Carla. This fear stems from earlier Mississippi history when Negroes, untutored in the responsibilities of citizenship, voted en masse and became easy prey of unscrupulous white men—politicians who used them for selfish designs and bankrupted our government.

★ ★ ★

The negative pattern applied generally in Mississippi today is stimulating rather than inhibiting this ominous threat. Anti-franchise efforts founded essentially in race serve only to stimulate bloc voting. The positive step is to remove the impediments to qualified Negroes who want to vote. Qualified voters, regardless of race, recognize the handicap to good government through the unrestricted voting of the unqualified. By removing the impediments to qualified Negroes we reduce the danger of mass voting of the unqualified.

★ ★ ★

Where shall we start with this emphasis on qualified voters? The answer: Our school boards of trustees at the local level, sanctioned by the State Department of Education at the state level, should at the time of employment make it clear to all teachers, white and colored, that they are free from impediments to franchise—and that if a teacher is not qualified to vote he or she is not qualified to teach.

—II—

The abundance of unskilled labor in Mississippi, white and colored, constitutes a tragedy. This is why our state has the lowest per capita income of any state in the Union.

The mechanization of Mississippi farms and the switch from row crops to pastures have thrown thousands of farm workers out of employment. This has been partially offset in this decade through Mississippi's acquisition of 927 new and expanded industries which has created 75,901 new industrial jobs.

The positive step in this area is for Mississippi to make an all-out, sympathetic effort to find gainful employment for our white and colored people.

Where shall we start? It is suggested that the Mississippi Agricultural and Industrial Board appoint a committee of its membership to earnestly survey this situation. It is a problem of education, planning and dedication—but progress can be made in a state-wide effort, substantiated with research, and purposed to improve upon the job opportunities of our people, white and colored.

—III—

A third positive step should be made in the field of court justice. There are many excellent jurists in Mississippi, men who preside over our courts with dignity and justice. Never-

theless, there are recorded cases of injustice resulting from the pressure of racial feeling.

★ ★ ★

The positive approach to this problem demands that our courts abandon the double standard of justice—one standard for whites, another for Negroes. Admittedly, this double standard of justice has worked two ways. It has caused injustices to some Negro defendants. On the other hand many judges have been lenient with Negroes and after taking many factors into consideration, have given them lighter sentences as compared with similar offenses by white defendants.

How shall Mississippi initiate this positive step? The answer: The Mississippi State Bar Association is an ethical and respected professional organization. It is suggested that the Mississippi Bar Association name a special committee to survey this situation. If the field is properly explored an answer can be found by which court justice can be enlarged upon for Negro people.

—IV—

The emotional reaction to racial disturbances has caused many of our people to view one another with distrust and suspicion. Frustration is general—and we cannot solve our problems in an atmosphere of frustration.

Communications must be established between the white and Negro leaders of Mississippi. This positive step is necessary because our problem is not of short duration. Long after the courts have handed down their legal opinions in this field the problems will still be with us. As the years unfold Negro people will recognize that their future is tied closely to the white citizenry of our state and our white citizens will recognize that the Negro is an essential factor in our economy.

★ ★ ★

This fourth positive step will not be easy It will require a wealth of patience, courage and wisdom.

And where shall we start? It is suggested that Gov. Ross Barnett use the prestige of his office and cooperate with the mayors of our municipalities and other local leaders—and that unofficial bi-racial committees be named at the local level to work with these problems. Vital to the success of this step is that sound-thinking, level-headed people be appointed to these committees.

★ ★ ★

Time and understanding are the ingredients essential to the adjustment of negation. And so far negation has plunged our state deeper into misunderstanding and frustration.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 4, 1962

Sent 1/5/61
10 copies of both.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thanks for the 10 copies of the Jackson, Mississippi State Times piece of November 3, 1961 which is part of Report L-30. I probably should have mentioned that I also wanted 10 copies of the editorial from the Birmingham News.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Pending

January 29, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

It was good seeing you the other day and we shall follow your advice and put a formal application in your hands before February 5 for funds in behalf of the Voter Project.

I have ruminated a good bit since seeing you over my response to your query about attendance at our State Directors Meeting. I would like to reiterate my hope that you can be present while they are here and enjoy some food and fellowship with them. I would like to add, after further reflection and after talking with Paul Rilling, that we would be pleased to have you sit in during a session of the meeting. I believe this could be arranged in a way that would be interesting to you as well as fruitful to the participants.

This is a sincerely meant invitation. Please let me know what your travel plans will be as soon as you have made them.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

February 2, 1962

Mr. Max Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Max:

We have enclosed an original and seven copies of an application for funds in support of the Voter Education Project. The proposal itself is fairly brief and non-detailed. The reason for this is that the structure of our plan is outlined in Attachment A which I feel you should have because it is a basic document in the months-long discussions we have had with the other agencies. Because this is submitted as a part of the proposal I thought we would not need to repeat the details of it in the text of the proposal itself.

All of the agencies, incidentally, have indicated their satisfaction with the plan outlined in Attachment A. The National Student Association, however, which is one of the addressees, has decided to play merely a peripheral role in support of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and I think this is a wise decision in the interests of both student organizations.

Our application for an advance ruling from the Treasury Department has apparently reached a critical stage. Bill DeWind was called to Washington last Wednesday for a conference which turned out to be cordial and most

encouraging. We have been asked to file some additional information and we are now working on it. DeWind will come to Atlanta next Tuesday to help us put it in final shape. We are hopeful that the ruling may be forthcoming shortly after receipt of this additional information.

As you know, the Taconic Foundation has indicated that it will contribute $250,000 to the undertaking. It has been our hope that you would find it possible to contribute an equal amount.

With very best wishes, both to you and members of the Field Board,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:jl
enc.

February 3, 1962

Request to The Field Foundation, Inc., for support of the Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council.

For some months the Southern Regional Council has been, by request, engaged in developing the Voter Education Project. The Council has worked closely with the policy and staff members of the following organizations, each of which will participate in the Project: Congress of Racial Equality; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; National Urban League; Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The Council has always been vitally interested in registration and voting in the South. It has done a substantial amount of research designed to determine the geographical areas of low voter registration, and the causes; findings have been published.* A large part of this work has been financed by The Field Foundation.

There now seems to be an opportunity for a greatly expanded effort. The resources and experiences of all the above listed agencies will be called on and there will be established an unprecedented cooperation and pooling of resources among civil rights organizations. The project, if even only modestly successful, will deeply affect civil rights and democratic government in the region and the nation.

The purpose of the Voter Education Project is to enable the Council to promote, study, and evaluate methods for encouraging exercise of the right to register and vote in the South. The Project will grant funds and provide consultants for approved non-partisan voter registration programs conducted by the organizations named above, and by local organizations active in voter registration work. Each organization receiving support must agree to submit the results of its program to the Project for evaluation and use in publication. To insure that funds are utilized solely for the intended purpose, the Project

*Margaret Price, The Negro and the Ballot in the South, 1959; Margaret Price, The Negro Voter in the South, 1957; Luther P. Jackson, Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940, 1948; and other occasional reports.

will impose adequate conditions on the granting of support and will require detailed accounting of expenditures, as well as program reports.

The Project Director and his staff will, of course, be members also of the Southern Regional Council staff, and subject to supervision by the Executive Director and the Board of the Council. The Project Director is Mr. Wiley A. Branton, attorney from Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Present plans call for the appointment of two field consultants and an administrative secretary to assist him.

Further information and details are contained in Attachments A and B, which are hereby incorporated with this request. You will note that Attachment B is a request, filed with the United States Internal Revenue Service, for an advance ruling that the Project is consistent with the Council's tax exempt status. This matter is still pending, and our request to you for financial support is conditioned upon a satisfactory resolution of this issue.

Attachment C is a draft statement of principles being considered by the five agencies listed above for release at the time of public announcement of the Project, over the signatures of the staff heads of the agencies. It is incorporated with this submission in order that you may note the motivations and spirit of this program, as well as its plans. You will also be interested in knowing that several other organizations will endorse the objectives set forth in this statement of principles. These include the National Council of Churches of Christ, American Jewish Congress, American Friends Service Committee, Prince Hall Grand Masters Conference, and the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

It is the conviction of the Southern Regional Council that a reasonable degree of success in the Voter Education Project will substantially and positively contribute to the welfare of the region and the nation. It is anticipated that this two year project will require a <u>minimum</u> budget of $620,000.

Toward this amount, we request that The Field Foundation consider a contribution of $125,000 per year for the two year period.

Of the total budget, $58,000 - $65,000 per year will be allocated to expenses of the Project office and its work, and a minimum of $250,000 per year is needed for field work.

The members and staff of the Southern Regional Council continue to be most grateful for the generous support of The Field Foundation. It is with this deep sense of gratitude that we respectfully submit this request for further support.

February 3, 1962

Request to The Field Foundation, Inc. for support of the Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council.

For some months the Southern Regional Council has been, by request, engaged in developing ~~a~~ the Voter Education Project. The Council has worked closely with the policy and staff members of the following organizations, ~~and~~ each of ~~them~~ which will participate in the ~~proposed~~ Project: Congress of Racial Equality; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; National Urban League: Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. ~~United States National Student Association~~

The Council has always been vitally interested in registration and voting in the South. It has done a substantial amount of research designed to determine the geographical areas of low vot~~ing~~er registration, and the ~~reasons therefor~~ causes; findings have been publish~~ing~~ed* ~~its findings~~ ~~Always~~ A large part of this work has been financed by The Field Foundation.

There now seems to be an opportunity ~~and a need~~ for a greatly expanded effort. ~~It seems likely that~~ The resources and experiences of all ~~of~~ the above listed agencies ~~can~~ will be called on and ~~that~~ there ~~can~~ will be established an unprecedented ~~amount of~~ cooperation and pooling of resources among civil rights organizations. The Project, if even only modestly successful, ~~could~~ will deeply affect civil rights and democratic government in the region and the nation.

The purpose of the Voter Education Project is to enable the Council to promote, study, and evaluate methods for encouraging exercise of the right to register and vote in the South. The Project will grant funds and provide consultants

* Margaret Price, The Negro and the Ballot in the South, 1959; Margaret Price, The Negro Voter in the South, 1957; Luther P. Jackson, Race & Suffrage in the South since 1940, 1948, & other occasional reports.

organization ~~such as including the National Council of Churches of Christ, the American Friends Service Committee, the National Council of Negro Women~~ will endorse the objectives set forth in this statement & principles here → over

non-partisan

for approved, non-partisan voter registration programs conducted by the organizations named above, and by local organizations active in voter registration work. Each organization receiving support must agree to submit the results of its program to the Project for evaluation and use in publication. To insure that funds are utilized solely for the intended purpose, the Project will impose adequate conditions on the granting of support and will require detailed accounting of ~~the~~ expenditures, as well as program reports.

The Project Director and his staff will, of course, be members also of the Southern Regional Council staff, and subject to supervision by the Executive Director and the Board of the Council. The Project Director is Mr. Wiley A. Branton, attorney from Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Present plans call for the appointment of two field consultants and an administrative secretary to assist him.

Further information and details are contained in Attachments ~~Ax&xB~~ A and B, which are hereby incorporated ~~in~~ with this request. You will note that Attachment B is a request, filed with the United States Internal Revenue Service, for an advance ruling that the Project is consistent with the Council's ~~xq~~ tax exempt status. This matter is still pending, and our request to you for financial support is conditioned upon a satisfactory resolution of this issue.

It is the conviction of the Southern Regional Council ~~that a reasonable degree~~ of success in the Voter Education Project will substantially and positively contribute to the welfare of the region and the nation. It is anticipated that this two year project will require a minimum budget of $620,000. ~~Toward this total amount the Taconic Foundation is prepared to contribute $250,000.~~ Toward this amount we request that ~~The~~ Field Foundation consider a contribution of $125,000 per year for the two year period.

Of the total budget, $58,000 - $65,000 per year will be allocated to expenses of the Project office and its ~~xkx~~ work, and a minimum of $250,000 per year is needed for field work.

Attachment C is a draft statement of Principles being considered by the five agencies listed above ~~for joint use~~ relative to the Time Public announcement of the project, the signature of the staff heads of the agencies, & the interest in sharing the responsibility for widest possible distribution & reprint of the release.

Last I heard in conversation with Burbman in order for you more fully to make the distinctions & reprint of the Purpose, or widest or its release.

include the National Council of Churches of Christ, ~~the~~ American Jewish Congress, ~~American Jewish Committee~~, American Friends Service Committee, ~~Episcopal~~ Prince Hall Grand Masters Conference, and the Episcopal Society for Cultural & Racial Unity.

The members and staff of the Southern Regional Council continue to be most grateful for the generous support of The Field Foundation. It is with this deep sense of gratitude that we respectfully submit this request for further support.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

February 21, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This will acknowledge and thank you for your note of February 16 and the copy of the Director's Program Report and the copy of the Financial Statement which you enclosed. These will be brought to Mr. Hahn's attention upon his return from the South, and I know he will appreciate having them.

Sincerely,

Maxine Semmel

(Mrs.) Maxine Semmel
Assistant to the
Executive Vice President

PAV
MJ - file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

February 26, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I'm sorry that "The American Foundations Face the Future" is out-of-print, but do appreciate your interest!

We did enjoy our visit to Atlanta. Thanks so much for all you did to make it so pleasurable.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

February 21, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max;

Do you have 15 or 20 copies of your printed address, "The American Foundations Face the Future"?

We enjoyed so much your visit last week. Please give my regards to Mrs. Hahn.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

April 6, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council I wish to acknowledge your letter of March 28, 1962 notifying us of the favorable action of the Field Foundation in granting $75,000, or as much thereof as shall be needed, to assist the Voter Education Project during the year April 1, 1962 to March 31, 1963.

Enclosed also is our official receipt for your check, transmitted with your letter.

The terms of the grant are, of course, fully satisfactory. We are especially pleased that you indicate that the Foundation may consider sympathetically a renewal request based on the facts of the first months of operation.

I need not, I am sure, tell you how greatly we value this support. Not only will the funds be indispensable to the success of the undertaking, but the commitment of the Foundation to the aims of the Project is equally valued by us.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Recd 3/29

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

March 28, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am pleased to send you written confirmation of yesterday's telephone conversation when I advised you of the Field Foundation's favorable action on Southern Regional Council's application for assistance to the Voter Education Project. The resolution adopted by the board of directors is as follows:

> RESOLVED that the Corporation appropriate and contribute to Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia, the sum of $75,000, or as much thereof as shall be needed, to assist the Voter Education Project, for the twelve-month period beginning April 1, 1962, to be paid in full in March, 1962.

In accordance with the terms of the grant, I am enclosing the Foundation's check in the amount of $75,000, payable to the order of Southern Regional Council, Inc. and representing payment in full of the award. I know you understand that, in making this grant, the board does not commit itself to renewal of support at the expiration of the award period. We would however consider sympathetically a renewal request in the light of the facts at the time.

$75,000. CR 3/29/62 RHA

As you know, our group is deeply interested in the whole area of citizenship education and the involvement of an informed citizenry in public affairs. The directors' hope, in making this and other grants, is that new gains may be made on a broad front in achievement of truly democratic government in the South and in other regions and in the protection of civil rights for each individual.

We will, of course, welcome reports on activities as the Project gets underway. At this time, I should appreciate receiving your official acknowledgment of this check and your acceptance of the terms of the grant as set forth in this letter.

You and your associates have our warmest wishes in this vital program.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

April 30, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

I am not altogether clear about your letter of April 16. We had no discussions with SCLC people regarding the Citizenship Education Program after you, Wyatt T. Walker, and I met in my office. This discussion, as far as we were concerned, clarified the situation satisfactorily. Our understanding is that the Citizenship Education Program will be carried on independently of our Voter Education Project and that any assistance given by VEP to SCLC will be given without reference to the Citizenship Education Program.

Wiley Branton has discussed your letter with Wyatt and reports that Wyatt has no concerns.

Is there some other development that we should know?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

April 30, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

I think I should write and tell you that neither Wiley Branton or I are altogether clear about your letter of April 16. We had no discussions with SCLC people regarding the Citizenship Education Program since you, Wyatt T. Walker, and I met in my office. This discussion, as far as we were concerned, clarified the situation satisfactorily. Our understanding is that the Citizenship Education Program will be carried on independently of our Voter Education Project and that any assistance given by VEP to SCLC will be given without reference to the Citizenship Education Program.

Wiley Branton has discussed your letter with Wyatt and reports that Wyatt has no concerns.

Is there some other development that we should know?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

L.D.

Rec'd 4/17

WB what's this?

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 16, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

If you have any questions about the Citizenship Education Program of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, I hope that you will talk with the Reverend Andrew J. Young and the Reverend Wyatt T. Walker. I have assumed, on the basis of the conference we had in mid-February, that all of us understood the complementary tasks of the Citizenship Education Program and the Southern Voter Project of SRC. Wiley Branton, of course, was out of town when I was in Atlanta in mid-February, but I am sure that he will find Mr. Young and Mr. Walker delighted to answer any questions he has about their program.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

I have not raised any questions re this program. I talked with Wyatt and he can not explain the reason for the letter. I have reason to think that Rev. Young has made statements implying that VEP will hurt the CEP [redacted] in es for or availability of funds in concerned.
WB.

via air mail

May 9, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

Stern gave $124,000 for a two-year period to the Voter Project.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

WB
MJ-file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 11, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I appreciate your letter received today stating that Stern is giving $124,000 over two years to the Voter Project. This is very good news.

I am sorry we didn't have more of a chance to talk in Washington. I regretted afterward that I hadn't gotten up-to-date on developments.

Andy Young was in a couple of days ago. I explained to him about my cryptic inquiry to you, and he says the relationships are working smoothly.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

May 16, 1962

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

While awaiting approval of Internal Revenue on our request for tax exemption, contact was established with various federal agencies, private foundations, organizations and others interested in voter registration in the South. In a letter dated March 22, 1962, SRC was informed by Internal Revenue Service that if we "operate project strictly in accordance with the representations made . . .the activity will not adversely affect your present exemption from Federal income tax. . .". News of the tax ruling came while Leslie Dunbar and Wiley Branton were in New York for conferences with participating agencies and group agreed to a March 29 news release regarding voter project.

Grants have been received from Taconic Foundation in the amount of $ 250,000 total for a two year period, $ 75,000 from Field Foundation for one year, and $ 124,000 total for a two year period from the Edgar Stern Family Foundation of New Orleans. This gives VEP $ 262,000 for the first year's operation.

Proposals for a two year voter registration campaign have been submitted by NAACP, CORE, SCLC, SNCC and NUL, and representatives from each met together with VEP in Atlanta on April 17 and discussed the total program. SRC Research and VEP held a conference in Atlanta on May 1 and 2 to discuss research problems involving the voter project, which was attended by several outstanding research experts from over the South. All in attendance promised continuing cooperation to voter program.

VEP decided to launch Ninety Day Programs in states where registration dead lines could still be met for summer primaries and made the following "crash program" grants: CORE $ 8,625.00; SCLC $ 11,500.00; SNCC $ 5,750.00; NAACP $ 17,250.00; and NUL $ 5,750.00. CORE will be working in Baton Rouge, La. and Jackson, Miss., and in South Carolina CORE will be in the 6th Congressional District and in Clarendon, Sumter and York Counties. National Urban League will be working in Winston-Salem and Richmond.

NAACP will work in Jackson, Miss. and in Shreveport, Baton Rouge, Lake Charles and Monroe, Louisiana; High Point, Fayetteville, Charlotte, Rocky Mount, Wilmington and Edenton, North Carolina; Beaufort, Columbia, Greenville and Charleston, South Carolina; and in Memphis, Fayette County, Haywood County, Knoxville, Chattanooga and Clarksville, Tennessee.

SCLC will work in Shreveport, La., Chowan County and Elizabeth City, North Carolina, Charleston, S.C., Knoxville and Chattanooga, Tennessee, and in the Fourth Congressional District of Virginia. SNCC will work in Orangeburg County, S.C. and in the State of Mississippi SNCC will work in Jackson, Hattiesburg, Marshall County and in the old 3rd and 4th Congressional Districts.

The first VEP grant was made to the Atlanta All Citizens Registration Committee on April 12 in the amount of $ 2,000.00, with a supplemental grant on May 15 in the amount of $1,600.00. A grant was also made to the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs on April 27 in the sum of $ 2,500.00.

VEP requires participating agencies to deposit the proceeds of our grants in a separate bank account and to make disbursements from same only when supported by vouchers. Agencies are required to coordinate their registration efforts where more than one agency is working in the same area. Plans are now being formulated for a long range program in eleven deep-south states, while immediate attention is being given to "crash programs" in New Orleans and Nashville.

May 17, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

We wish to place before the Field Foundation a request that its grant to the Southern Regional Council for general operations be renewed.

Without the Foundation's support during recent years the Council could hardly have carried on. Especially important to us has been the unrestricted three-year grant made in 1959. We ask the Foundation to consider renewal of this grant of $25,000 per year for the three-year period 1963-65.

The Field Foundation is so closely informed about our affairs, as well as southern problems, that a lengthy submission and justification would, we feel, be redundant. In placing this application before you we can only rely on our performance, and your familiarity with it. We shall, of course, be pleased to respond at once to any need you may have for supplementary records or information.

I notice that in a communication to you in 1959, we wrote, "As we have had many occasions to remark, the Field Foundation deserves the gratitude

of all thoughtful people for its readiness to assist direct programs in the sensitive area of race relations." Since 1959 the Foundation has even broadened and deepened its commitment. In every respect, we think of the Foundation as a partner in the civil rights and human relations movement in the South.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
bcc: Mr. Morris Abram

File

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 23, 1962

RECEIVED
MAY 24 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you for sending so promptly the copy of the audit, the list of largest donors, and the 1961 annual report.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Thanks also for the copy of your letter to Jonathan Blue

via air mail

May 21, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

A copy of our last audit and my 1961 report are enclosed.

I understand your request for the largest donors for the last 12 months to mean, literally, donations received during this period. It is only on this basis that the Field Foundation would be omitted from the list which is attached. If you will notice, this does not include contributions for the Voter Education Project with which you are familiar, anyhow.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

SRC CONTRIBUTORS
(10 Largest for the Past 12 Months)

5/62	Rockefeller Foundation	$50,000	(Gen. Support)
8/61	Rockefeller Brothers Fund	40,000	(Special Proj.)
2/62	Taconic Foundation	25,000	(Gen. Support)
4/62	" "	25,000	(State Councils)
9/61	New World Foundation	25,000	(Gen. Support)
(8/61 (11/61 (2/62	New York Foundation	3,750	(Gen. Support)
10/61	Wm. C. Whitney Foundation	3,500	(Special Proj.)
(12/61 (4/62	National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church	2,000	(Gen. Support)
6/61	Women's Division of Christian Service, Methodist Church	1,200	(Gen. Support)
	Five foundations and one church body	1,000 ea.	(Gen. Support)

5/21/62

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 18, 1962

RECEIVED
MAY 21 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Your letter came this afternoon. Thanks.

Can you send along a copy of SRC's last audit and a list of the 10 largest donors in the last 12 months with the amounts?

A copy of your 1961 report to your board probably would be useful.

Hastily,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

June 5, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council I acknowledge with deep gratitude your letter of May 31, 1962 notifying us that the Field Foundation has appropriated $75,000 to the general support of the Council for a three-year period beginning January 1, 1963.

I have had an opportunity to inform our Executive Committee of this renewal of the Foundation's support.. I have been directed by my Executive Committee to convey to you and the others on the Foundation's board the Committee's grateful acknowledgement of your contribution to the welfare and progress of the South.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 31, 1962

RECEIVED
JUN 1 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

You will be pleased to learn that the Field Foundation board of directors has taken affirmative action on the request of the Southern Regional Council for renewal of assistance for the three-year period 1963 through 1965. The resolution as adopted by the Foundation's board at a recent meeting is as follows:

> RESOLVED that the Corporation appropriate and contribute to Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia, the sum of $75,000, or as much thereof as shall be needed, for the thirty-six month period beginning January 1, 1963, to be paid as follows: $25,000 in January, 1963, $25,000 in January, 1964, and $25,000 in January, 1965.

As you already know, the directors do not wish to imply any commitment for renewal of support to the program of the Southern Regional Council at the expiration of the grant period. The board, of course, is keenly interested in the continuing activities of the Council and will, as in the past, welcome reports on developments in the South. As is our custom, we shall wish to have audited statements of expenditures made under the grant.

In accordance with the terms of the above resolution, the Foundation's first payment on the award will be forwarded to you next January. May I now have your acknowledgment of this letter and your acceptance of the terms of the grant?

With every good wish to you and your associates.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

?

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Mrs. H. Hill Miller

REGARDING

Memorandum to each from LWD re: &&VR&& VEP and COPE grant of $5,000 for non-partisan voting registration work in New Orleans

DATE

JUNE 22, 1962

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Voter Education Project Folder

WB/
MJ-file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

June 26, 1962

RECEIVED
JUN 28 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In Mr. Hahn's absence from the city on an extended field trip, I wish to acknowledge and thank you for the copy of your letter of June 22 relating to the $5,000 grant from the Committee on Political Action of the AFL-CIO for non-partisan voting registration work in New Orleans. I know Mr. Hahn will be pleased to have this news.

Sincerely,

Maxine Semmel

(Mrs.) Maxine Semmel
Assistant to the
Executive Vice President

July 12, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

Both the Alabama and Tennessee Councils on Human Relations have recently had Vivian Henderson lead workshops on employment opportunity; these have been interesting and we believe useful. I thought you might like to have copies of the reports for your files. Enclosed also is a rather skillful little brochure of the Alabama Council.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

July 16, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

I have now had an opportunity to read through your report of the Foundation's activities for the year ended September 30, 1961. It is a record of amazing commitment and originality of program.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

July 16, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In Mr. Hahn's absence from the city on an extended field trip, I wish to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of July 12 with which you enclosed reports on the Alabama and Tennessee Councils' workshops on employment opportunity and the brochure issued by the Alabama Council. I know Mr. Hahn will be interested to see these upon his return to the office.

Sincerely,

Maxine Semmel

(Mrs.) Maxine Semmel
Assistant to the
Executive Vice President

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

RECEIVED
JUL 31 1962

July 30, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thanks for taking the trouble to comment on the Field Foundation report. I appreciate this.

I hope you soon will have a much deserved vacation.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

July 31, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

The enclosed piece by an Atlanta reporter just returned from about a fortnight in Albany and Terrell County will, I think, be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Pat Watters column from Atl. Journal, 7/30/62)
bc: Mr. Pat Watters w/note: It was a beautiful piece

Same ltr to: Mr.Vernon A. Eagle, Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy, Mr. David F. Freeman, and Dr. Leland DeVinney

September 10, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

Thank you for letting me see your report copy of the Foundation's grant for the Voter Education Project. I have no changes to suggest.

I am tentatively planning to be in New York during the last week of the month and shall call when I come into town. By that time we shall have prepared a Progress Report on the Voters Education Project and I shall want to deliver it to you, unless it has been finished in time to mail ahead.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:ma

Leslie W. Dunbar

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

September 4, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I am enclosing the Field Foundation's annual report copy relating to the Foundation's grant for the Voter Education Project and would very much appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience if this statement meets with your approval. Any corrections of error will be welcomed as usual.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC., ATLANTA, GEORGIA

To bring out Negro voters

Foundation funds have supported substantial research by the Southern Regional Council to determine the areas of low voter registration and its causes. Now a greatly expanded effort -- pooling the resources of various civil rights organizations -- will be made. The special interest of the project, according to the project director, will be "to study the most effective methods of bringing more Southerners into voter participation. Over a two-year period we shall observe and analyze the voter registration programs of other agencies in order to collect our data. When necessary, we shall grant funds to other agencies to make possible programs which we believe will advance the study.

"The largest group of non-voters in the South," the director adds, "are Negroes, especially in the Deep South. There will be no true democracy in the South until they become active citizens. But voting participation of all Southerners is low, and needs to be encouraged. The project will support, within the limits of its ability, any voter registration programs which accord with our research interest."

The Foundation made a grant of $75,000.

file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

September 20, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I would be able to lunch with you any day next week except the 26th. I have previously accepted an invitation on Wednesday to a luncheon publicizing Alfred Marrow's book on prejudice.

Do let me know another good day for you.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
ExecutiveVice President

September 18, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

Thank you for your letter of September 12. Would lunch on Wednesday, September 26 be convenient? I'll call you when I get into town to pin down a time or to set another date if that would suit you better.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

September 12, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I appreciate having your prompt okay on our annual report copy.

Let me know what day you would be free for lunch while you are in New York. Perhaps, too, you would have enough time in your schedule to continue our talk back in my office.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

THE

FIELD FOUNDATION

INC.

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, COLUMBIA

To gain support of white groups on race issue

The Council points out that there is a lot of untapped support for democratic progress in South Carolina's white population. In the current increasingly favorable climate for interracial progress, resources and allies may well be found in groups that as yet have remained inactive and inarticulate. The Council, as one part of its "all-out effort to develop and strengthen the constructive forces in South Carolina," will seek support from such groups as federal and state employees, labor unions, social workers, educators, communications personnel, young business and industrial leaders, veterans' organizations, and women's and youth groups.

The Foundation made a two-year grant of $24,800 for the Council's effort.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC., ATLANTA

To bring out Negro voters

Foundation funds have supported substantial research by the Southern Regional Council to determine the areas of low voter registration and its causes. Now a greatly expanded effort—pooling the resources of various civil rights organizations—will be made. The special interest of the project, according to the project director, will be "to study the most effective methods of bringing more Southerners into voter participation. Over a two-year period we shall observe and analyze the voter registration programs of other agencies in order to collect our data. When necessary, we shall grant funds to other agencies to make possible programs which we believe will advance the study.

"The largest group of non-voters in the South," the director adds, "are Negroes, especially in the Deep South. There will be no true democracy in the South until they become active citizens. But voting participation of all Southerners is low, and needs to be en-

couraged. The project will support, within the limits of its ability, any voter registration programs which accord with our research interest."

The Foundation made a grant of $75,000.

SPRING HILL COLLEGE, MOBILE, ALABAMA

For summer workshop in human relations

The Foundation made a small grant to Spring Hill College to help carry through probably the first summer workshop in human relations ever held in the deep South. Father Albert S. Foley, Director of Sociology, who has conducted similar workshops in Los Angeles and San Antonio, faced special difficulties with this one. To get a variety of participants, more scholarships were needed. Some white public school teachers could not attend for fear of reprisals by school authorities; however, six did attend and other individuals were enlisted to make the six week workshop a "distinct success."

Spring Hill College is the only integrated school in Alabama and the need to give human relations training to future teachers now studying there—as well as to the other teachers able to attend the workshop—seemed urgent.

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC., NASHVILLE

To start human relations groups in small communities

Tennessee Council members believe that the key to progress in bi-racial effort lies in establishing communication across racial lines in the small centers of population which have received less attention than metropolitan areas. A Foundation grant of $15,000 over two years will strengthen staff and provide travel funds for work in this more representative field, organizing local councils and helping them direct community education and cooperative action.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 8, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3
Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thanks very much for pages 4 - 6, containing the highlights of Mrs. Braden's letter.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

October 4, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

Frances passed on to me your query regarding our letter to Carl Braden. We had a thirteen page reply from Anne Braden. The enclosed three pages are the gist of it. Subsequently, we have received a letter from Bill Higgs written after he had read Anne's letter and repeating very clearly his recollection of what Carl told him.

All this is a wretched business and I have a strong repugnance for this kind of scrap.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosure

bond of our civil society"—in Cicero's phrase.

Justice Harlan recently deplored "the standard of newspaper reporting of court decisions" and he called for "journalistic statesmanship." But some of the fault lies with the court itself. For, it is not only what the court does—decides—but what it says, and how it says it, that can matter greatly. Even the "friends of the court" may justly criticize its opinions in some recent historic rulings as being diffuse, with too many multiple concurrences as well as dissents.

Clear, concise and candid opinions, held within reasonable bounds as to number and length, will enhance the court's prestige.

SAMUEL H. HOFSTADTER.
New York.

'KEY FACT'

TO THE EDITOR:

In generalizing about private philanthropic foundations, Waldemar A. Nielsen ("How Solid Are the Foundations?" Oct. 21) overlooks a key fact about those foundations with assets of $10 million or more. Each one is different. It is a mistake to view them as a forest of identical money trees waiting to be shaken. We agree that foundations could do a better job and many of them would if applicants for grants would study foundation annual reports. Year by year, the giving pattern evolves. Abrupt changes are the exception. Much staff time is wasted in dealing with applicants who neglect the first rule of any sales effort: know your prospect.

Your writer does not seem to know that there are foundations which have not pussyfooted away from race relations and other sensitive areas, foundations which know the public has strong opinions about the billion-dollar-a-year Aid to Dependent Children program and yet have ventured to finance the search for factual answers. There are foundations, too, which have cooperated over the years with governmental agencies.

MAXWELL HAHN,
Vice President, The Field Foundation.
New York.

Mr. Nielsen replies: "Mr. Hahn says that the foundation he directs has shown courage, conviction and cooperativeness. In my judgment its record is almost as good as he contends, for which we all should be grateful. I take the strained character of his criticisms, however, to be compliments to my argument. First, in attempting to generalize about the 150 large foundations I began by pointing out their great variation and the difficulty of any generalization. This key fact was not overlooked; it was emphasized.

"Second, I did not say that no foundations have made grants in the field of race relations or cooperated with government. I said and remain of the view that on the whole timidity is a common quality among foundations, particularly in dealing with controversial issues, and that too little cooperation has characterized the foundation-government relationship."

Revised Copy

November 26, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

This is to request consideration by the Field Foundation for renewal of its grant to the Southern Regional Council for support of the grant-in-aid program to the Councils on Human Relations.

For several years we have been privileged to have the aid and to enjoy the close association of the Foundation. We are deeply grateful.

In December 1959 the Foundation granted $25,000 for distribution in 1960 as grants-in-aid to the Councils on Human Relations. Subsequently, the grant was renewed for the period July 1961 - June 1963 in the amount of $50,000. Enclosed with this letter is a memorandum summarizing highlights in the work and accomplishments of the groups during this past year; also enclosed is a statement of funds raised by the groups in 1961 and to date this year. As you will recall, we distribute the grants on a formula which takes heavy account of the success of each group in raising funds locally; there is also enclosed a table showing the allocation of grants-in-aid for 1962. At this writing, it appears that all will be distributed as authorized, except in the case of Florida, which will not be able to claim its full amount.

During the past year, a Mississippi Council on Human Relations has been formed and has, under remarkably staunch leadership, survived its first heavy attacks. As yet it has no staff, few opportunities for positive program, and consequently little need for funds. As months go by, all three of these conditions may, hopefully, change, and we want to be prepared to assist when needed. Also during this year a promising start has been made in the formation of a New Orleans Council which may in time grow into or be the nucleus of a Louisiana Council. Here too we want to be able to help financially when needed.

We request, therefore, that the Foundation grant $50,000 for the program of the Councils on Human Relations, to be paid in equal installments during the calendar years 1963 and 1964.

As of December 31, 1962 we shall have on account $12,500 as the undistributed portion of your grant for the period July 1961 - June 1963. According to the terms of the grant, these funds are, in other words, to be used to carry on the grant-in-aid program through half of next year. As indicated by the paragraph above, we are requesting that you consider putting the program on a calendar year basis. We further request that the Foundation authorize us during 1963 and 1964 to use, in our best judgment, this $12,500 in either or both of the following ways:

a. for assistance to council on human relations work in Louisiana and Mississippi;

b. as added support in other states to councils which have displayed or may display special strength.

Whatever portion of the $12,500 were not used for these purposes would be reported to you for instructions as to disposition.

We make this request for discretionary use of the $12,500 because of expansion of opportunities in Louisiana and Mississippi, and because the recent record of some councils--particularly those of Georgia and Virginia--evidences growing responsibilities for community leadership, and consequently growing financial needs.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosures
BCC: Morris Abram

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

November 16, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

In response to this morning's telephone conversation I am returning herewith your letter of November 9, 1962.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

file

November 14, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have your unsigned letter dated November 9, which was received this afternoon. You request renewal of the Field Foundation grant for general support of Southern Regional Council for the three-year period beginning January 1, 1963. We shall not be able to act on this request for reasons apparent in your letter of June 5, 1962, copy of which I am enclosing.

I note also that you are requesting renewal of the grant-in-aid for the Councils on Human Relations. I shall gladly present this to our board and shall hope to have word for you by the end of the year.

I also will write you around Christmas concerning the unexpended sum of $12,500 for which you are asking the Foundation to grant discretionary powers. I may have questions after I have had the opportunity to study your material further.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enc.

7962

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

November 9, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

MH
14

Dear Mr. Hahn:

This is to request consideration by the Field Foundation for renewal of two grants to the Southern Regional Council for support (a) of general operations and (b) the grant-in-aid program to the Councils on Human Relations.

For several years we have been privileged to have the aid and to enjoy the close association of the Foundation. We are deeply grateful.

In December 1959 the Foundation granted $75,000 over the three-year period 1960-62 for support of our general operations. Because we have during these years endeavored to keep you fully informed regarding our program, our achievements, and our plans, there is perhaps nothing that we can suitably add. We would, of course, be pleased to prepare any supplementary data you may wish. The Council will not until mid-November approve a budget for 1963. It will, however, be held as close to the 1962 budget of $175,395 as increased responsibilities permit.

Multiple year assistance, as the Foundation provided in 1959, is, we need not tell you, a tremendous advantage to us. It gives us the security to make plans, and it decreases measurably the time the staff

must take from program efforts in order to raise funds. We are hopeful, therefore, that the Foundation, if it acts favorably on our request for renewal, may grant $75,000, to be paid in equal installments during the calendar years 1963, 1964, and 1965.

In December 1959 the Foundation granted $25,000 for distribution in 1960 as grants-in-aid to the Councils on Human Relations. Subsequently, the grant was renewed for the period July 1961 - June 1963 in the amount of $50,000. Enclosed with this letter is a memorandum summarizing highlights in the work and accomplishments of the groups during this past year; also enclosed is a statement of funds raised by the groups in 1961 and to date this year. As you will recall, we distribute the grants on a formula which takes heavy account of the success of each group in raising funds locally; there is also enclosed a table showing the allocation of grants-in-aid for 1962. At this writing, it appears that all will be distributed as authorized, except in the case of Florida, which will not be able to claim its full amount.

During the past year, a Mississippi Council on Human Relations has been formed and has, under remarkably staunch leadership, survived its first heavy attacks. As yet it has no staff, few opportunities for positive program, and consequently little need for funds. As months go by, all three of these conditions may, hopefully, change, and we want to be prepared to assist when needed. Also during this year a promising start has been made in the formation of a New Orleans Council which may in time grow into or be the nucleus of a Louisiana Council. Here too we want to be able to help financially when needed.

We request, therefore, that the Foundation grant $50,000 for the program of the Councils on Human Relations, to be paid in equal installments during the calendar years 1963 and 1964.

As of December 31, 1962 we shall have on account $12,500 as the undistributed portion of your grant for the period July 1961 - June 1963. According to the terms of the grant, these funds are, in other words, to be used to carry on the grant-in-aid program through half of next year. As indicated by the paragraph above, we are requesting that you consider putting the program on a calendar year basis. We further request that the Foundation authorize us during 1963 and 1964 to use, in our best judgment, this $12,500 in either or both of the following ways:

a. for assistance to council on human relations work in Louisiana and Mississippi;

b. as added support in other states to councils which have displayed or may display special strength.

Whatever portion of the $12,500 were not used for these purposes would be reported to you for instructions as to disposition.

We make this request for discretionary use of the $12,500 because of expansion of opportunities in Louisiana and Mississippi, and because the recent record of some councils--particularly those of Georgia and Virginia--evidences growing responsibilities for community leadership, and consequently growing financial needs.

With best regards,

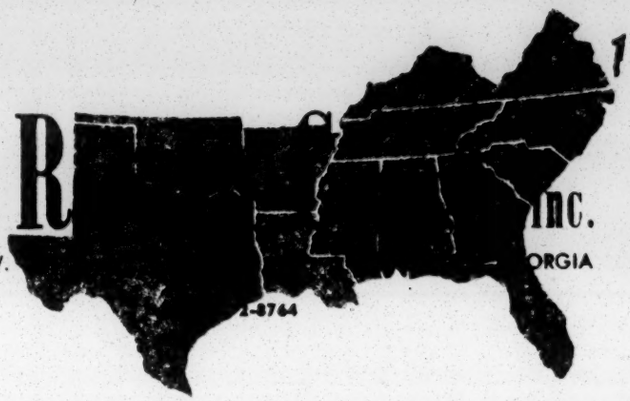
Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosures

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. [illegible] ORGIA
[illegible]-8764



A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

June 5, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council I acknowledge with deep gratitude your letter of May 31, 1962 notifying us that the Field Foundation has appropriated $75,000 to the general support of the Council for a three-year period beginning January 1, 1963.

I have had an opportunity to inform our Executive Committee of this renewal of the Foundation's support.. I have been directed by my Executive Committee to convey to you and the others on the Foundation's board the Committee's grateful acknowledgement of your contribution to the welfare and progress of the South.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

December 19, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice Presiden
The Field Foundation, I
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

On behalf of the S Regional Council I acknowledge with deep gratitu letter of December 17, 1962 informing us of the Foun s action in granting $50,000 to us for alloca ong state and local councils of human relations for t ty-four month period beginning January, 1963.

We acknowledge also receipt of the check for $25,000 as payment of the 1963 grant; our official receipt is enclosed.

We acknowledge als deep appreciation, your notation that we may use 1963 and 1964, as requested, the $12,500 b f previous grants for assistance to state coun in Mississippi and Louisiana and to encourage the of especially outstanding councils elsewhere.

We have come to think Field Foundation not only as a financial suppor as a full partner in the

work that we and others are endeavoring in the South. I hope you and the other members of the Corporation will call on us whenever we can be of special service to you, and will never hesitate to give us your comments or suggestions regarding the problems with which we work.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosure

December 19, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

I want to send a personal word of thanks to you, not only for our grant but for your continued deep concern in this whole field. I read your recent letter to the editor of the New York Times Magazine, and also the reply of the Times writer. His recognition that the Field Foundation is "different" is shared by many and I think it is a great testimonial to you that Field has labored so greatly in better human relations.

Let me add, also, a personal word of appreciation for your action in regard to the Alabama and Virginia councils.

I hope you may be in Nashville. If you are, it would give me a chance to learn more about your thinking in regard to the lawyers' panel. If you are not planning to be there, perhaps we can talk about this some over the telephone.

With best wishes for the Season to you and Mrs. Hahn,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

12/17/62

Les:

Your check for 1963 for general support will reach you later this month.

Grants include:

Alabama Council -- $6,000 - 1963
Virginia Council -- $30,000 - consulting service for employers -- 15 - 10 - 5 -- over 3 years
Episcopal Society -- $13,400 for 2 years for help with Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice -- $5,000 a year for 1963 and 1964 for Southern Field Service
Inter-Citizens' Committee -- $10,000 for 1963

Max

Maxwell Hahn

PS #1 We are satisfied to have SRC use the $12,500 balance mentioned in my letter in Miss or La in 1963 + 1964 or to aid state Council.

P.S. #2 -- I also have a modest amount, in case the panel of lawyers' idea gets off the ground.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 17, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is an official notification of the Field Foundation's action in voting to contribute the sum of $50,000 to the Southern Regional Council for allocation among state and local councils on human relations for the twenty-four month period beginning January, 1963. The Foundation's check in the amount of $25,000, payable to the order of Southern Regional Council and representing the first of two payments, is enclosed.

H
$25,000.00
CR
12/18/62
R HA

The following resolution covers the terms of the Field Foundation grant:

> RESOLVED that the Corporation appropriate and contribute to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia, the sum of $50,000, or as much thereof as shall be needed, in addition to the sum appropriated at the May 28, 1962 meeting of the Board of Directors, for the twenty-four month period beginning January, 1963, to be paid as follows: $25,000 in December, 1962 and $25,000 in January, 1964.

You understand, of course, that in making a grant for this project, there is no implied commitment that the Foundation will make additional support available at the expiration of the award period. The board members are very much interested in this project and would like to be kept informed of developments. If public announcement of the grant is made, we would like to have a copy of the news release or article.

Please send us an official acknowledgment of the enclosed check and your acceptance of the terms of the grant as set forth in this letter.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enc. (1 check)

File

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 21, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your personal word of thanks. I am flying to Nashville on American Airlines jet Thursday afternoon, the 27th, and will stay over until an early morning plane Saturday, the 29th. It will be good to talk with you.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

OK
Dec. 27
EAL
#134 DCA - dinner
6:10 pm 6:18 pm

Ret. Dec. 29
EAL #131 3:35 pm - 5:42 pm.

December 27, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

On behalf of the Council I acknowledge receipt of the Foundation's check for $25,000, representing the first payment on the grant authorized May 28, 1962 for our general operations; our official receipt is enclosed.

Our customary gratitude and appreciation for the Field Foundation accompany this acknowledgement.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosure: receipt

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 26, 1962

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I am enclosing the Field Foundation check in the amount of $25,000 representing the first payment on the grant authorized at the Foundation's meeting May 28, 1962. May I have a written acknowledgment of the receipt of this check which is to be applied toward the Council's activities during the calendar year 1963.

$25,000.00
12/27/62
RHA

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enc. (1 check)

file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION INC.

1964

N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, New York	75,000.00
National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, Washington	22,500.00
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, Chicago	20,000.00
National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, New York	10,000.00
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., New York (For Student Interracial Ministry)	3,000.00
National Urban League, New York	20,000.00
New York City Housing Authority	10,000.00
New York University School of Law, New York	15,000.00
Penn Community Services, Inc., Frogmore, South Carolina	50,000.00
Puerto Rican Forum, Inc., New York	10,000.00
South Carolina Council on Human Relations, Columbia	34,000.00
South Oakwoods Community Council, Chicago	36,000.00
Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia	
For Voter Education Project	75,000.00
For state councils	75,000.00
Southern University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana	2,500.00
Spelman College, Atlanta, Georgia	
For faculty to enroll in special programs which emphasize quality of methods and practices of instruction	25,000.00
For scholarship assistance	25,000.00
Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi	
For Summer Remedial Program for entering freshmen	25,000.00
For Social Science Tutorial Institute	15,000.00
For Social Science Laboratory Projects	5,500.00
For Citizenship Work-Study Project	40,000.00
Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama	10,000.00
United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, New York	
For field supervisor to assist with follow-up work of the Citizenship Education Program	7,500.00
For Inter-Citizens Committee of Birmingham	10,000.00
University of California, Berkeley	10,000.00
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee	30,000.00
Urban League of Greater New York	25,000.00
Young Women's Christian Association, National Board, New York	75,000.00

January 20, 1969

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Les:

I realize that it will be some time before you get this note, but I did want you to know how very much I, Glenda and Bob appreciate your comment about the school report.

The report has gotten considerable attention and a number of comments from our friends -- most of them favorable, but some critical. Therefore, your opinion is all the more important to us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

January 17, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Before getting away from the office for awhile I do want to put on record to you my high regard for the special report "Lawlessness and Disorder". It is a good job of the kind that I believe is badly needed, and I wish you would give my respects to Glenda and Bob.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

P.S. We would appreciate receiving another copy.

2 Copies Mailed:
"Lawlessness & Disorder" (School Report.) 1-20-69
mj

file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

February 18, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Responding to your letter of February 11th, about the Henry Mayer project, I mentioned this to Les in a telephone conversation and he said he'd be giving you a ring on this. If you don't hear from him shortly, please let me know.

The snow up here is about gone, so it's o.k. to venture north some time - if you can get out of your own snow!

Best to you all, Paul.

Sincerely,

George Loft
Associate

GL/ig

February 26, 1969

file

MEMORANDUM

To: Members of the Board

From: Leslie W. Dunbar

Some Thoughts About Our Program

For several years, the issues and positions of the civil rights and allied movements were fairly clear cut and widely understood. The few dissenters from the consensus had a way, in fact, of seeming to confirm its validity: thus, for example, Robert Williams turned toward common cause with the Cuban and Chinese Communists - and we* felt, therefore, that we could dismiss his challenge, and the far more important challenge of Malcolm X seemed, in the months prior to his death, to be changing into a reassuring migration of his opinions toward the mainstream.

This consensus began to break about the Summer of 1965, and by now is in shambles. Moreover, not only have the issues of poverty become inextricably connected with the classical civil rights issues (and that this is so is, incidentally, a genuine and hard-won achievement), but they now have to make their terms with other social concerns: peace, university reform, a new style of youthful alienation. All of these, including the classical civil rights causes, specially and prominently involve youth, and there are, I am sure, very profound implications to that fact, but ones that I cannot explore.

All of this makes for a time of remarkable and even amazing confusion. A welter of voices and actions crowd all of us, and even the most vocal and the most active participants seem frequently not able to maintain their intended course. There is, consequently, as a primary technical problem the difficulty of focussing on issues rather than words.

This is doubly hard, because words were so important to the earlier civil rights movement, which was a singing, preaching, introspective movement. In fact, let me say here that one of the truly bad mistakes we could make would be to forget that in many places - particularly in the South - the movement hasn't fundamentally changed: our preoccupation with grisly new-style problems ~~must not be allowed to~~ blind us to the ongoing work and needs of non-ideological communities of people, in the country but also in cities, South and non-South.

---

* Throughout, the words "we" and "us" are used to include all who may want at each place to be among their antecedents.

Perhaps the key word we must contend with is "integration," and I think there is just nothing we can do with it, and it should be retired. We never in the past knew what we meant by it anyhow, and as long as we keep it around we shall be contending over malformed issues. "Segregation" we could and can fairly well define. We felt we needed an opposite for it, found "desegregation" to be too negative to satisfy us, and came up with "integration." But we never really clarified the word, though we did occasionally hold conversations with ourselves about its meaning, not, however, with the frequency or ideological pretense now brought to deciphering the meaning of "black power." I suggest that we abandon the word. It operates today as a hurdle to communication, not as a clear passage.

To carry that thought one step further, I doubt that there is any social gain in the debates now raging over integration vs. separatism, or black power, or black nationalism. People should, of course, talk about what they want and feel a need to discuss, and I am trying to suggest not a curtailment of discussion but an eschewal of certain labels that have become valueless.

The goal now is unchanged from what it has always been: a society that benefits and releases persons, and does not dominate and handicap persons. It is, and will be, a hard and distant goal to attain. Negroes were a kind of sub-foundation of American society, and they - as well as Spanish-surname Americans and American Indians - cannot be brought, or cannot come, into full participation in and benefit from the society without there being some huge structural changes: indeed, when a sub-foundation stirs, the collapse of the whole building can be prevented only by extraordinary skill and care.

With change as profound as this, we have got to expect distressful and ugly events. There is a little novel about a return from schizophrenia, and the words of the novel's title, which the doctor says to the recovering patient as she pulls back from her first early confrontations with reality, are, "I never promised you a rose garden." Nor will this society, in its recovery, find one either.

I think we must let cultural forms evolve. What is essential is that we not get hung up on them, but keep our minds on the public responsibility: the necessity of opening up this society to the interests of every person within it. Our concern must focus not on the behavior (or, if you will, misbehavior) of Negroes and young people, but on the policies, structures, and practices of this society. This is what I think will be so important as well as difficult in the months and years ahead, and what is the special responsibility of all of us charged with making decisions that affect other people.

I don't want to be misunderstood as minimizing the importance of behavior. A most ominous recent development has been the semi-military organizations and spirits springing up among some Negroes and some Mexican-Americans, rivalling similar organizations and spirits among reactionary and racist whites. I have small tolerance for white and black intellectuals who are now, some of them even rather gleefully, condoning and encouraging this sort of thing, or any other manifestations of violence, vandalism,

and rowdyism. To condone or excuse what is irrational and brutalizing is true trahison des clercs. But - and this I think is the hard task facing us - we must not let misbehavior deter us from fulfilling public responsibilities. We should never, for example, refuse to make needed reforms as a punishment for the use of violence in pressing for them; to do that is to punish the innocent along with the guilty.

Somewhat similar reasoning, I think, applies to the wretched question of so-called (and badly called) black anti-Semitism. In the South, we learned that there was considerable benefit from Negro and white people speaking frankly to each other, and that the benefit did not necessarily vanish or even fall off when the speaking reached a stage of harshness. None of us is going to find this current mudslinging pleasant, but there may be no social hurt and there may be some valuable air-clearing when Negro and Jewish people, so long as they are representative of at least some rooted community opinions, say to each other whatever it is they have on their minds. That is not generally the way, I think, that new prejudices or new distrusts are likely to be created, but is possibly a way that old ones, such as they are, may dissipate themselves and viable new relationships be created. But again, our responsibility is that we not, explicitly or impliedly, condone or excuse. The Metropolitan Art Museum seems to me to have been, for example, unpardonably irresponsible in putting its authoritative seal of tolerance on Negro resentment of Jews, by its selection of a particular essay to introduce its Harlem exhibit.

But I would nevertheless insist that even the Metropolitan Art Museum is less irresponsible than those Negro civil rights leaders who from time to time criticize the misbehavior of the so-called (and badly called) "militants," and those white editors and officeholders and agency heads who then automatically applaud them for being "responsible" and "courageous." They are not being either, I think, not unless they go on from criticism to do something which these particular spokesmen almost never do: that is, to articulate rationally what the "militants" have tried in their way to express, which is the intolerable misery visited on so very, very many in this society for having been born black, and their just anger at society and its leaders for perpetuating this condition.

So if we must not, in any event, condone violence, neither can we afford to ignore such a warning as Norman Mailer gave us a few years ago in a remarkable essay, "The White Negro":

> What the liberal cannot bear to admit is the hatred beneath the skin of a society so unjust that the amount of collective violence buried in the people is perhaps incapable of being contained, and therefore if one wants a better world one does well to hold one's breath, for a worse world is bound to come first, and the dilemma may well be this: given such hatred, it must either vent itself nihilistically or become turned into the cold murderous liquidations of the totalitarian state.

I just want to say to you that I don't think we can, with present certainty, deny that this may be the dilemma. But I also want to say to you that my belief is that we are not - not yet, at any rate - confronted by that dilemma; that it is still abundantly possible to fashion liberal policies that can undo the hatred by making this a society that seeks to offer benefit and release to every person. This - and not defense against or correction of the misconduct of the weak (for that, without exception, is what the present dissidents are) - is the first responsibility of governments, universities, corporations, foundations, and all those other great institutions which make "public" policies.

Because we are a democratic society, liberal policies must be liberally formed and carried out. Accordingly, it seems to me that one of the few genuinely hopeful new currents is the one toward what the old-SNCC staffers and CDGM workers called "participatory democracy," and what in New York and elsewhere now is being called "community control."

Now again I don't want to be misunderstood. In contrast to the participatory movements which have grown from the seeds old-SNCC planted, we have now also full-blown schemes coming out of the think-tanks of Cambridge, Washington, and other places. Commonly, they are called plans for "community development" or "community corporations." We should look at these schemes on their merits, of course, but I confess to an ingrained suspicion of them. I suspect the originators of being modern-day St. Simonians, Fourierists, and Owenites, and I think men have been down that muddy road before.

I need to return, however, to an assertion made more strongly than I feel is warranted. I said above that Mailer's dilemma did not seem to me unavoidable, that liberal policies and methods can succeed at bringing our historically submerged minorities into a true citizenship. I want to qualify that, and fundamentally so. Policies and practices are formed and carried out within the framework of larger policies and practices. Each day, I have stronger doubts that we can meet and master these social and economic problems as long as we are committed to the national policies and practices of war-making, and armaments production and spread, and to steady population growth. Those are, I think, anti-humane policies and objectives, and within the social circle defined by their radii the needs of humanity are not likely to be served. To be more clear, I am doubtful that issues of race and poverty can be mastered within the context created by the present foreign and military policies of this country; and I do not think advances we may now or later make toward more humane social policies and practices are likely to keep pace with the new complications created by a population growth at present rates.

It seems to me that we are, in this country today, like an infinite number of jig-saw puzzles, all jumbled together. The sets were of all sizes and colors and patterns, and the pieces are some big and some small, and some complex and some simple. In this incredible jumble, we somehow

have to find fit with each other. Many of the Negroes and other minority groups among us have a belief that they have to put their own set together, and that they can do it, and that they will thereby find "identity." Most of the whites among us have long since given up faith in ever finding their particular set, and each piece seeks, if he seeks at all, for an approximate fit with such other pieces as he comes across, and his identity in that.

I don't think we need care which identity a person seeks, only that he have a valid chance to find it. No matter what we do in the way of social and economic policies, he will have no chance if he is to be killed in war, or if his life is distorted by the national exigencies of war-making and armaments production; or if there are so many more persons created that the crowd pressing against him and against the resources of the environment becomes - as it already is in places of the world - simply too great to cope with.

I want to say in conclusion that the above remarks are intended not only to endorse what Martin Luther King, Jr. had come to understand: that one cannot be both for his "dream" and for war, any aggressive war. They suggest also what has been the theme I have hoped to establish in this memo, and that is that we must - in considering the present state of our race relations - concentrate our attention on public (or societal) policies, and not on individual or group behavior.

* * *

What does this mean, if anything, for the Field Foundation? Some of you may have already seen it as advocating that we continue doing what we have been doing, and in the main I do advocate that. From the above, I would, however, draw certain particular emphases and implications.

1. I believe we should continue to emphasize programs such as the following which are aimed at equipping minority peoples to exercise leverage on public policy making:

- legal programs
- voter registration and education
- entry of minority students into the law schools and bar of their geographic areas
- training of community leadership
- MARC and the Clark College Washington Project
- All Indian Pueblo Council

2. I believe that, just as our resources require that programs such as the above be selective, so we should also selectively work with non-ideological, participatory community groups engaged in economic or educational programs; that we should do this both from the standpoint of helping develop new social structures and also of helping create new constituencies to which public policies must become responsive:

examples from among our recent grants might be the Poor Peoples Corporation in Mississippi, the Joan of Arc school complex in New York, and Harlem Prep in New York.*

3. I believe we should continue, and increase, our readiness to support projects of advocacy. The hunger campaign has shown the possibilities of effectiveness. The health projects we are engaged in have equal, if not greater, promise. (It is not at all far-fetched to suppose that an expanded food program and an expanded program of health services, joined by a nationalizing of public welfare, could become, in effect, the way this country will realize a guaranteed basic income.)

4. I believe we should be on the look for scholars or other writers whose work promises to have effect on public policies; e.g. we hope for that in the work of Zinberg (drugs) and Caudill (mining and welfare).

5. I believe that we should continue our special interest in Mississippi. For several reasons: the historic importance of that state to the civil rights movement; the Foundation's own long and conspicuous involvement, and the need to stick to work once begun; the fluid structure of that state, so that there are unusual opportunities for accomplishment.

6. One of the main causes of our present unease is intellectual confusion. I believe that we should - for practical as well as other purposes - be ready to support especially promising efforts to clarify goals and thinking; in short, that we not only are right to assist an Erik Erikson but should be receptive to other opportunities that may come along.

7. What of our special concern for children? I suggest

- that we continue to emphasize environmental welfare:
- that in all of the above six areas, we specially look for projects that relate to the education and care of children, so that a <u>larger</u> share of our total program be in the children's field in the future
- that early childhood education be a particular interest of the Foundation, and that sound and creative projects in that area should be of interest to the Foundation, <u>even if they do not fit within one of the above six</u>

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* The program emphases described in numbers 1 and 2 above both aim at a strengthening of the power of minority groups to represent themselves. That seems to me the best - indeed, the only satisfactory - way of preparing to meet the problems of the urban and rural ghettos. Put differently, I doubt that this country can reach wise policies for the political, economic and community development of minority peoples until they themselves are effectively equipped to take part in the decision-making.

8. No matter how well I or any one else describes program interests, there will always turn up enticing projects that fall outside those descriptions; we should not feel embarrassed about undertaking such.

9. There is a great deal of current interest in economic development, and the Foundation is already pledged to participate with other foundations in the Cooperative Assistance Fund. George Loft is drafting some thoughts and recommendations about the whole area, and they will be presented to the Board. For the time being, I believe our C.A.F. involvement should suffice, except perhaps for the kind of community-creating enterprises mentioned in #2. My general feeling is that this or any other foundation steps off into very deep and dark waters when it seeks anybody's economic development, and that foundations do better, therefore, to walk hand-in-hand, as with C.A.F.

10. Finally, I believe we should recognize frankly that the old civil rights movement is over, and that organizations which once had great usefulness may now have fulfilled their careers. We have been a consistent supporter of the NAACP, the National Urban League, some local Urban Leagues, the Southern Regional Council, the southern state Councils on Human Relations, the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and others. I believe we should examine each such organization to determine if our further support of it would be in the best interest of (a) stronger public policies and (b) greater citizen participation in public life. I would favor contributing in the future (after our present commitments expire) to these old and battle-tested groups <u>only</u> for projects and <u>only</u> if the group and the project were clearly serving those two purposes.

file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

May 9, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I did not get page two of the April 21st memo from the Committee of Black Employees.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar

/la

Field Fd. 1969

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME:

Foundations and Tax Exemption - 1969

REGARDING:

Letter from Leslie W. Dunbar (Field Foundation) to Representative Wilbur D. Mills re: Field Board's letter to Representative Wilbur D. Mills, Ways and Means Committee on tax status and foundations.

DATE:

June 9, 1969

SEE:
(NAME OR SUBJECT)

U. S. Government: "House Ways and Means Committee: Foundations and Tax Exemption"

Tentative appointments for
Leslie W. Dunbar
July 18, 1969

Karen
~~Carolyn~~
Miss ~~Wm.~~, Karen
Secy.

Mrs.
1. Dorothy Cotton
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
Phone: 522-1420

1:00pm - 3:00pm Confirmed

2. Charles Prejean Miss Lillian Ashby - Secy.
Federation of Southern Cooperatives
52 Fairlie Street
Atlanta, Georgia
Phone: 524-4266

~~3:30pm - 4:30 pm~~ 4:00-5:00 Confirmed

3. John McCowan Mrs. Evelyn Sutton - Secy.
Georgia Council on Human Relations
~~52 Fairlie Street~~ 919 Atl. Nat'l. Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia 50 Whitehall Street
Phone: ~~525-6468~~ 584

~~4:35pm - 5:00~~ 3:30 - 4:00 confirmed

NOTE: Chuck Morgan is scheduled to be in Pamona, California July 17 and 18.

NOTE:ALSO: Reservations are confirmed for LWD at Mariott -- 3 singles, July 17 and 18 -- marked fairly early arrival.

Dinner evening of July 17th with John Lewis
Dinner evening of July 18th with John Morris

Bring up July 16 for reconsideration

via air mail

July 9, 1969

Mrs. Lillian Alcock
Secretary to the Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Mrs. Alcock:

I have gotten this morning a memo from the ACLU office stating that Chuck Morgan will now see Les when he is here July 18. Chuck will not be making the California trip. I have not attempted to set up a formal appointment with Chuck, since both he and Les will be having dinner with John Morris on the evening of the 18th. This, I suspect, will give them ample time to talk.

If you feel it necessary, you might pass this information on to Les.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

via air mail

July 7, 1969

Mrs. Lillian Alcock
Secretary to the Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Mrs. Alcock:

On Thursday of last week Mr. Dunbar requested, by telephone, that I set up several appointments for him for Friday, July 18th. He indicated that he would be away from the office by the time these appointments were confirmed, and asked that I pass the information on to you so that you could get the information to him.

Appointments are confirmed for Mr. Dunbar as follows:

1. Mrs. Dorothy Cotton
   Southern Christian Leadership Conference
   334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
   Atlanta
   Phone: 522-1420
   (Time: 1:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m.)

10:00 Am.

2. Mr. John McCowan
Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
~~52 Fairlie Street~~ 919 Atl. Nat'l. Bldg.
Atlanta 50 Whitehall Street
Phone: 525-6468
(Time: 3:30 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.) 3:00 pm 2:30 pm

3. Mr. Charles Prejean
Executive Director
Federation of Southern Cooperatives
52 Fairlie Street
Atlanta
Phone: 524-4266
(Time: ~~4:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.~~) 3:30-4:00

Mr. Dunbar had wanted to see Mr. Charles Morgan of the ACLU. Please tell him that Chuck is scheduled to be in Pomona, California July 17 and 18.

We all look forward to seeing Mr. Dunbar when he is here.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

P. S. -- I'm sure he received my wire of Thursday, July 3, but just in case he did not reservations are confirmed for him for 3 singles, Marriott, July 17 and 18, marked fairly early arrival.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

RECEIVED
AUG 25 1969

August 21, 1969

Mr. Mervyn Dymally
Institute for Black Elected Officials
c/o Metropolitan Applied Research Center
1819 H Street, N.W., Suite 1125
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Mr. Dymally:

Thank you for the invitation to attend, as an observer, the Institute for Black Elected Officials, meeting in Washington September 11-14. I look forward to doing so, and enclose herewith my registration form and our check for $25.00 for registration fee.

I must say, however, that I do this with some mixed feelings. I am mindful of the fact that many of the black elected officials, particularly in the South, hold office because of foundation financed voter registration campaigns since 1961. I am also mindful that foundations are now being regularly approached by non-southern cities and groups for support of voter registration work. And I am sadly and perplexedly mindful that few and weak have been the voices of black elected officials - including black congressmen - in opposition to H.R.12370 which, as it has passed the House of Representatives, will drastically limit if not end altogether the possibility of further effective foundation assistance.

And I note also that, insofar as one can make out from the tentative program which accompanied your invitation, the planners of your conference intend to take no note of H.R.12370, even though the Senate Finance Committee will be holding hearings on it while your conference goes on.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar

Enc.
/a
cc: Kenneth Clark
Vernon Jordan

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028

file

September 9, 1969

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

I have finished The South and the Nation, and the first-- and most important - thing is to compliment you, very, very much. It is extraordinarily good, a work of sustained intelligence. There is nothing facile or clever about it and, therefore, given the softness of the reading public's mind about the South, may not be popular. With good handling by Pantheon it could be, I believe, because much of the writing is a delight.

It is not a perfect book, of course, and the attached sheets contain a number of small questions and suggestions. The least satisfying sections to me were Part II and the "cities" section of Part III. My relative dissatisfaction here derives from what I believe is the book's most (indeed, only) dangerous tendency, and that is an over-abundance of opinions. Elsewhere you maintain good control. Indeed, the strength of the book is the working over by your mind of a great deal of material that you know and understand so well. This mid-section contains in its forepart a lot of statistical and other data which you handle without distinction and, after that, material on the cities (notably, Atlanta) which you know perhaps too well. In the ensuing and very fine section on "towns" you are at your best, moving deftly but also deeply through your observed material. In the "cities", you stop your movement rather often, it seemed to me, to cast about with this, that, or the other - and often not important - personal opinion that a reader (this one, for example) often might not want to accept in just the way you have stated them, and yet also feel the matter not worth argument or exception-taking. I have no other fault (other than the attached nit-picks) to find with the book.

As I read I noted "especially good" after a number of sections: the Introduction; page 6-7, "Irony---paranoia"; chapter 1, section 2,5; chapter II, sections 2,3,4,5,6,7, (in fact, the whole of Part I is superb); page 111-115, "Paul---school", page 123-124, Villainy---all"; chapter III sections 7,8; page 173-183, "As---Columbia"; chapter IV, sections 6,10,12; chapter V, sections 1,2,4,8 (including page 330-331; chapter VI, sections 1,2,4; page 381-end, "What---inseparable". also pg 213-220,

"Part --- Wind"

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028

I would have included Chapter VI, section 3 except for two rather key reservations about your argument: one, without myself assessing the whole, I am convinced that there are in metropolitan New York (and I therefore assume elsewhere in the non-South) significantly large and powerful numbers of people who are racist by criteria you apply to the South; and two, if you are in this section asserting or predicting the essential failure of the southern political and co-op movements, I think you would be as yet incorrect or pre-mature.

But it is a grand, meaty book. With your large view and your big conclusions I am in agreement. I learned much from reading the book. Others will too, and that is the most that can be said for a book. It is even an intensely practical book, in that it could shape the outlook that Southerners and non-Southerners (and both including office holders) have of the region.

I read most of it while on a two week vacation at Chincoteague, Virginia. Tony came up. He had brought with him some reading, including an old book borrowed from the Goose Creek Community Center, Clay County, Kentucky. Title and author: A Fool's Errand and The Invisible Empire, by Albion W. Tourgee, 1880 (1879). I read you in the morning and it in the afternoon. Have you ever read it, or heard of it? I had not. It is some book, a novel of Reconstruction and the K.K.K., plus an SRC-type report as a sort of appendix. If you have not read it, you must. For one reason, your analysis of Washington's policy on school desegregation and Tourgee's analysis of Washington's policy on Reconstruction seem to me almost identical.

Again, congratulations.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

CC: Paul Anthony

file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

September 16, 1969

I am very pleased to inform you that Dr. Milton J. E. Senn has been elected, as of October 1, 1969, Vice President for Child Studies of the Field Foundation. In this office, Dr. Senn will give a substantial portion of his time to program activities of the Foundation.

Dr. Senn is Sterling Professor of Pediatrics and Psychiatry at Yale University, from which he retires in January 1970. From 1948 to 1966 he was also Director of the Yale Child Study Center. He has been a member of the Foundation's Board of Directors for a number of years and as an officer will continue to serve on the Board.

0652

9-19-69

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

October 20, 1969

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Les:

I have just learned that by a vote of seven to two, Michael DeVito was denied tenure by the professors of the Emory Law School. The document in defense of this cited such matters as an "abrasive personality." It did not refer to academic competence. He will, presumably, be leaving in June. Thought you would want to know and might want to make your own inquiry.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

October 24, 1969

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York

Dear Les:

We are, to some degree, helping the Day Care Centers of the cooperative in Selma. They have received from our emergency fund $1,000. Through his contingency fund, John Lewis has made a grant of $200, and will shortly make an additional grant of $820 to enable them to install a heating system.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028

October 21, 1969

Mrs. Theoda Smith, Director
Orrville Farmer's Cooperative, Inc.
Day Care Centers
1515 St. Phillip Street
Selma, Alabama 36701

Dear Mrs. Smith:

I wish very much that I could write a different letter to you, but we are not going to be able to help with your Day Care Center at this time. We considered it at length carefully, but we simply had too many other commitments just now.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

/lg

Fidelity Onion Skin
100% COTTON

Bcc: Paul Anthony

P.S. Can somebody find some help for these good people?

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

November 19, 1969

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

The anonymous member of your staff who thinks you "could live with" the House bill may have to find out if you can live without the Field Foundation, if the most timid or conservative of the five supporters you have to have puts restrictions on you that we cannot agree to.

Why do you all do this?

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar

cc: Paul Anthony

/la

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028

~~AE~~
MJ-file

November 24, 1969

Mr. Arthur C. Campbell, Associate Director
Housing and Planning Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Arthur:

I enjoyed very much our visit last week, and I hope you found your stay in New York both educational and pleasurable. Come back again.

I like your ideas regarding the Urban Planning Project. As I told you, I had myself always conceived of it as being an advocacy project closely linked to community groups, and so I have no difficulty with your plans.

Good luck to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

cc: Paul Anthony

Lina Goldman

Noted in money book 12-12-69

November 24, 1969

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Thank you sincerely for the information that the Foundation has renewed the grant for our Urban Planning Project. We continue to be grateful.

I hope you and Art Campbell had a good conversation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

November 17, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I am glad to be able to inform you that the Foundation, at a recent meeting and in response to your proposal of October 20th, has granted $40,000 as a first renewal for the Urban Planning Project. This is for calendar year 1970 and our check for that amount will reach you shortly after the first of the year.

As you will recall from our letter of December 3, 1968, the Foundation is prepared to consider one more renewal of this grant.

If any public announcement of the grant is made we would appreciate receiving a copy.

With all good wishes to you, Moreland Smith, Arthur Campbell, and the others at Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

/ig

Noted in money book 12-12-69 wf

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

November 17, 1969

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director-Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Vernon:

I am glad to be able to inform you that the Foundation, at a recent meeting and in response to your proposal of October 15, has granted $125,000 toward the 1970 expenses of the Voter Education Project.

Our check for that amount will reach you shortly after the first of the year, provided there is no legal impediment to the grant at that time. That proviso could include either a Congressional prohibition or crippling inhibition of your program. It would also include any crippling restrictions that might conceivably be imposed on your program as a result of some such measure as that contained in the House bill, which would require you to gain for your program the approval of a number of funding sources. These are matters that you and I should stay in close communication about.

I need not tell you that the Board of Directors of Field Foundation has the continuing conviction that voter registration and voter education activities, as carried on by your project, have been of tremendous benefit to this country. We think that Congress would do a profound disservice by curbing your work and that of similar programs elsewhere in the country.

If any public announcement of the grant is made we would appreciate receiving a copy.

With all good wishes to you and your associates, not only in SRC but in all your cooperating organizations.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

/ig
cc: Paul Anthony

October 20, 1969

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Les:

Enclosed is a new proposal for the Urban Planning Project's work. I hope you find it more acceptable.

I am chagrined at my mistake. Had I taken the time to check with either Ruth or Jim, this would have been caught immediately. Not having done so reflects, in part, my wish to get something to you as soon as possible. More particularly, having found funds for Moreland's operation (a matter of some relief) I concentrated on recruiting Art and then getting his program going; therefore, my thinking in terms of the $20,000.

Whatever, it was quite a mistake. Thanks for giving me an opportunity to correct it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

A PROPOSAL TO THE FIELD FOUNDATION FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

October 20, 1969

This is to request the consideration of the Foundation for a renewal of its 1969 grant of $40,000 in support of a portion of the Urban Planning Project of the Council.

During 1969 these funds have been used approximately as follows: $15,000 of the grant has been used in support of the office of the project director, Moreland G. Smith, FAIA. $5,000 went in support of special research of interest to SRC and the Foundation being done by Mr. Henry Mayer of Washington, D. C. The remaining $20,000, in addition to allowing for use of some consultants and two summer interns, has enabled us to employ a young black planner, Mr. Arthur Campbell.

Mr. Campbell will shortly receive his Masters degree from the Georgia Institute of Technology, the first black to get this degree from that institution. We are very pleased with his work and anticipate that in about a year, at the retirement of Mr. Smith, Mr. Campbell will assume the responsibility of director of this program. He is currently on an Urban America tour of Western Europe and Russia.

Since his arrival, Mr. Campbell has concentrated on identifying self-help, model cities, and ghetto-located groups concerned with their neighborhoods and the policies which affect those neighborhoods. This summer we employed two architect student interns to work under Campbell's supervision in two model cities areas, one all black, one integrated, to determine the attitudes of youth in those communities and whether or not youth could be organized in these areas. (We felt the experiment very successful though the interns, not having changed the communities in a summer, were very discouraged with the results.)

In a sense, while the two men in Urban Planning work closely together, it could be said that Mr. Smith now works the uptown areas, dealing with mayors, planners, government officials and the like. Mr. Campbell works the downtown -- or crosstown -- section of the street finding local groups, encouraging them, assisting them in meeting the appropriate officials, assisting in the preparation of proposals or other documents, in general relating us and our resources to those now being most affected by public policies and official planning. This latter interest and involvement,

made possible by the Field Foundation grant, has added, we believe, an essential ingredient to our total program.

Toward future planning, we shall have completed by the end of the year a survey of low-income housing activity in the region. Presumably, such a survey will suggest further ways of assistance from us and priorities for our work in this area. Further, we want to improve our methods of providing local groups with a wide range of information including specific guidance on organization, and information on model cities, and other federally funded programs and some specific descriptions of particularly successful local groups.

All of this will be done within the context of our newly created Center for Resources Development. Whether or not we are able to find resources to substantially increase the activities of the Center, it exists administratively, nevertheless. Most importantly, this means that those seven persons now working in the general area of human and economic development are working more as a team and more together than in the past when separate projects tended to be highly specialized and largely unrelated to other

efforts here. We hope one of the results of this, for instance, will be that although Mr. Campbell will concentrate on low-income groups in urban areas, he will also work with Mr. John Lewis of the Community Organization Project and, on occasion, attempt to apply his skills and experience to problems of rural housing and problems of groups in rural areas attempting to improve their environments.

The requested $40,000 renewal figure will allow us to cover the costs of the two professional members of the staff, and that of a secretary. In addition, there will remain approximately $9,000 above those costs. Should this request be granted we should like to use these additional funds collectively, or alternately, to (1) make further use of special consultants, especially to provide assistance to emerging community groups, (2) to sponsor more interns next summer to work in Model Cities and other areas, and, (3) to explore the idea of employing, on a part-time-basis, one or more persons from a group and a community where there seems to be particular promise of achievement if an individual can devote enough time to that effort. (For this last possibility, we are particularly

interested in exploring the possibility of a part-time person working in the Model Cities neighborhood in Charlotte, North Carolina.) No portion of the requested grant would be used for Council general operations overhead.

We repeat that we feel this grant from the Field Foundation has added a new and essential ingredient to our overall work. One of the most important developments now taking place in the region is the rapidly mushrooming groups of poor people determined to have a voice in their own destinies and in their future environment. We hope the Foundation will find it possible to continue to fund this program.

-o-

October 14, 1969

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Enclosed is a brief proposal for renewal of support to the Urban Planning Project. I will discuss this with you on Thursday when I see you. Vernon hopes to have completed by the end of the day the proposal from VEP. Iffnot before, I shall attempt to bring that with me to New York Thursday.

Incidentally, Vernon has a sprained back and is hobbling with a cane. I have a broken rib -- the hell of it is we haven't even been in a good riot. Paper work is getting more dangerous every day.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

A PROPOSAL TO THE FIELD FOUNDATION FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

October 14, 1969

This is to request the consideration of the foundation for a renewal of its 1969 grant of $20,000 in support of a portion of the Urban Planning Project of the Council.

Because of this grant, we have been able this year to employ a young black planner, Mr. Arthur Campbell. Mr. Campbell will shortly receive his Masters degree from the Georgia Institute of Technology, the first Negro to get this degree. We are very pleased with his work and anticipate that in about a year, at the retirement of Mr. Moreland Smith, director of the Urban Planning Project, Mr. Campbell will assume that responsibility. He is currently on an Urban America tour of Western Europe and Russia.

Since his arrival, Mr. Campbell has concentrated on identifying self-help, model cities, and ghetto-located groups concerned with their neighborhoods and the policies which affect those neighborhoods. This summer, for instance, we employed two architect student interns to work under Campbell's supervision in two model cities areas, one all black, one integrated, to determine the attitudes of

youth in those communities and whether or not youth could be organized in these areas. (We felt the experiment very successful though the interns, not having changed the communities in a summer, were very discouraged with the results.)

In a sense, while the two men in Urban Planning work closely together, it could be said that Mr. Smith now works the uptown areas, dealing with mayors, planners, government officials and the like. Mr. Campbell works the downtown -- or crosstown -- section of the street finding local groups, encouraging them, assisting them in meeting the appropriate officials, assisting in the preparation of proposals or other documents, in general relating us and our resources to those now being most affected by public policies and official planning. This latter interest and involvement, made possible by the Field Foundation grant, has added, we believe, an essential ingredient to our total program.

Toward future planning, we shall have completed by the end of the year a survey of low-income housing activity in the region. Presumably, such a survey will suggest further ways of assistance from us and priorities for our work in this area. Further, we want to improve our methods

of providing local groups with a wide range of information including specific guidance on organization, and information, on model cities, and other federally funded programs and some specific descriptions of particularly successful local groups.

All of this will be done within the context of our newly created Center for Resources Development. Whether or not we are able to find resources to substantially increase the activities of the Center, it exists administratively, nevertheless. Most importantly, this means that those seven persons now working in the general area of human and economic development are working more as a team and more together than in the past when separate projects tended to be highly specialized and largely unrelated to other efforts here. We hope one of the results of this, for instance, will be that although Mr. Campbell will concentrate on low-income groups in urban areas, he will also work with Mr. John Lewis of the Community Organization Project and, on occasion, attempt to apply his skills and experience to problems of rural housing and problems of groups in rural areas attempting to improve their environments.

We repeat that we fell this grant from the Field Foundation has added a new and essential ingredient to our overall work. One of the most important developments now taking place in the region is the rapidly mushrooming groups of poor people determined to have a voice in their own destinies and in their future environment. We hope the Foundation will find it possible to continue to fund this program.

-o-

Via Air Mail

October 7, 1969

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Les:

Enclosed is the requested information on the Voter Project's financing for 1968 and 1969. Vernon will have to do the projection for 1970. However, I am sending these along since you indicated these were the two years in which you were most interested.

is it doing this?

One explanation about the Ford grant of 1969. Of this total of $284,000, $20,000 was given to help cover the December 1968 Black Elected Officials Conference. $180,000 is Ford's regular support for the year and $84,000 represents a special grant, finally acted on recently, to expand the staffs and services of the college centers. Of this amount, about $35,000 will be spent next year.

Hope to have the other proposals to you shortly.

Sincerely,

PA/mmj
enclosure

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1968

NAME AND ADDRESS	DATE		AMOUNT
The Ford Foundation 320 East 43rd Street New York, New York 10017	2/9/68		$ 24,000
Rockefeller Brothers Fund 30 Rockefeller Plaza New York, New York 10020	12/13/68		25,000
Taconic Foundation, Inc. 666 Fifth Avenue New York, New York 10019	10/28/68		5,000
Field Foundation, Inc. 100 East 85th Street New York, New York 10028	1/9/68 4/15/68	150,000 225,000	375,000
North Carolina Fund P. O. Box 687 Durham, North Carolina 27702	3/20/68		4,000
Aaron E. Norman Fund 575 Madison Avenue New York, New York 10022	12/30/68		7,000
New York Foundation 4 West 58th Street New York, New York 10019	7/2/68 11/1/68	5,000 5,000	10,000
Mary Reynolds-Babcock Foundation 102 Reynolda Village Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27106	10/18/68		15,000
Joseph D. Sapp 952 Bakersfield Road Columbia, South Carolina	7/25/68 8/23/68	500 500	1,000
The Abelard Foundation 575 Madison Avenue New York, New York 10022	10/31/68		2,500
Irwin-Sweeney-Miller 301 Washington Street Columbus, Indiana 47201	11/19/68		5,000
Philip M. Weightman 1700 Allison Street, N. E. Washington, D. C. 20017	1/31/68		1,000
Atlanta Inquirer 787 Parsons Street, S. W. Atlanta, Georgia 30314	12/30/68		500

NAME AND ADDRESS	DATE	AMOUNT
Robert R. Moton Memorial Foundation 22 East 54th Street New York, New York 10022	10/28/68	2,788.58
Individuals less than $100	1968	102.
TOTAL FOR 1968		$ 477,890.58

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
of SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1969

NAME AND ADDRESS	DATE	AMOUNT
Field Foundation, Inc. 100 East 85th Street New York, New York 10028	1/9/69	$ 125,000
Mary Reynolds-Babcock Foundation 102 Reynolda Village Winston-Salem, North Carolina	1/17/69	15,000
The Ford Foundation 320 East 43rd Street New York, New York 10017	1969	284,000
Carnegie Corporation of New York 437 Madison Avenue New York, New York 10022	4/7/69	34,500
New World Foundation 100 East 85th Street New York, New York 10028	7/14/69	25,000
Individuals less than $100		160
TOTAL FOR 1969		$ 483,660

Put in Grants book
file Joan Titus
Or. ref. 1
Joan Titus
filed 7-1

June 20, 1969

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Les:

This will acknowledge with our grateful appreciation the Foundation's grant of $10,000 in support of the work Miss Titus is doing on the Lillian Smith biography.

We are more than pleased to continue being a part of this important effort.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)
cc: Miss Joan Titus

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028

posted in money book

June 17, 1969

Miss Joan Titus
421 East 80 Street
New York, N. Y. 10021

Dear Joan:

Confirming our conversation of last week, I am glad to be able to inform you that the Foundation has granted an additional $10,000 toward the support of your biography of Lillian Smith. This will be a terminal grant.

ck. 6-19-69

It is our understanding that the Southern Regional Council will continue to act as the administrator of this grant. A copy of this letter is, therefore, going to Paul Anthony, along with our check for the full amount of the award.

If any public announcement of this grant is made we would appreciate receiving a copy.

Members of the board were moved greatly by your recent letter telling not only of your progress but some of your thoughts in working out an understanding of the woman we all honor.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar

Enc.
cc: Paul Anthony
Charles Silberman

Fidelity Onion Skin

Posted 5/6/69

March 10, 1969

Mr. George Loft
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear George:

This will acknowledge with our grateful appreciation the Foundation's contribution of $20,000 in support of our Urban Planning Program.

I shall be in New York on March 24th and will check with your office that morning to determine if you are available.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

March 7, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

We were pleased to learn from your letter of February 21st that you are now prepared to proceed with your expanded Urban Planning Program. In accordance with our letter of December 3, 1968, we are enclosing our check to your order for $20,000. Would you please have receipt of this check acknowledged for our records?

With good wishes to you and the Urban Planning Program staff.

Sincerely,

George Loft
Associate

Enc.
/la

20,000
3/10/69
km

February 21, 1969

Mr. George Loft
The Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear George:

Enclosed is a staff proposal for consolidation of our interests in economic development, and some expansion of those interests. As a portion of this you will see our proposal for the Urban Planning Program, including the expansion which would be made possible by the additional grant of $20,000 per year from the Field Foundation for three years.

Is this sufficient for the Field Foundation to make a commitment of these funds for this year? I have talked with Les by telephone about our general ideas,

but not about the details in this document.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Posted

January 9, 1969

Mr. George Loft
Associate
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear George:

This will acknowledge the Foundation's grant of $10,000 in support of the work of the Louisiana Council. Needless to say, we continue to be grateful for the Foundation's interest and support.

I hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

January 8, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Following up Les' letter of November 26, 1968 to Mrs. Patricia Miller, a copy of which went to you, we now are pleased to enclose our check to your order for $10,000, representing a one-time encouragement grant to the Louisiana Council on Human Relations. We greatly appreciate your willingness to provide the administrative support in connection with this grant.

Would you please have receipt of this check acknowledged for our records?

Our best to you, Paul, for the year ahead.

Sincerely,

George Loft
Associate

GL/ig

Enc.
check

cc: Mrs. Patricia B. Miller

10,000
1-9-69
KM

November 26, 1968

Mrs. Patricia B. Miller
Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
First Federal Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Dear Mrs. Miller:

At a recent meeting, and in response to your proposal of February 29 and July 9, 1968, the Foundation has made a one time only encouragement grant of $10,000 to the Louisiana Council. We hope this will enable you to build a firmer base for the Louisiana Council, as it undertakes its important work.

The Foundation is not, however, in a position to invite applications for renewal. Our commitments are very heavy.

We don't find you in the cumulative tax exempt list. I suppose we can pay our grant to you through the Southern Regional Council, and Paul Anthony has told me that will be satisfactory. But as the list is sometimes behind, I want first to make sure by asking you whether you have yet received your federal tax exemption. Please write.

With best wishes, to you and your associates.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/ig

cc: Paul Anthony

file - Field
Fd. 1969

January 9, 1969

Mr. George Loft
Associate
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear George:

As you know Vernon is at Harvard. Therefore, in his absence, this will acknowledge the Foundation's contribution of $125,000 in support of the Voter Education Project during 1969.

We are, of course, grateful for this support and will continue to send you periodic program and financial reports. You will shortly receive our annual reports for 1968.

Again, with appreciation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

January 8, 1969

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

see attached

Dear Vernon:

Following up Les' letter to you of November 27, 1968, we now are pleased to enclose our check to your order for $125,000.

Would you please acknowledge receipt of this check for our records?

You and all the SRC staff have my particularly warm wishes for the year ahead, Vernon.

Sincerely,

George Loft
Associate

125,000
1-9-69
IGM

GL/ig

Enc.
check

cc: Paul Anthony

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028

Fidelity Onion Skin
100% COTTON

January 8, 1969

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Vernon:

Following up Les' letter to you of November 27, 1968, we now are pleased to enclose our check to your order for $125,000.

Would you please acknowledge receipt of this check for our records?

You and all the SRC staff have my particularly warm wishes for the year ahead, Vernon.

Sincerely,

George Loft
Associate

GL/ig

Enc.
check

cc: Paul Anthony

Regards, Paul

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

November 27, 1968

RECEIVED
DEC - 2 1968

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

I am pleased to inform you that the Foundation, at its recent meeting and in response to your proposal of October 23, has granted $125,000 toward the calendar year 1969 budget of the Council's Voter Education Project. Our check for that amount will reach you shortly after the first of the year.

In addition, the Foundation is prepared to consider three annual renewals of this grant, at your request. A report by you early next Fall and at like time in later years, would suffice to bring about that consideration.

We are happy to have been a part, and to continue being one, of this program that has meant so much to all of us.

With best wishes to you, Paul, and all your associates.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la
cc: Paul Anthony

December 23, 1969

Mr. George Loft
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear George:

With reference to your letter of December 17th, all expenses which we covered for the Washington Research Project were incurred in 1968.

The reason disbursements were made as late as December 8, 1969 was that it was not until that time that we had all the necessary information in hand to justify payment.

Sincerely,

James N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant

JNW/mmj

January 14, 1970

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Les:

Enclosed is the copy of the memorandum from McGeorge Bundy which I promised to send.

While our meeting was on the low echelon level, I did find at the Ford Foundation every assurance that their full commitment would be made if it is legally possible. Ford indicated that any decision we make relative to the Voter Education Project would be accepted by it so long as the decision is accepted by the Internal Revenue Service. Ford further showed considerable interest in the alternatives we outlined for it, with no reluctance with any of them, and made no efforts to indicate a preference.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

January 20, 1970

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Les:

I have been unable to reach Michael DeVito by telephone, but did learn today that Mike has had an offer from a small college in San Francisco. I understand he may take that position. If so, he is to let them know by Friday of this week. I gather he will probably take the job because he is very fond of the area, and has not otherwise had any spectacular offers from institutions that attract him.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

January 6, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I have worried over your letter of October 20 about DeVito, but can't see a way to help. These things are wrong.

In the meantime, another friend of DeVito's has spoken to me and sent his resume. He has impressive qualifications. What do you hear of his plans? I would at lease like to know where he goes?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

/ig

P.S. I am told that Ben Johnson voted for him.

For posting.
J Pedell jr

January 26, 1970

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York

Dear Les:

This will acknowledge with our grateful appreciation the Foundation's contribution of $40,000 in support of the Urban Planning Division of the Council's Resources Development Center.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

January 19, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I-21-70,5

Enclosed herewith is our check for $40,000. This is the 1970 grant to the costs of the Urban Planning Project.

All good wishes to you, Moreland Smith and Arthur Campbell.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

Enc.
/la

January 26, 1970

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Les:

Jarvin Levison and David Rock, of Haas, Holland, etc., and I spent several hours last Thurdsay with eight -- repeat eight -- persons connected with the various divisions of Internal Revenue Service and Treasury. They were very non-commital, and simply invited us to submit in writing, with legal arguments, such questions as we wished opinions on.

While they did not completely disagree, they raised the question of whether or not the legislative history supported continuation of the Voter Education Project as presently constituted. This referred particularly to our process of making grants to autonomous, local groups as opposed to the League's process of working through its local chapters.

They also made it reasonably clear that we were not considered an "emergency" situation. Our attorneys argued that both programs and funds for the Council are completely tied up with the question of voter registration and would be restricted until this was resolved. They countered, in effect, with the opinion that they saw no crisis if voter registration drives were not funded in the immeddate future relative to some real crisis (i.e., with fellowships) if they did not move rapidly on some decisions.

Our attorneys this week are filing the first of a series of questions, arguments, and requests for decisions for further intepretation.

Thought you would be interested.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

January 28, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for your letter of January 26th keeping me informed about the law and the Treasury.

It seems to me that they are making it clear to you that they want to keep the game on their ball court. And that will be hard for the work.

Instead of that, what would be wrong with simply going ahead on your understanding of the law and of your probable rights under it? I think as long as we act in a good-faith interpretation we have less to fear from action than from inaction.

Sincerely yours,

Les

Leslie W. Dunbar

cc: Vernon Jordan
/la

February 27, 1970

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, N. Y. 10028

Dear Les:

Enclosed is a copy of a memorandum prepared relative to the tax situation and our programs.

On Tuesday we filed with the Superior Court for a separate corporation for VEP. A Steering Committee from the Executive Committee has been selected, an initial Board has been selected, and on March 21 the group will meet for the first time and among other things vote Power of Attorney to our legal counsel to proceed with a request for tax exemption. While I am some what skeptical, our attorneys are of the opinion that we probably will have little trouble getting the tax exemption for the project, but that the stipulation for voter registration may be very restrictive and punitive. If this is the case, we will have to consider whether or not to proceed with a separate corporation.

John and I will be in New York in mid March and hope to see you then.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb
Enclosure

March 11, 1970

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th St.
New York, N. Y. 10028

Dear Leslie:

Over the weekend I wrote a very long draft of a letter in answer to your letter of March 3rd, in an attempt to clarify some of the items raised in your letter.

For instance, our decision to temporarily support no voter registration programs, and to create a separate corporation was not based on the 25% provision. This was a factor, but a very minor one.

Since, fortunately, we are meeting next week, I decided not to send the letter because further explanation of our thinking and dealing with others including Foundations and IRS can be discussed much better in person.

I do, however, want you to know that I could not share more thoroughly your concern for the voter registration activity, and for that and other reasons, more eager than ever to have a long conversation on the 17th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

cc: John Lewis

MAR 6 1970

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

March 3, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter of February 27th and its attached memorandum. I appreciate being thus kept informed.

As I said over the phone this morning, I am disturbed to learn that voter registration activity ceased the first of January. I undoubtedly should have been alert enough to know that previously, but had not. It is especially disturbing because this is an election year, and a lot of time is being irretrievably lost - time which all past VEP experience has demonstrated to be the most fertile for new registrations.

I continue to think that the legislative history of the law made secure VEP's right to operate. While I have no objection to separate incorporation, I do regret that SRC's Executive Committee found the "no more than 25% over five years" provision to require suspension of work while the separation proceeded.

Some of us have been so long with VEP that we are, I suppose, very jealous of it - but not so much of it as an organization as of it as a good and useful means of democratizing the South. The Foundation, therefore, wants to support its fully effective continuation.

Whenever you or John advise us that the way to effective operation is clear, we'll pay out our 1970 grant.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar

cc: John Lewis
/la

March 11, 1970

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, N. Y. 10028

Dear Leslie:

Enclosed for your records are our program report and audit for 1969.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosures - 2

April 10, 1970

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Les:

This is to acknowledge your letter of April 6 and the enclosed check in the amount of $8,592.00.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

James N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant

JNW/km

Rec'd

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

April 6, 1970

Mr. James N. Wood, Jr.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Jim:

Your letter of December 8, 1969 indicated that your out-of-pocket expenses in support of the Washington Research Project prior to January 1, 1969 had ~~not as yet~~ been reimbursed in the amount of $8,592. Our check for that amount is enclosed. May we please have your acknowledgment?

Sincerely,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar

4-10-70
mv

Enc.

May 6, 1970

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Difector
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Les:

Yesterday Bill Peace of the Southern Rural Project shared with me the enclosed two documents. They seem to me, to outline an excellent health program which has considerable potential.

If you or George have an opportunity to read them I wish you would let me know whether or not I should encourage Bill about his need for the planning grant.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:nm
Enclosures

EW
JW
JB

MAY 25 1970

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

May 21, 1970

Rev. Charles M. Sherrod, Director
Southwest Georgia Project for Community Education, Inc.
615 South Jefferson Street
Albany, Georgia

Dear Charles:

I am glad to be able to inform you that the Foundation, at a recent meeting and in response to your proposal, has awarded $15,000 toward the general operating expenses of the Southwest Georgia Project for Community Education during the 12-month period beginning June 1, 1970. We understand that the Georgia Council on Human Relations joins with you in the proposal to us, and will, according to Mr. John McCown's letter of May 15, receive and administer the grant.

If any public announcement of this grant is made we would appreciate receiving a copy.

We condition the grant on the requirement that you give us a written report at the end of the grant period, describing the work carried on under this grant; we shall be glad to discuss the form of such a report with you.

The Tax Reform Act of 1969 imposes on us, on you, and on the Georgia Council certain obligations. It is necessary that we ask you and the Georgia Council to read the attached sheet, titled "Additional Conditions of Grant". We ask that both you and the Georgia Council's appropriate official sign and return the enclosed copy of this letter, indicating agreement with all its terms and with those of the attachment.

We look forward to prompt acknowledgment, so that we can make our payment under this grant.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar

Enc.
/la
cc: John McCown
bcc: Paul Anthony

file - Field Found.

Additional Conditions of Grant

In accordance with the provisions of section 4945 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as amended, the funds provided by this grant may not be used to carry on propaganda, or otherwise to attempt to influence pending legislation, or to work for or against the introduction of specific legislative proposals. Nor may they be used to influence the outcome of any specific public election, or to carry on, directly or indirectly, any voter registration drive.

You are, therefore, prohibited from using such funds for any attempt to influence any such legislation through an attempt to affect the opinion of the general public or any segment thereof, or for any attempt to influence such legislation through communication with any member or employee of a legislative body, or with any other government official or employee who may participate in the formulation of the legislation. However, technical advice and assistance may be given to a governmental body or to a committee or subdivision thereof in response to a written request by such body or subdivision. In addition, grantees may use these funds to conduct, and make available, nonpartisan analysis, study or research.

The Field Foundation, Inc. is required to discharge what is called "expenditure responsibility" in the case of certain grants. We, therefore, ask you to take immediate steps to insure that you will be able to demonstrate at all times that funds granted by Field Foundation are spent solely for the purposes for which the grant was made. Accordingly, until the grant has been fully expended, you must provide us annually with an independent audit certifying that the funds in question were so used, which explicitly sets forth in detail how such funds were used. If you feel that this grant is not subject to the expenditure responsibility requirement, we ask that you furnish us with an opinion of counsel to that effect.

In addition, if you are a private foundation that is not an "operating foundation," as defined in the Code, you must expend the funds hereby granted for the purposes set out above, not later than the close of your first taxable year after the current taxable year. (Contributions to another private foundation that is not an "operating foundation" will not satisfy this requirement) Your independent audit must certify that such funds were so expended.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

MAY 28 1970

May 25, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

We have your letter of May 6th and have studied it, though I myself have not been able to give it much time. Those here who have, have some doubts about stressing the role of county medical health departments as the clinical centers, on the grounds that they are typically rather weak reeds. At any rate, Paul, we are not financially in a position to encourage much of anything right now.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar

/la

June 2, 1970

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, N. Y. 10028

Dear Leslie:

While I hope to see you this afternoon at Mr. Dabbs' Funeral, I do want as a matter of record to respond to your inquiry on the item from Francis Walter's newsletter.

Assuming this article refers to SRC, and I am certain it does, it is garbled and completely inacurate.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

JUN 2 1970

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

May 28, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The attached is from the Selma Inter-religious Project newsletter of May 4th. I cannot help but ask if it is true.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar

Enc
/la

* * *

THE RECENT PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL TAX LAW and the squabble over restrictions on foundations is out of the news.

But this is how it can affect people here and now.

One of the South's most prestigious private social agencies has a fund that developed because of the liberal response to the Hunger fad of a few months ago. You remember: books, pictures, articles, TV shows on hunger. People gave this agency money to help these hungry people. The agency said, "O.K. we'll funnel it out. The only restrictions are it goes to feed hungry people and provide medical care for which there is no money". Then the tax and foundation law passed. Like us, this big agency gets foundation help. We called it first for those two women. But there was a lot of trouble and reluctance communicated. The point was, one of those women does voter registration, this is part of the reason the mother and daughter are in this mess.

The agency said, "If we give SIP money to give them we could get in trouble, expecially since we believe the Nixon IRS is laying for us". By the way, this is hardly a literal transmission of their thought. It's my interpretation. The agency explained this chain. It had to swear certain things to the foundations to get funded this year.

SIP would have to swear to things to get a couple hundred for these poor people. Then SIP would have to indicate on its records exactly where this money went. The agency explained how the Feds could clamber back up the chain: "Ah ha, SIP gave money to Mrs. X, but her daughter is a voter registration worker - subterfuge! And look, SIP got the money from the ABC agency, who got some of its money from the Model T Ford Foundation. Now we can put the screws on McGeorge Bundy -- great."

That is a single instance. The Voter Education Project of Atlanta which has assisted in registering and education over one - million Southern voters, has frozen its program and is making none of the small grants that have previously financed local voter registration campaigns. The effects are serious. The Alabama Democratic primary comes this May 5. VEP's lawyers are struggling to interpret the new law and the IRS understanding of it.

I conclude the story dear readers, with only one warning. Don't react by getting mad at these agencies, expand your political and social awareness by thinking beyond that.

* * *

July 2, 1970

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, N. Y. 10028

Dear Les:

This will confirm our telephone conversation of this morning, and Charles Morgan's letter of May 29, 1970.

We are very anxious to sponsor the biography of Mr. Justice Hugo L. Black. All of the requested $6,000, if granted, will be used in support of the study, and we will offer Mr. Morgan and his research assistant any additional help we can.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

file

JUL 1970

CHARLES MORGAN, JR.
FIVE FORSYTH STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

May 29, 1970

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

As you know I've been commissioned by World Publishing Company to write a biography of Mr. Justice Hugo L. Black. I have two years within which to complete both research and writing. Consequently, due to the limitations of time and the voluminous newspaper and periodical references to the Justice, it will be necessary for me to employ a research assistant. Thus, I request from the Field Foundation a grant in the amount of $6,000 for one year in order to procure such assistance and provide compensation and reimbursement for the travel and other out-of-the-pocket expenses of the researcher selected.

I have discussed the project with Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council. He has expressed an interest in the work and has agreed to provide funds therefore in the above amount without deductions for administrative or other costs in the event grant funds are available.

My request should be viewed as an application for an earmarked grant to be made to the Southern Regional Council or, alternatively and at your discretion, a grant to be made directly to me.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Charles Morgan Jr.
meg

Charles Morgan, Jr.

CM/meg

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

July 20, 1970

Mr. George Loft
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, N. Y. 10028

Dear George:

We will be pleased to see Tom Rothchild when he is in Atlanta, and will assist him in any way we can.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

JUL 20 1970

July 17, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I have just taken the liberty of giving your name to Tom Rothchild, the brother-in-law of a good friend of mine who sent Tom my way for advice.

Mr. Rothchild, now 48, was for some 15 years in Florida most recently as a high school principal and an official of the state teachers' association. In the 1968 fracas, he resigned and since then has done such things as helping Florida CAP agencies and running a business, which he now has sold.

He is in no immediate financial or other need. However, he plans to base himself in Georgia (he has, among other things, a partnership in a 200-acre farm in northwest Georgia), and would like to explore ways he could be useful in developments in the South. I thought you might be able to listen to him, and give him your advice.

I believe that Mr. Rothchild will be in touch with you sometime during the next month, to arrange for a visit. Thanks for your giving him a little of your time.

Sincerely,

George Loft

/id

— regards, Paul —

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028

July 24, 1969

Mrs. Patricia B. Miller
Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
First Federal Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Dear Mrs. Miller:

We have your letter and proposal of July 17, and will consider it carefully. You do recall, I am sure, that our 1968 grant was a "one-time" grant?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

/ig

CC: Paul Anthony

Esleeck
Fidelity Onion Skin
100% COTTON

July 28, 1969

Mr. Henry Netherton
Daufuskie Island,
South Carolina 29915

Dear Mr. Netherton:

Last week in New York Dr. Dunbar shared with me your letter of July 16th in the hope we might be able to be of some assistance, since the Field Foundation could not.

Through a small contingency fund for such purposes, the Council will be able to provide the travel costs for persons from Daufuskie Island to go to Washington. While it is not essential, we would prefer making this contribution through Penn Community Services.

You understand, of course, the expenditure of any funds from the Council will have to be limited to the purpose of transportation and related costs toward the end of speaking with appropriate officials in Washington on the matter of additional federal support for needed programs on Daufuskie Island. This is a long

way of saying that no portion of the funds may be used for political purposes and otherwise in contradiction with the stipplations of Section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code.

On receipt of this letter please call me collect and indicate whether or not you still need these funds and whether or not they should be sent to you or to Penn Community Services.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Mr. John Lewis

JUL 22 1969

Daufuskie Island
South Carolina 29915

AIR MAIL

July 16, 1969

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York
N.Y. 10017

Subject: "Ox-cart march on Washington"

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

I am writing at the suggestion of Elizabeth Siceloff, of Penn Community Services.

My wife and I are ex-Vista Volunteers and for several years have worked closely with the Penn staff. As our service as Volunteers is over we are making preparations to leave this island within a few weeks for our home in California.

Our work here is far from complete. We and the islanders hoped that Washington would have assigned new Volunteers to take our places and carry on the programs but, based on what we have heard, there are no plans to put Volunteers in residence here. Instead, we hear that a group of Volunteers will be sent to the county mainland and some will visit Daufuskie Island by boat occasionally.

Let me describe briefly the poverty situation here. First, some quotes from a 1966 report by Frank Marsh, then Federal-State Co-ordinator of the South Carolina OEO:

"While there is electricity, there are no telephones. Communication with the mainland is by way of the civil defense short wave radio."

"Since there are no stores of any kind on the island this makes the cost of food and the other necessities of life almost beyond the reach of these people."

"There is no business or industry on the island which would provide an opportunity to earn a decent living. With good reason, however, there is a reluctance on the part of these people to leave. Most of them were born here as were their fathers and grandfathers before them. There is a suspicion and fear of the mainland. They are uneducated and unskilled in any trade and with their strong gullah accent there is little likelihood that they could find a job which would permit them to live much better elsewhere. At least on the island they have a sense of security and many own their little houses and plots of land."

"The inhabitants move from place to place by hitching their cows to carts, much as others use horses and wagons."

".....the inhabitants of Daufuskie live in hopeless poverty, the equal of which is unlikely to be found anywhere else in the State."

The population is divided about equally between adults and children. There is an elementary school with two teachers and an aide, but the children leave the 8th grade with little better than a 4th grade education.

Of the adults, the large majority are functional illiterates. Seventy percent are elderly. Two-thirds of the remainder are crippled or sick. Of the healthy persons of employable age, the women are busy looking after their children, and most of the men cannot find jobs anywhere because of educational or personality defects.

The average per capita monthly income of 90% of the population is $23 (exclusive of income to a small few from OEO-funded programs).

Crowded living quarters, malnutrition, and intestinal parasites are common .

This is indeed black poverty. Nevertheless, from all reports received, "Vista" proposes to abandon the community not only to poverty but to despair, for the proposed occasional visits by Volunteers from the mainland would be useless. Volunteers in residence are essential.

Knowing this, the islanders have petitioned the Governor, the "Vista" Regional office, and Washington, and have even sent telegrams, paid for from their own meager resources. These have been largely disregarded; the telegram sent in desperation to Washington was not even acknowledged.

I would like to detail here the things we have accomplished as Volunteers but that is not the purpose of this letter. We would, in fact, like to stay on here and continue our work - which includes projects on which we have worked hard and long, with some of the projected ones about ready to become a reality - but unfortunately we cannot afford the expense.

Now to the point of this letter. Petitions having failed, the islanders have been talking about a "march" on Washington to present to the President a request for resident Volunteers. It is, of course, highly unlikely that a delegation would get anywhere near the President but I think we could arrange audience with some lesser White House official.

The value of the "march" would be mainly publicity. It would be a march by ox-cart in its initial stage. The three islanders comprising the delegation each would travel from home to the Daufuskie public landing in a separate ox-cart. A TV camera from a station in Savannah would record this first leg of the journey and telecast it (the NBC outlet's Savannah program director has assured us of his cooperation) and we have been promised an illustrated newspaper story.

From Daufuskie Island the delegation would go to Savannah by boat, then to Washington by train. We would try and arrange publicity in Washington papers and on TV there.

As the island delegation would be quite at a loss to arrange the journey, and bewildered in a large city, it is proposed that they be accompanied. My wife and I would be glad to attend to details and go along with the petitioners if the trip can be arranged well before it is time for us to leave the island for home; otherwise it will be possible, I hope, to persuade other interested persons.

The total cost for five persons should not exceed $700, according to my estimate.

I trust you can see your way to authorize a grant in that amount for the purpose described. If you are disposed to view this request favorably the money can be sent to me or, if you prefer and Penn Community Services agree, it could be sent to Penn Community Services.

An accounting and, I trust, a refund would be sent you after the conclusion of the trip, supported by transportation tickets, hotel bills etc.

May I request your early consideration and reply?

Sincerely,

Henry Netherton

Henry Netherton

cc Elizabeth Siceloff

cc Herman Blake
Acting Assistant Professor of Sociology
Cowell College
University of California
Santa Cruz
California 95060

Enclosure: Ltr. of endorsement from Mr. Rogers C. B. Morton, Chairman, Republican National Committee, dtd. July 23, 1969

July 31, 1969

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Les:

You have received a copy of the letter in which, through John Lewis's program, we were able to respond to the request from South Carolina.

I don't see how we can do anything relative to Bob Riley in Mississippi other than those things which have already been initiated. I will discuss this with Ken Dean on his return from Europe next month, and if anything changes I will let you know of it.

You may be interested in the enclosed.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

JUL 22 1969

WASHINGTON RESEARCH PROJECT
1823 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036
(202) 659-4880

MARIAN WRIGHT EDELMAN
HARRY HUGE
RUBY G. MARTIN

THE SOUTHERN CENTER FOR STUDIES IN PUBLIC POLICY
CLARK COLLEGE
240 CHESTNUT STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314
424-758-7561
WASHINGTON INSTRUCTOR-COORDINATOR
PROF. DON F. HADWIGER

July 16, 1969

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Leslie:

Any ideas?

Cordially,

Marian Wright Edelman

Enclosure

MWE:jrd

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Trans. - Copy
sent to Elaine Eaton at
American Friends Service Committee
Philadelphia, Pa.

TO : Files

DATE: July 15, 1969

FROM : William C. Payne
Program Analyst, OCRP&P

SUBJECT:

Bob Riley (Box 33, unlisted telephone 601--473-2137) operates a lumber yard in Water Valley, Yalobusha County, Mississippi. Over the years Mr. Riley has attempted to employ Negroes in his business, taking men who were handicapped, illiterate, or who had been refused military induction. At one time Mr. Riley employed approximately 130 men of whom 3/4 were Negro.

Mr. Riley is not a popular man in his community. His lumber yard has been burned three times; one fire about eight months ago wiped him out. A third fire, during the last week of June, destroyed most of what he had attempted to rebuild. Mr. Riley has also received numerous threats on his life, had his pickup truck bombed, experienced numerous incidents of vandalism, and generally suffered extreme harassment for his attempts to do right in an area of the country where his ways are not appreciated.

Mr. Riley ran for sheriff in the recent primary and lost. He thinks a previous sheriff was responsible for killing the son of one of his employees (although the sheriff was acquitted of the charge). Some Negroes are now afraid to work for Mr. Riley.

There is an important principle involved here. Mr. Riley has attempted to do right in an area and at a time when such actions go against the grain in his community. There is apparently a strong relationship between his efforts and the harassment he is suffering.

Mr. Riley needs help. He has no collateral now that his business has been destroyed. He cannot secure credit through local sources. Mr. Riley will have to move out unless some assistance is forthcoming. If this happens, something very wrong will have occurred since those who are responsible for the fires, the intimidations, etc. will have won.

Since hearing of Mr. Riley's situation and talking with him personally, I have taken the actions listed below. While the aspect of civil rights violations is being looked into, the efforts to secure financial assistance have not yet proved fruitful or even encouraging. If there is anything that can be done to assist this man, it must be done soon.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Chronology -

-- learned of Mr. Riley's situation while attending meeting of Mississippi State Advisory Committee to U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, June 25. Mr. Riley called me on following Monday and four times subsequently.

-- brought situation to attention of Justice Department, Civil Rights Division, Mississippi Section. Mr. Stuart Pearson contacted Riley with indication that FBI investigation would be requested. As of July 14, FBI request not processed but Mr. Pearson promised he would try to complete it that day.

-- called Mr. Bruce Rabb in Mr. Brown's office in the White House. He called Howard Rogerson in SBA. SBA Field Office in Jackson called Riley but apparently SBA has no money available for loan. SBA can guarantee a loan but Riley has no collateral now.

-- called Mr. George Roberts, Civil Rights Coordinator in EDA. Following second fire, EDA office in Huntsville visited Riley and estimated he would require $400,000 to get back on his feet. Riley, however, would apparently have to put up 35 percent. Riley unable to do. Mr. Roberts asking EDA Mississippi specialist to contact Riley but has not done as of July 14. Roberts also brought situation, without names, to attention of Assistant Administrator of EDA in a bi-weekly report. EDA loan is probably the best prospect if Riley's 35 percent can be provided from other sources.

-- brought Riley's situation to attention of Gilbert Pompa in Community Relations Service to see if CRS Mississippi staff person, Marge Curette, could be of any assistance.

-- advised Arnold Feldman, civil rights office at SBA of situation.

-- contacted Mr. John Morsell, assistant to Mr. Roy Wilkins, at NAACP convention in Jackson, Mississippi. Copy of USCCR complaint to Justice sent to Morsell but undelivered. Resent to Morsell in New York.

-- contacted Mr. Walt Robbins, civil rights office in OEO, including information prejudicial to local MAP Director in Yalobusha County.

-- through USCCR Information Officer, attempted to interest national press in Mr. Riley's situation. Also through USCCR Memphis Field Office, suggested contact of two newspaper editors, who are members of the Mississippi State Advisory Committee to USCCR.

-- advised Mr. Sheldon Bloom of National Alliance of Businessmen since Riley had contracts with Continental Can, Firestone, Goodrich, American Can among others, including, through a broker, Ford Motor. Mr. Bloom indicated he would attempt to interest national representatives.

-- through Carl Holman at Urban Coalition, contacted Mrs. Betty Trouba at Joint Foundation Support in New York. Mrs. Trouba felt chances small of obtaining any foundation help.

-- contacted Democratic Study Group through Mrs. Linda Camm who asked for details and promised to circulate among DSG members. Mrs. Camm also suggested a member of Representative Corman's staff to contact.

-- contacted Mr. Jim Flug of Senator Kennedy's staff and will send details to him. (Riley was a friend of President Kennedy.)

-- contacted Mrs. Sarah Herbin of Black Womens Community Development Foundation. She wants to receive details. Suggested contacting George Esser who works with Ford Foundation.

Above accomplished as of noon, July 15.

SEEK
Dunker
HO

David Freeman
VEP Statement -

Broadus Butler - ?
Dillard

Norman Fund
2,500
+10,000 - centers

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

August 25, 1970

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Director of Field Foundation
100 East 85 Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Les:

I have just recently seen the copy sent to Paul of your letter to Carl Holman regarding southern economic development.

I wonder if your proposed meeting at Penn has been held? Simply let me reassure you that we have a continuing interest in economic development and we are also still interested in how environmental problems relate to economic development.

We would like to be kept informed of such meetings as the one proposed to Holman.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

cc: Paul Anthony

JUL 20 1970

~~EV~~
JB-file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

July 17, 1970

Mr. M. Carl Holman
Vice President-Program Development
Urban Coalition
2100 M Street, N.W.
Washington,D.C.

Dear Carl:

Here at last is the letter. Its hard to believe its been a week since I talked to you.

The BASF plant for Beaufort seems to me to have raised in stark outline the divergence between environmentalists and many poor people. (In the strip mining areas of Kentucky, and in the pesticide covered farm factories, you are getting a convergence, but that is another story.) Gov. McNair has now announced that nothing will happen before 1972, and it seems to me that that time should be used by black people to get their own thoughts clear, themselves united, and to formulate their own economic development programs.

My thought was the simple one of bringing such persons as Ed Brown, John McCown, Charles Prejean, Father McKnight, John Buffington, to Beaufort - probably meeting at Penn - to meet with the black leadership and tell about their own projects. I think these are the men who are the true "experts" about southern rural economic development.

Something would likely come from that, and maybe we could help deal with what did.

I spoke to Paul Anthony a while ago about SRC's further interest in Beaufort, in follow up of its report, and at the time he wasn't sure. I am sending him a copy of this letter to keep him informed, and maybe you all should talk. Also, just as a suggestion, it might be good to get Beekman Winthrop involved. Beek - a good friend - freelances around Dick Boone. He is a well-to-do fellow, has strong personal interests in South Carolina, has been in and out of Beaufort, and probably has time.

Let me know, please.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

Leslie Dunbar

/id

✓ cc: Paul Anthony

August 31, 1970

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Les:

On Friday we send you the two documents we had on prisons. I hope the reference material provided the remainder of the information you wanted (the national prison state bulletin).

We have since learned that there is a book just published which lists the names and addresses of all state prisons. It is the American Director of Criminal Institutions and Agencies, published by the American Criminal Association, Woodridge Station, P. O. Box 10176, Washington, D. C. 20018.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

10:00 am
21st

October 12, 1970

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Les:

I will be in New York from mid-day on the 19th, thru the 21st, and would like very much to visit with you during that time. I will call your office on arrival to determine if we can get together.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

October 27, 1970

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Les:

Enclosed is our request for the Housing and Planning Division.

I very much enjoyed our visit last week.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosure

A Request for Support of the Housing and Planning Division of the SRC Resources Development Center

This is to request a grant of $40,000 in support during 1971 of the continuation and expansion of the work outlined below.

The year has been and continues to be one of exploration. We have attempted to determine programs and interests through which the Council and the project staff could make a significant difference rather than simply offer the services of an architect and a planner to whoever might use them.

This has led, for instance, to an expansion beyond our interest in persuading city planning agencies to an increased interest in the feasibility of establishing metropolitan entities to impliment fair housing laws. (We do not feel that neighborhood stabilization groups have been effective over a long period, since so many factors of importance are beyond the control of such a group.) Toward that end we have studied organizations in New York, Washington, Detroit and Denver. This information is being shared with citizens and officials in Atlanta who are interested in developing a program in that city and we are hopeful of a similar process elsewhere.

Also, we are assisting a Georgia Tech graduate student in research of the planning problems associated with racial transition of residential neighborhoods. We intend to publish a report based on six Atlanta neighborhoods that have undergone racial transition during the last decade.

The project staff is assisting a group in Fairfield, Alabama, interested in sponsoring a low-income housing program. This is being done with the assistance of the Foundation for Cooperative Housing.

In addition to an interest in metropolitan entities, we are conducting a survey of HUD practices relative to placing low-income housing in non-ghetto and suburban areas. We have reason to believe the department is readily bowing to political pressures when it attempts to implement the announced policy of the dispersal of housing. If investigation confirms this suspicion we shall publish these facts. We may, in addition, expand this study to a broader review of HUD policies.

We are reviewing, will offer editoral assistance for, and seek publication of a substantial study by Dr. Carol Van Alstyne on "Economics and Politics of Low Income Housing." This is a significant work which focuses on the heart of problems related to adequate housing.

Consultative services of the project staff includes:

I. Advisor to Low Income Housing Development Corporation of North Carolina - land banking operational technique as it might be used for housing development.

II. Housing advisor to Urban League's Regional Office.

III. Prodding AIA and AIP on social awareness in the region and the United States.

IV. Advisor to Tuskegee's Model Cities.

V. Pushing regional agrarian medical services delivery in 5-county areas ajoining Tuskegee.

VI. Continuing efforts in stimulating Atlanta Regional Plan Study by Doxiades.

VII. Consultation with the Greater Birmingham Ministeries on housing in that city.

VIII. Developing associations with the more significant university planning departments in the region.

The most significant change in the project has been that of
that of including rural and semi-rural areas in our work. During 1971 this work is likely to grow substantially. At this point we are advising New Communities, Inc., of Southwest Georgia in planning layout for land utilization for housing, light industry and commercial purposes and implementation of utility plans, sewer, water, electricity and gas.

Through the Federation of Southern Cooperatives we are in the early stages of offering similar services to the

Panola Land Buyers Association as they develop an area of 1164 acres in Sumter County, Alabama.

We sense a high potential in encouraging and assisting "self-help" groups of this nature. They are taking the initiative in developing new strategies, in organizing people and in preserving rural and semi-rural areas. We feel this may be one of the most imaginative and potentially successful reform movements in the region. For this to be the case, however, these groups must have superior technical assistance. We hope to provide a portion of that.

As a portion of our new rural interest we are now well along on a study in the policies and practices of the Farmers Home Administration as these policies relate to rural and small-town housing. This study grew out of the work of a promising intern this past summer who attempted to review the federal structure and pin-point the major trouble spots. The FHA study is now being completed for us by investigative reporter William Wynn.

The support of the Field Foundation has made this work possible and we are grateful for the Foundation's consideration of continued support.

111

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immediate and long-range plans for its 1164 acres in Sumter County, Alabama. We will visit Panola on October 22nd in this regard.

~~MGS Activities~~:

I. Advisor to Low Income Housing Development Corporation of North Carolina - land banking operational technique as it might be used for housing development.

II. Housing advisor to Urban League's Regional Office.

III. Prodding AIA and AIP on social awareness in ~~Georgia~~ the region and the United States.

IV. Advising New Communities, Inc., Albany, Georgia in planning layout for land utilization for housing, light industry and commercial purposes and implementation of utility plans, sewer, water, electricity and gas.

V. Advisor to Tuskegee's Model Cities.

VI. Pushing regional agrarian medical services delivery in 5-county areas ajoining Tuskegee.

VII. ~~Still hopeful~~ Continue efforts in stimulating Atlanta Regional Plan Study by Doxiades.

— Consultation with The Greater Birmingham Ministries on housing in that city.

~~1/2 time job for Horace Banks' project. But need to agree to this and says MS & AC have been especially helpful~~

— Developing associations with the more significant university planning departments in the region.

The most significant change in the project has been that of including rural and semi-rural areas in our work. During 1971 this work is likely to grow susbstantially. At this point we are advising New Communities, Inc., of Southwest Georgia in planning layour for land utilization for housing, light industry and commercial purposes and implimentation of utility plans, sewer, water, electricity and gas.

Through the Federation of Southern Cooperatives we are in the early stages of offering similar services to the Panola Land Buyers Association as they develop an area of 1164 acres in Sumter County, Alabama.

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Insert III -

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We are reviewing, will offer editoral assistance for, and seek publication of a substantial study by Dr. Carol Van Alstine (sp) on "Economics and Politics of Low Income Housing." This is a significant work which focuses on the heart of problems related to adequate housing.

Consultative services of the project staff includes:

We may, in addition, expand this study to a broader review of HUD Policies -

We, a group of citizens determined to support public education, endorse the Atlanta School Board's compliance with court mandates to achieve a unitary school system. We believe that such a system is essential to teach our children to live in today's society and that it will improve the true quality of education.

Therefore, HOPE (Help Our Public Education) calls upon citizens and organizations to support the School Board in this transitional period.

Signed:

Edgar M. Grider, Chairman
William S. Jackson, Vice-Chariman
Donald S. Daughtry
Joan B. Harrison
Duane Beck
John Boone
Kitty Griffith
Edward A. Driscoll
Bob Hughes
Marthena S. Burn
Robert W. Sprinkle
Thomas G. Ward
Elizabeth Hill
Marilyn Clements
Bob Rea
Minor Gouge
Harky Klinefelter
Mary Davis
Homer C. McEwen, Sr.
W. H. Smith
Harvey Gates
Bob Tuve
Betsy Russell
Karen Williams
Betty Harman
John H. Allen

NOV 5 1970

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

November 3, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for the letter and proposal of October 27. Is it possible to get another page, (a) showing a 1971 budget for Housing and Planning and (b) how the grant has been spent in 1970, and balances from 1969, if any?

All our best.

Sincerely,

Leslie Dunbar

/la

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028

November 3, 1970

Mr. Paul W. Matthias, Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1420 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Paul:

I am glad to be able to inform you that the Foundation, at a recent meeting and in response to your proposal of October 27, 1970, has awarded $20,000 toward the general support of the Council during calendar year 1971. Our check for that amount should reach you shortly after the first of the year.

If any public announcement of this grant is made we would appreciate receiving a copy.

We condition the grant on the requirement that you give us a written report by the end of the year describing the work carried on under this grant.

The Tax Reform Act of 1969 imposes on us and on you certain other obligations. It is necessary that we ask you to read the attached sheet, titled "Additional Conditions of Grant." We ask that you or the appropriate official of your institution sign and return the enclosed copy of this letter, indicating agreement with all its terms and with those of the attachment.

We look forward to acknowledgment, so that we can make our payment under this grant.

In November 1968 the Foundation made a grant toward the operating expenses of the South Carolina Council during 1969 and in informing you of it advised you that the Foundation was prepared to consider two renewals of approximately the same amount. This present action is the second of those renewals and thus fulfills that contemplated program.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Leslie Dunbar

Enc.
/la

cc: Paul Anthony

November 6, 1970

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, N. Y. 10028

Dear Les:

Earlier you indicated an interest in knowing of anything we did concerning the Buford area. Enclosed is an article from the current issue of South Today that I think is unusually interesting and pertinent. (Buford County will be one of the areas covered in depth in our analysis of public schools.)

I hope that Pat Conroy, the young teacher who has just been fired, will be able to come to Atlanta to talk with us about ways in which he can be kept on the Island until legal remedies can be sought. We will also explore with him ways of expanding a food program for the children on the Island, and the possibility of getting other services, such as a medical program going.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb
Enclosure

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

NOV 16 1970

November 11, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

Thank you for your letter of November 5th. I am afraid you will not hear from us on it until early next year. We are putting all the "bigs" - you, the Inc Fund, SCLF, etc. - over until then. You can wait better than some, no doubt.

Sincerely,

Leslie Dunbar

December 2, 1970

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
100 E. 85th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Les:

You may have seen this elsewhere, but the enclosed clipping is from this morning's Constitution. I send it for several reasons, including reference to our recent conversation about the Georgia Council. I cannot imagine that the several agencies involved in providing the grant would support this program, unless all aspects of the operation were thoroughly investigated.

We had a good annual meeting and missed you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosure

JB

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

January 4, 1972

Mr. James Wood
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Jim:

Am I going to hear something from you regarding the Southwest Georgia Project?

Sincerely,

Leslie Dunbar

/la

CROSS REFERENCE

Memorandum to: Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy, Taconic

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller, Edgar Stern

Maxwell Hahn, Field Foundation

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America have contributed $200 to the Voter Education Project.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Please return to Department of Field Services, above address, after this has served your purposes. This is our only copy.

January 29, 1965

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

I thought this might interest you.
All best wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm
Enclosure

Rec'd 2/3/65

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

February 1, 1965

File

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you for sending the evaluation of the Southern teacher program. An out-of-town trip has prevented me from reading this, but I shall do so shortly.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

March 25, 1965

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

I spoke to you when you were here about the Rural Advancement Project, which we are jointly sponsoring with the state Councils and NSF. We agreed that I would send you a copy of the proposal, for your information. It is enclosed, and if you find it of interest I would be delighted to discuss it with you. So far, we have received funds sufficient to carry on the project in only one state (South Carolina), and about half enough money for a second state.

I am enclosing also, for your information, a proposal of the National Institute of Labor Education. As you may note, on page 4 and following, we would do the work. We have been assured of full cooperation from AFL-CIO. I do not know what luck NILE may have with funds. I asked Joseph Mire not to send the proposal to you, preferring to let you see it in this way first.

I have a very strong belief in this labor program. On the other hand, we put the interests of SRC's general operations and the state Councils ahead of all else. The

Foundation's current grant to us for general support expires this year, and we shall be, as you no doubt have anticipated, re-applying. I would not wish any proposal involving us to be before you which would affect that. The RAP proposal is, of course, a strengthening of the state Councils.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosures

RAP DOCUMENT COLLECTION

Recd 3/31/65

Foundations

VPA for ✓

MJ file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

March 29, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

This will acknowledge your letter of March 25 transmitting the informational copy of the Rural Advancement Project proposal and also the National Institute of Labor Education brochure.

The Foundation is not in a position to do anything about either of these at this time. In case the situation changes, I will be in touch with you.

With best wishes as ever,

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

File - Foundations - Field, 1965

April 28, 1965

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

This is to place before the Foundation a request for renewal of its grant in general support of the Southern Regional Council, to begin January 1, 1966.

By letter of May 31, 1962, the Field Foundation granted us $75,000 for the calendar years 1963, 1964, 1965. We hope you will have found that our work during this period merits once again a multi-year appropriation. Because program demands as well as costs of operation both steadily increase, and do so more than do new sources of general support, we would be grateful if you could consider, if warranted within your program, an enlarged grant.

We have endeavored to keep the Foundation at all times informed regarding our work and our affairs. To recount them further here would seem a useless burden on you. We shall, of course, be most happy to submit any information or materials you may request, and to discuss this application with you at any time.

We do use this letter, however, as occasion for submitting the following annual documents:

a - Audit, 1964;
b - Approved budget, 1965;
c - Program report, 1964.

With best regards, and with deep appreciation for the past years of loyal and friendship of the Foundation.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/js
Encls.

Foundations — Field, 1965

April 28, 1965

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

On behalf of the Council I acknowledge your letter of April 20, 1965 and the enclosed check for $16,000 in full payment of the 2nd and 3rd year grants of the Foundation toward the expenses of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations; our receipt is enclosed. Thank you very much for the advance payment, This is a great help to us.

As I told you over the telephone, I shall be in New York on May 11, and plan to stay for several days. I hope that I may come by to see you. Judging from what you said of your own schedule, I think it would be best if I called your office after getting into town. But, if there is a particular time from Wednesday on that would suit you best, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

4/22/65
$16,000
LR

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 20, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

The Field Foundation's $16,000 check, payable to Southern Regional Council, Inc., which is enclosed represents the payment in full of our grant toward the expenses of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

I am sure that it will be useful to have this early payment. This, of course, does not change the period covered by the grant as set forth in my letter of December 3, 1964.

Please acknowledge receipt of the check.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enc.

file

file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 30, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

In the letter of acknowledgment of the $16,000 final payment on the Mississippi Council on Human Relations project, you mention that you have engagements in New York on May 11th and plan to stay over. I suggest that you telephone me the morning of the 12th. It looks now as though 4 P.M. might be a possibility. It may be possible for Mrs. Field to sit in on the conference when we review the general situation.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

May 3, 1965

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Thank you for your letter of April 30 acknowledging our application of April 28. In reply to your question, the 10 largest donors to the general support of the Council in 1964 were as follows:

Rockefeller Foundation	$ 50,000	
Taconic Foundation	40,000	
New World Foundation	30,000	
Field Foundation	25,000	
Stern Family Fund	25,000	
AFL - CIO	5,000	
Anna H. & Elizabeth M. Chace Fund	5,000	
New York Foundation	5,000	
Aaron E. Norman Fund	2,500	
Hopkins Charitable Fund	2,000	
Ottinger Foundation	2,000	(received 1963)

Advance Appropriation

Rockefeller Brothers Fund	25,000	(for 1965)

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 30, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of April 28th in which the Southern Regional Council, Inc. presents the case for renewal of the Field Foundation general support of the Council for the period beginning January 1966. This will be brought to the attention of our board at the appropriate time. In that connection, it would be helpful to have a list of the 10 largest donors to the general support of the Council in 1964 with the amounts contributed by each.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

file

SEA FOAM BOND

June 24, 1965

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
~~Executive Vice-President~~
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

1965

Dear Mr. Hahn:

On behalf of the Council, I acknowledge your letter of June 16, 1965, and the enclosed check for $50,000 representing the Foundation's pledge to the State Councils on Human Relations during 1966-67; our receipt is enclosed.

I need not tell you how grateful we are to the Foundation for your support of this worthy program. We are especially grateful for your action in forwarding this money in advance.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js
Enclosure - 1.

OAM BOND SEA

$50,000.00
6/18/65
VK

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

June 16, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am enclosing with this letter the Field Foundation's check in the amount of $50,000 payable to the order of Southern Regional Council, Inc., and representing the final payment on the award voted by the board of directors at a meeting held March 31, 1964. This advance payment is intended to assist the state councils on human relations in the 24-month period beginning January 1, 1966.

May we have your official acknowledgment of this check?

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Memo to RHA from LWD

REGARDING:

Field Foundation check for $50,000

DATE:

6/24/65

(SEE):

NAME OR SUBJECT:

LWD Memos, 1965

File

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

June 29, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

It is hard to believe, but I do not have a copy of my talk on "The Foundation Staff". What I should say is I made so many changes we shall have to await publication of the transcription. There are many better things to read here in the office, and it is possible that some of them will be readily available in the Foundation Library collection in Atlanta Public Library at 126 Carnegie Way, N. W. The collection is sponsored by the Foundation Library Center. Books by F. Emerson Andrews will be useful as well as reports of the New York University conferences on charitable foundations which have been held at two-year intervals beginning in 1953.

The three real estate people to whom the sale of our house was entrusted are the following: Jeffrey Steinkamp, 4 Chase Road, Scarsdale; Mrs. Henry S. Otto, c/o Stephen Angell & Co., 2 Depot Place, Scarsdale; and Robert T. Ford, 743 Central Ave., Scarsdale. Actually, the intermediary was a Mr. Ogilvie in the Stephen Angell office.

If you would consider an apartment I would call your attention to the Chateaux Apartments, East Parkway, Scarsdale, which are extraordinarily convenient to station and to shopping and schools. Two friends live there, and Irene's cousin formerly lived there. These apartments have been difficult to get in, and if you wish to inquire tell the apartment management that we are friends of Mr. and Mrs. Abel E. Blackmar, Jr. and the Rev. Herbert Hansen, and that we are cousins of the C. B. Burchards, former tenants.

The Burchards now live in Putnam Hill Village, Greenwich, Conn. We think these are also extremely desirable and would be a good choice.

Commuting from Long Island is not good for the 250 Park Avenue location.

There is a lot of good material in Pat Watters' pamphlet. I found myself wondering what its specific audience is. This may be a blind spot. Perhaps it is intended for anyone who is interested in Southern students and civil rights.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Victoria Brookfield

Merritt Ave

914

Telephone 4-2800

file

June 24, 1965

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

I ran across a news clip which reported that you spoke at the Council on Foundations on the topic, "The Foundation Staff." I think I need to read about this. Do you have a copy?

Would you be able to suggest to me the name of a real estate person in Scarsdale? I expect to be in touch with someone in Larchmont and would like to have several contacts. If you would happen to know of an agency in an appropriate area of Long Island, I would also be glad to have that name.

I am enclosing an advance copy of our latest pamphlet. I hope you will share at least some of my enthusiasm for it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js
Enclosure - 1.

Check $75,000.00 7-7-65 MDA

Rec'd 7/7/65

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

July 6, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This letter will confirm our telephone conversation of last Friday during which I informed you that the Field Foundation has granted $75,000 toward Southern Regional Council's general support. A check for this amount is enclosed herewith.

The resolution adopted by the board of directors is as follows:

> RESOLVED that the Corporation appropriate and contribute to Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia, the sum of $75,000, or as much thereof as shall be needed, for the thirty-six month period beginning January 1, 1966, to be paid in full in July 1965.

You will understand, I know, that the board, in making such a grant, does not wish to imply commitment for renewal at the expiration of the award period.

Progress reports, including detailed statements of expenditures under the grant will be welcomed as they become available. At this time, may we also have your official acceptance of the terms of the grant as set forth above and your acknowledgment of the enclosed check.

We would appreciate receiving a copy of any public announcement which may be made concerning the Foundation's grant.

The officers and directors have asked me to extend to you and your associates the best wishes of the Foundation in carrying forward this project.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

File - Field Foundation

July 14, 1965

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

On behalf of the Council I acknowledge your letter of July 6, 1965, and the enclosed check for $75,000 as a grant from the Field Foundation to the general support of the Southern Regional Council for the 3-year period 1966-68; our receipt is enclosed.

It would be repetitious, and unnecessary, for me to express to you our gratitude for this renewed expression of the Foundation's interest and confidence in our work. We accept the terms of the grant in full, and shall endeavor to merit in every way the trust which you have in us.

It has not escaped the notice of the Officers and Members of the Council that you are about to retire. I know that I speak for all of them in wishing you and Mrs. Hahn every happiness. I speak for them, too, in saying that the South

is deeply obligated to you for all that you have led and carried out during your career, and especially during your distinguished service with the Foundation.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

CROSS REFERENCE

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Memo from LWD to RHA - Field Foundation

RE:

When equal installments will be needed by SRC

DATE:

July 14, 1965

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

LWD Memos, 1965

file

LD ✓

PW

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

July 15, 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Thank you for sending us a copy of your release and the glossy of Mr. Dunbar.

If you have other copies of the glossy or the negative, we would appreciate them.

As to the date of the release, that is in the air now as the result of the death of Governor Stevenson. Probably, Mrs. Field will make the announcement, but she will not be available until next week. That matter can be worked out then, when I understand Mr. Dunbar will be in town.

Regarding a Sunday date for the release, it is our experience that Sunday newspapers in New York in mid-summer get scant attention and there is slight chance of pickup by the three afternoon newspapers on the following Monday.

Best regards,

David Church

David Church

See Field Fd., 1965

July 26, 1965

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
c/o The Field Foundation, Inc.
135 South La Salle Street
Room 4314
Chicago, Illinois 60603

Dear Max:

As Mrs. Hahn may have told you, we apparently have settled on the house in Pelham. We have not yet signed the contract, but I suppose everything is set, unless my credit rating doesn't hold up.

It was very good seeing you last week, and I enjoyed meeting Mr. Church.

I shall most likely get up to New York for a couple days or so during August, and will take time in the office to study annual reports and other materials that may be at hand. I shall definitely want to come back in September for as much time as is needed to go over with you pending matters.

After some thought, Max, and if agreeable to the Foundation, I believe I would prefer the title Executive Director.

Finally, our expenses for last week are as follows:

Expenses for Mr. and Mrs. Dunbar
July 19-23, 1965

Air Travel:	
Eastern jet coach to New York	$ 104.37
United one class to Atlanta	113.40
Airport transportation, New York	6.50
Airport parking, Atlanta	4.90
Taxi, New York	1.90
Train to and from Westchester (three trips)	11.10
Meals (including tips)	73.60
Hotel (see attached)	103.36
TOTAL --	$ 419.13

We used flight checks, and consequently will not have the receipts until the air lines bill us. The figures as indicated above were taken from the air lines time tables.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js

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1 0 4.3 7
1 1 3.4 0
    6.5 0
    4.9 0
    1.9 0
  1 1.1 0
  7 3.6 0
1 0 3.3 6


4 1 9.1 3 T
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Memo from LESLIE DUNBAR

Expenses for Mr + Mrs Wheatley 7/19-7/23/65

Air travel:

Eastern jet coach to N.Y.	–	$104.37
United one class to Atlanta	–	113.40
Airport transportation, N.Y.	–	6.50
Airport parking, Atlanta	–	4.90
Taxi, New York	–	1.90
Train, to + from Westchester (3 trips)	–	11.10
Meals (incl. tips)	–	73.60
Hotel (see attached)	–	103.36

Total:

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60603

July 27, 1965

file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

Your letter of July 26, 1965 containing the statement of expenses you and Mrs. Dunbar incurred July 19 to July 23, 1965 for travel from Atlanta to New York to find a place to live was received this afternoon. In accordance with your statement, I am enclosing the Field Foundation check in the amount of $419.13 to reimburse you in full for the expenses. We would like to have the receipts for the air travel when they become available

The title of Executive Director will not present any problem as far as I can see.

A note from Mrs. Semmel from Copenhagen indicates that she and her husband are advancing somewhat their return to New York. Her letter came last Friday afternoon and I answered it immediately suggesting that she stop in the office at her convenience to review the annual report copy which is the joint work of Mr. Church and myself and also to prepare the classification of grants. She will do a careful piece of work. I am sure you will find her an able person, and I trust that your August visit to the office may coincide with hers.

I am glad that the Pelham house deal seems set.

My best to you.

Sincerely yours,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

MH:am

File

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

July 30, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Attached hereto is a copy of the news release, to be released Monday, August 9, regarding your appointment as executive director of The Field Foundation.

This release is being sent to the following papers:

New York Times
New York Herald Tribune
New York World Telegram
New York Post
New York Journal American
United Press International
The Associated Press
Philanthropic Diges = John Price Jones
Bulletin - American Association of
Fund Raising Counsel, Inc.
Foundation News - Council on Foundations
Chicago Sun-Times
Chicago Tribune
White Plains Reporter Dispatch
Scarsdale Inquirer

Very truly yours,

Judith Ermisch

Judith Ermisch
Sec'y. to Maxwell Hahn

Enc.

File - Field Foundation

August 2, 1965

Mrs. Marshall Field
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Field:

I thought you might like to know that the enterprise described in the attached memorandum is going on. I am only sorry that I did not think of it.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

(PA memo ~~&&~~ to SIC participants, re: ltrs. of appreciation to Max Hahn on his retirement.)

From: The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

PA
MJ-file

For Release Monday, August 9, 1965

Mrs. Marshall Field, Acting President of the Field Foundation, Inc. since the death of Adlai E. Stevenson, announced today the appointment of Leslie W. Dunbar of Atlanta as executive director of the Foundation, succeeding Maxwell Hahn, who, after nearly 25 years with the Foundation, is retiring on October 1, to pursue his interest in American Indian affairs in the Southwest. Mr. Hahn has been elected a member of the Board of Directors of the Foundation.

Mr. Dunbar is presently executive director of the Southern Regional Council, which carries on a program designed to achieve "equal opportunity for all the South's people". The Council, under Mr. Dunbar's direction, has through field program as well as research and information service, been a leading force in the Southern reform movement. It is also affiliated with councils on human relations in each Southern state.

Mr. Dunbar has been with the Southern Regional Council since 1959. Prior to that time, he taught political science at Emory University in Atlanta and at Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts. He also served on the staff of the ~~Federal~~ U.S. Atomic Energy Commission at Aiken, S. C. He was a Guggenheim Fellow in 1954-55 and received his doctorate in political science from Cornell University in 1948.

Maxwell Hahn has been with the Field Foundation since shortly after it was organized in 1940 and has held the office of Executive Vice President since 1943 and Secretary since 1950. He was graduated from Oberlin College in 1922 and entered the newspaper field as a reporter and editor on upstate New York, Detroit and Toledo newspapers. He later went into public relations in the

-more

non-profit field working for colleges and hospitals. He served as public education director for the Associated Hospital Service of New York, the United Hospital Fund of New York and Hospital Survey of New York. During World War II he was administrative assistant to the late Marshall Field III, who was chairman of the United States Committee for the Care of European Children. Mr. Hahn has long had an interest in the history of American Indian and has made anthropological study in the Southwest his avocation.

The Field Foundation was incorporated in 1940 by the late Marshall Field, III who stated the hope that "by experimentation and a few ideals and social techniques may be helped to germinate which will eventually prove to be of enough value to be adopted by the community". The Foundation has directed its program to the welfare of children and the improvement of interracial and intercultural relations. The report of the Foundation for 1964 showed net worth in excess of $39,000,000. During 1963-64, the Foundation made total grants of $2,142,383.79, of which $1,091,600 were for projects in interracial relations and $783,142.79 for programs related to child welfare.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

July 12, 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Here is the news release as drafted by Mr. Church.

We will wait for Governor Stevenson's permission to use his name which we hope will come later this week or early next week.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enc.

From: The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Release----------

Adlai E. Stevenson, President of the Field Foundation, announced today the appointment of Leslie W. Dunbar of Atlanta as executive of the Foundation, succeeding Maxwell Hahn, who, after nearly twenty-five years with the Foundation, is retiring on October 1, to puruse his interest in American Indian affairs in the Southwest.

Mr. Dunbar is presently executive director of the Southern Regional Council, which carries on a program designed to achieve "equal opportunity for all the South's people". The Council, under Mr. Dunbar's direction, has ~~sought to aid communities in easing the transition from segregation to integration in many fields.~~

Mr. Dunbar has been with the Southern Regional Council since 1959. Prior to that time, he taught political science at Emory University in Atlanta and at Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts. He has also served on the staff of the ~~Federal~~ U.S. Atomic Energy Commission at Aiken, S. C. He was a Guggenheim Fellow in 1954-55 and received his doctorate in political science from Cornell University in 1948.

Maxwell Hahn has been with the Field Foundation since shortly after it was organized in 1940 and has held the office of Executive Vice President since 1943 and Secretary since 1950. He was graduated from Oberlin College

in 1922 and entered the newspaper field as a reporter and editor on upstate New York, Detroit and Toledo newspapers. He later went into public relations in the non-profit field working for colleges and hospitals. He served as public education director for the Associated Hospital Service of New York, the United Hospital Fund of New York and Hospital Survey of New York. During World War II he was administrative assistant to the late Marshall Field III, who was chairman of the United States Committee for the Care of European Children. Mr. Hahn has long had an interest in the history of the American Indian and has made anthropological study in the Southwest his avocation.

The Field Foundation was incorporated in 1940 by the late Marshall Field III, who stated the hope that "by experimentation a few ideals and social techniques may be helped to germinate which will eventually prove to be of enough value to be adopted by the community". The Foundation has directed its program to the welfare of children and the improvement of interracial and intercultural relations. The report of the Foundation for 1964 showed net worth in excess of $39,000,000. During 1963-64, the Foundation made total grants of $2,142,383.79, of which $1,091,600 were for projects in interracial relations and $783,142.79 for programs related to child welfare.

PA
MI-file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

August 23, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

Thank you for your August 18th letter. I was as surprised as you were to know that Mrs. Semmel is having a baby. I am delighted for her sake and distressed for the Foundation.

You may want to turn over in your mind the pros and cons of some sort of a part-time arrangement with Dr. Milton Senn to review and make recommendations on 'children's' applications. He has an outstanding position in the field.

I have to leave for Chicago this afternoon to sign more documents in connection with the transfer of the Field Building, and I also have to go out next Monday for the official "closing" or settlement.

There's a memorial service to Adlai on Thursday which will take up most of that day. I think, therefore, that our chances of talking are much better after September 11th than they are in the near future.

The Foundation does not have any contingency fund at this time. It, therefore, cannot help Francis Pauley until there is official board action. This is one of the few times that an emergency fund would be productive. There have been times in the past when it was troublesome because of pressure for non-emergent items.

I assume that you are all set for the house. Please give our best to Peggy.

As ever,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

File
Fdn - Field

August 27, 1965

Mrs. Lillian Alcock
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Alcock:

Enclosed is some correspondence which better belongs in your files than down here. There may be more of this later.

Mr. Hahn might be interested in looking at some of the letters.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

Race 9/1/65

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

August 30, 1965

file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Mrs. Alcock has given me the letters from Mr. Limbert of the Blue Ridge Assembly and Sol Markoff. I am delighted that you handled the latter as you did. Markoff was in looking for a job some time ago. His personality is a bit odd. Mr. McCagg of Pittsburgh also is making the rounds looking for a foundation connection. Dick Bennett, as you will discover, is a very solid person. He sees race relations the way Barbara Moffett sees them. I am very fond of him. I shall not try to cover the other letters as I have to dash for the Chicago plane and the final two days of signing papers in connection with the Field Building.

My best to you.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

PAC
MJ 9/7/65 file - Field Fd.

September 3, 1965

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
Field Foundation
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

For the past several years I have served as a member of the Board of Penn Community Services and also as its Treasurer. Therefore, I am fully aware of the contribution that the Field Foundation under your guidance made to our program. Our project under Tom Barnwell could not have met with success if it had not been for the grants made for this particular project. You personally have rendered great service to humanity over the years. We shall certainly miss your sympathetic understanding and loyalty to Penn. Penn Community Services shall be indebted to you and the Field Foundation.

It is our sincere hope that you will continue to enjoy good health and a long life.

Sincerely yours,

Penn Community Services, Inc.

[illegible] A. Clement, CLU,
Treasurer

[illegible]Cm

cc: Mr. [illegible] Dunbar

Rec'd 9/9/65

File

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

September 8, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

After our telephone conversation yesterday I looked at the Morris Abram file and could not satisfy myself that I have the much sought after Lloyd Garrison memo. Therefore, a call was made to Morris' secretary asking that she send a copy of the memo directly to you. I trust that you receive it promptly.

This is a reminder not to forget about your travel expense statement. I should like to have it this week, if possible.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

— 1965

file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

September 9, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

The Field Foundation's check for $264.53 reimbursing you for your travel expense to New York August 16-18, 1965 and to Washington August 31-September 1, 1965 is enclosed in accordance with your letter of September 7, 1965 received today.

Lloyd Garrison's secretary will forward the memo as soon as she can get hold of Lloyd who has been over at the Board of Education trying to head off next Monday's projected teacher strike.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

file
Field Fd - 1965

September 7, 1965

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

Thank you for having the hotel reservation made. Also, in reference to your letter of September 2, here below are my expenses for the two trips:

<u>August 16-18, New York</u>

Air travel:	
Atlanta to New York, jet coach ...	$ 52.19
New York to Atlanta, single class.	56.70
Taxi (including airport transportation	10.80
Hotel (see attached)	32.14
Meals.....	17.50
Tips	1.00
	$170.33
Less: SRC phone call (see hotel bill)	4.84
	$165.49

9904

26453

August 31 - September 1, Washington

Air travel	
Atlanta to Washington, first class (coach not available)	$ 48.82
Washington to Atlanta, Coach	34.07
Taxi (including transportation)..	15.85
Telephone	.30
	$ 99.04

My taxi bill on the Washington trip was high, because the early departure required me to take a cab from home. On these trips also I used flite-cheks, and will have to send up the receipts when they come through; I think on my next trip it may prove simpler if I get a conventional ticket. I am enclosing the receipted flite-cheks for Peggy's and my trip of July.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 9/3/65

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

September 2, 1965

Dear Leslie:

Don't you have an expense statement or statements to submit? I have in mind the meeting in Washington last Tuesday and your visit to the New York office earlier in August.

You will be pleased to know that the Field building sale went through after 70 documents had been dealt with in two trips to Chicago.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

9/7/65

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

September 3, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

We have reserved a room for you at the Biltmore for the night of September 16th.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

See Field Fd.

VIA AIR MAIL

September 14, 1965

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

My mover needs a letter of authorization to send his invoice to the Field Foundation. Could you please send such a letter, authorizing the move and informing him how to submit his bill? The address is: Flanigan the Moving Man, Agent; Global Van Lines; 643 10th Street, N. W.; Atlanta, Georgia.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js

file

MS file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

1965

September 17, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

The book of letters from the many fine people concerned with the South and human decency completely surprised me when Les presented it to me last night at the Field Foundation dinner.

I am going to display these letters with great pleasure. Perhaps I will even bring myself to believe a few of the generous things which you and others say.

Thank you so much.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

File Field Fd - 1965
cx. ref - 1965
V.E.P.

September 22, 1965

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

Enclosed herewith is a memorandum which we have prepared portraying the needs as we see them for various kinds of programs of civic education. We have done this study as one of the cleanup operations of VEP. Obviously, the ideas presented in it would require further development if they were to be implemented.

Persons interviewed in the preparation of this report were unanimous in their opinions that we are dealing here with a pressing and urgent need. It seems to me that the Field Foundation, which has done more than any other through its support of The Citizenship Education Program, might be in a unique, strategic position to guide further programming in this area.

Again, best wishes to you for your trip West, and I look forward to seeing you at the next meeting. Please send us your telephone number.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. - Programming for Civic Education

cc: Mr. Morris Abram
Bc: David Hunter

SA✓
PA✓
MS file

Cr. ref.
vep - 1965
"Programming for Civic Educ."

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

September 24, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

I was very interested, of course, in the SRC memo on programming for civic education.

When you get to New York, I think you will want to review the files on the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries and also on Highlander. You will note that the SCLC is not in the dominant position it was in the United Church Board's Citizenship Education Program. I have not met Dr. Green who is running the Citizenship Education Program this year, but I feel that both Septima Clark and Myles Horton have as much experience as anybody in the country on the practicalities of citizenship education in the South. I am not trying to discourage expanded efforts and new approaches but I doubt that there are many people who would know any more about the subject than Myles and Septima. You probably will want to talk with Dr. Wesley Hotchkiss of the United Church Board when you get to New York.

I wish we could bat this back and forth in person for I feel concern that much more be done on civic education.

I hope your moving experience is not too wearing.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

CC - Morris B. Abram, Esq.

MJ - please give this back in about a month.

Rec'd 10/6/65

LILLY ENDOWMENT, INC.

914 MERCHANTS BANK BUILDING

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA 46204

September 29, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

Thank you for your letter of September 22. May I congratulate you on your new position as executive director of the Field Foundation, and welcome you to the fascinating area of philanthropy.

It will be a pleasure to meet your successor at a later date.

Sincerely yours,

John S. Lynn

John S. Lynn
General Manager

lw

P.S. interesting! Some money maybe MJ

I have all 5 now and will circulate them as soon as I've read them.

Pat
SAV
RC
MJ-file

See file 7d. (check on these) 1965

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 13, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Pat, Sam and Reese all said they would like to see my lectures as they get finished. I am enclosing a copy of the first one and will send down the others as they get finished.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je
Enc.

filed in Research + Information

Rec'd 10/20/65

file

1965

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 18, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

As I may have told you, I am having lunch November 5th with Art Singer and have been asked while with him and his associates to discuss the needs of the Southern Regional Council. If you may have before then a preliminary forecast of your 1966 situation please send it up to me.

Can I have 13 additional copies of Bob Coles' The Migrant Farmer to distribute to members of my Board?

I have spoken on the phone with Leland DeVinney and have told him that you would be up probably in late October. He thinks that he will be in town and would like to meet you. I believe that it would be interesting to him for you to describe the Ford program. I am not just sure what approach you should take regarding further help from Rockefeller to SRC at this time; certainly you should leave him with the understanding that Ford has not cured SRC's financial problems.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:LA

File Field Fd.

October 18, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Les:

Thanks for the copies of the first two lectures which I have read. They are excellent. Besides being interesting, I think the VEP book writers will find them helpful. They are now being circulated.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:js

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

File
Field Fd. 1965
Cr. ref
Dennis, Robt. B.
MJ

Rec'd 11/4/65

October 28, 1965

Mr. Robert B. Dennis
171 Steuben Street
Brooklyn 5, New York

Dear Mr. Dennis:

I have read your Knoxville report, as well as the newsletters enclosed with your letter of October 13, with real interest.

If you have not already done so, I hope you will send a copy of the report and newsletters to Paul Anthony, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, and that you will put SRC on your mailing list for future releases. My understanding is that the Council is developing programs in city planning and it may be that you could find ways to cooperate beneficially.

I shall be glad to have you phone and set up a time to talk.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je

BC - Mr. Paul Anthony

File
Field Fd — 1965

October 29, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

While I realize you won't be back at your desk until after November 2, I wanted to get before you some brief comments on my first New York trip.

At Ford, where I found a very warm reception, I delivered extra information about the state Councils. Paul Ylvisaker and his staff will attempt to get before the next board meeting a request for $100,000 for the grant-in-aid program; no provisions for SRC overhead, but they will recommend we get the 3-year grant in a lump sum so we can earn the interest.

A brief visit with Dave Freeman and his assurances again of speaking will of supporting the request we have before Ottinger.

The first day ended with a pleasant and helpful 2-hour conversation with Vernon Eagle.

The morning of my second day was, again, spent at Ford going over the final draft of "our proposal," and lunch with Dr. Devinney at Rockefeller, whom I found friendly and helpful. While I have no doubt of his desire to help SRC, I was concerned that it will take a great deal of work to have the Foundation even consider another grant to us, and that if it does, the grant will definitely be terminal. Joe Black and Flora Rhind spent about an hour with me. During that time I followed as many of DeVinney's instructions as I could. Am I correct in assuming that Black's interest is crucial here? I could never determine his reaction to me or the Council. He appeared dis-interested, but I may be wrong.

Next week, on Thursday, I will see Currier and several other people. I will check to determine if you are available then.

They were an interesting two days, but I would have rather been in Mississippi!

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file
Field Fd

November 2, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Getting to your letter of October 18, re information for the Carnegie Foundation, reminded me the Coles pamphlets hadn't been sent up. They are being sent today.

I shall call you on Thursday morning to determine if we can get together on Thursday afternoon. If necessary I can remain over Friday morning, though plans are now to return sometime Thursday evening.

Among the things not yet done for the Annual Meeting is the proposed budget and our projected income. However, enough has been done to mention the following, which we may have an opportunity to discuss before your meeting with Singer.

As you know, our general operations budget for 1965 is approximately $244,000. We will likely spend approximately $230,000. Of this amount we will have raised approximately $200,000 for the purposes of general operations. The remainder will be made up from such items as the VEP transfer. (Also, the Development Committee is now asking, gently, the Members for support and this should yield several thousand dollars. If there is time

before the end of the year to work on Stern's matching grant of $10,000, this too will represent general operations income from foundations.)

In short, it has been difficult to meet our current budget and every effort will be made to present a general operations budget for 1966 of no larger amount. (I shall try to cut it a little, but that cannot be counted on.) And, from this year's experience we really have a gap in excess of $25,000 that needs to be filled from new sources. I rely on your judgment here, but it seems to me Carnegie could make the most valuable contribution to us by giving a three-to-five year grant to general operations of $25,000 a year.

As mentioned in my earlier letter, we do not yet know if the Rockefeller Foundation will entertain another request. If they do not, or if they reject our request for renewal, the general operations gap referred to above is increased to approximately $75,000

Secondly, as this again is a matter I would like to have an opportunity to discuss with youone of these days, I am intrigued with the idea of establishing within SRC an identifiable Research and Information Center that would be run as one unit rather than two departments. To a large measure, you saw that this was the case when you were director, but in the absence of your particular skills in research and editing, there may be merit -- need -- for a more identifiable single unit with one person in charge. (Pat, of course.)

If any foundation was so disposed, I think it could make a real contribution to the cause by giving SRC the resources to underwrite our basic research-information function. Done properly, this would cost $75,000 - $100,000. And, if there was a need for project identity, we would be comfortable with making a project of the "research and information center." DeVinney has heard this idea, and is sounding out the Rockefeller Foundation.

Thirdly, there are the state Councils. Of course, we are hopeful Ford will make the grant of $100,000 a year for three years, all of which would go directly to the Councils. If this is done, that effort would be supported sufficiently, (with one or two minor exceptions), and I think to put more than $150,000

(Ford, Field, and Taconic support) into the grant-in-aid program would go beyond an efficient point of diminishing returns. If the Ford grant is forthcoming, I would not feel comfortable asking for another major foundation grant unless we should loose the support of either Field or Taconic.

Beyond the above, you know the situation. And, you are one of the few people who understand the Ford grant hasn't made general operations rich. (With luck we will have about $10,000 from the $54,000 overhead, over and above all obligations to the projects.) We will really have more than that in terms of such items as Elliott's salary and some printing costs which otherwise would come from general operations.)

Needless to say, I'm grateful for your taking on this, and comfortable with any ideas, suggestions, or proposals you come up with.

Hope to see you Thursday andFriday.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File

Rec'd 11/16/65

VMS

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

November 10, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Please give my compliments to Sam Adams on the report on "School Desegregation". It is very good.

I am enclosing some material which came my way from the Architects' Renewal Committee in Harlem. I thought it might be of interest to you and Moreland Smith.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je
Enc.

ARCH

VOLUNTEER
ARCHITECTURAL
& URBAN PLAN-
NING SERVICES
TO NEIGHBOR-
HOOD ORGANIZA-
TIONS IN HARLEM.
306 LENOX AVE
TEL. 427-2450

ARCH NEWS

ARCHITECTS' RENEWAL COMMITTEE IN HARLEM, INC.
306 LENOX AVENUE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK
OFFICE PHONE 427-2450 DRAFTING STUDIO PHONE 427-2480

At a recent executive committee meeting, Mr. Albert Mayer asked whether ARCH had made itself available to the community at large or only to a few local institutions. Many of you may also be interested in a brief account of some of the people who have called on ARCH recently and the ways in which we have been able to help them. The incidents reported below, although not strictly a part of ARCH's regular activities, play an important role in developing a neighborhood clientele.

Sept. 15 Mr. Henry Shoates, a member of the West Harlem Community Organization, came to ARCH for advice concerning new job possibilities. Out of the ensuing conversation came the notion of a referral, pre-training center in West Harlem to offer services to the area's unemployed adult males. Mr. Shoates is enthusiastic about running the center and is working with ARCH and the West Harlem Community Organization to develop a formal proposal for submission to the New York City Council Against Poverty. We think that this service in the West Harlem Community will also bring a new segment of the population into our urban renewal planning there.

Aug. 23 - We received a phone call from a Mrs. Liggons, who had been told of ARCH by a friend who works in our office building. Mrs. Liggons complained of chronic problems with her building on West 151st Street. We mentioned to her the new law which allows tenants to petition the court to have their rents used to make repairs and put her in touch with a lawyer from the Harlem Neighborhood Legal Assistance Project. Her tenants' group decided to initiate court action; an ARCH volunteer made an estimate (as required by the law) of the cost of removing or repairing each dangerous condition in the building and is prepared to give testimony when the case goes to court. (Jack Bailey of the ARCH staff recently testified in a similar case; the tenants won.)

As a result of the phone call from Mrs. Liggons, ARCH decided to print a flyer for tenants telling them about the new law and to recruit volunteers to prepare the estimates necessary to each case. The new law, if sufficiently exploited, represents an opportunity to improve housing conditions in Harlem.

Aug. 12 Miss Silva from Haryou-Act called on ARCH for help in locating physicians to examine 190 young men scheduled to leave on August 19 for rural job corps camps. She had been unable to arrange for medical examinations through either the Department of Health or the various City hospital clinics.

We contacted a doctor from the Medical Committee for Human Rights who volunteered to administer the physicals single-handedly.

Sept. 24 We were approached by Mr. Earl Lewis, chairman of Haryou's temporary Neighborhood Board #3, and invited to speak to the Board meeting, September 24, on housing problems in Harlem. Eventually, the Neighborhood Boards will have a housing division, but since the staff will not be professional, ARCH has volunteered to provide instruction and assistance as needed.

Aug. 23 Gordon Benskin and Robert Knight of Haryou-Act came to discuss fall programs for their Neighborhood Youth Corps teams. We suggested that they develop the notion of using a barge as a recreation space at the 125th Street pier. The barge could be decorated, maintained and operated by a staff of Neighborhood Youth Corps youngsters. The proposal was received with considerable enthusiasm and Mr. Knight is at work on the project.

July One of the students working with ARCH this summer developed a project for ten Neighborhood Youth Corps youngsters from Haryou-Act. They joined with a team from the ARCH summer project in a survey of recreation facilities in Harlem. Their report will be published shortly by Haryou.

Sept. 23 Charles Ward from ACT, Inc. has asked ARCH to help train the 60 Domestic Peace Corpsmen who will be working on housing in Harlem. He has also invited us to speak to the joint monthly meetings of ACT's block associations.

July Mrs. Moscou, head of information centers for the Interfaith Ministerial Alliance in Harlem, made extensive use of our reference file of material on Harlem.

Oct. Richard Hatch is speaking to the Drew Hamilton Tenants Association on Monday, 11 October, on the problem of urban renewal in St. Nicholas Park.

Some months ago, we were approached by a group of Youth Board and Precinct Council workers for help with their idea for a major indoor recreation center in Harlem. Volunteers have been working on an architectural program for the project.

Members of the Delta Ministry in Greenville, Mississippi, have appealed to us for help in surveying land and building homes for 51 striking sharecroppers. They are unable to find architects and engineers in Mississippi willing to work with them.

Then there was the woman who called to ask if we would design a house for her mother in South Carolina. . .

SUMMARY OF THE MAIN PROVISIONS OF "THE HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965." APPLICABLE TO HARLEM.

Housing for Low-Income Families

The 1965 Housing Act will increase the amount of sound housing that can be provided for low-income families who are elderly, physically handicapped, displaced by government action (such as urban renewal), victims of a natural disaster or presently occupying sub-standard housing.

The main programs that will help do this are:

NEW HOUSING PROGRAMS FOR LOW-INCOME FAMILIES

New Rent Supplement Program: This major new program seeks to overcome some of the deficiencies of existing public housing programs by making a large number of privately-built housing units available to families with low incomes. It is expected to create some 375,000 new units over the next four years, about 35,000 of them in New York City. The federal government will pay the difference between "economic" rent and the amount the tenant can afford as follows:

How the Housing Is Financed: The housing would be built by non-profit (community organizations, churches, civic and charitable groups), cooperative or limited dividend sponsors under the requirements of FHA's moderate income housing program and at regular market interest rates, which are now about 5 3/4 per cent. However, as an experiment, the Act authorizes up to 10 per cent of the rent supplement grants to be used on housing built under FHA's 3 per cent interest rate programs for moderate-income families, the elderly and the handicapped.

Who is Eligible: Families and individuals whose incomes are below the maximum established in the City for public housing and who, in addition, are elderly, physically handicapped, displaced from their homes by governmental action, living in slums or the victims of a natural disaster, are eligible to receive rent supplements.

WHAT the Rent Supplement Pays: Eligible tenants would pay 25 percent of their income toward the established fair market rents. The rent supplement would pay the difference above that percentage. As income rises, the supplement would be reduced, and when the family could pay the full market rent, it would continue to live in the same apartment without a supplement. Under the law, however, rent supplements, if needed, will be paid for a period of forty years.

Size of the Program: The Act authorizes $30 million for rent supplement payments in the fiscal year 1966, and additional amounts of $35 million in 1967, $40 million in 1968 and $45 million in 1969, a total of $150 million.

Rehabilitation Grants: The Act authorizes grants to enable homeowners, that is, low-income resident homeowners in urban renewal areas, whose homes will require rehabilitation under the renewal plan, to improve their homes and remain in them, rather than to relocate. The grants may be up to $1,500 for families with incomes of less than $3,000 a year or lower amounts, based on need, for owners with higher incomes.

EXISTING HOUSING PROGRAMS FOR LOW-INCOME FAMILIES

Low-Rent Public Housing: The 1965 Act provides for 60,000 additional low-rent public housing units a year over the next four years. An estimated 35,000 a year are to be in new construction, 15,000 are to be bought from present owners and rehabilitated if necessary and 10,000 are to be leased for low-rent use from provate owners. The major change made from the present program is to permit the use of existing housing, both purchased and leased, for public housing. New York City will probably get no more than 3000 units per year.

FHA Moderate-Income Housing: The 1961 program to provide housing for low and moderate income families, at interest rates below the market level, is continued and the rate is reduced to 3 per cent to assure lower rents. Rents of around $20 per room ($80 for a 1 Bedroom apartment) should be possible.

Direct Loans for Housing for the Elderly and Handicapped: This program for non-profit housing for the elderly and the handicapped of moderate means is extended with an additional $150,000,000 and the interest rate is reduced to 3 per cent.

URBAN RENEWAL

Low Interest Rehabilitation Loans: The Act increases the funds authorized over the next four years for low interest loans for rehabilitating structures in urban renewal areas.

Code Enforcement: The Act authorizes grants of up to two-thirds of the cost to assist cities in carrying out concentrated code enforcement programs, including street repairs, sidewalks, street lighting and planting, in deteriorating areas. Similar grants can also be made to demolish unsound structures in urban renewal areas.

Relocation: The coverage of relocation payments is extended to families,individuals, businesses and non-profit groups displaced under any federally-assisted urban devlopment program. The relocation payment to displaced small businesses is raised from $1,500 to $2,500. Moving expenses for businesses will also be paid.

IMPROVEMENTS IN URBAN AREAS

Grants for Neighborhood Facilities: Grants are authorized to public and private agencies to help build neighborhood facilities, such as community or youth centers and health stations. Priority is given to projects which would support a community action program under the anti-poverty program, and to projects which will be of special benefit to low-income families. Grants could cover up to two-thirds of the project cost and $50 million is provided for each of the next four years.

Grants for Urban Beautification and Improvement: Matching grants (50 per cent) grants are authorized to help localities beautify and improve open space and other public land. This could include such works as street landscaping tree planting and improving small parks. To encourage experimentation and new ideas in this field $5 million of the $36 million authorized for the program can be used to pay up to 90 per cent of the cost of projects.

Open-Space Land Grants: The Act authorizes a total of $64 million to buy and clear land in built-up areas for such facilities as parks, squares, playgrounds and pedestrian areas. The Federal government would pay up to 50 per cent of the cost of the land.

Architects' Renewal Committee in Harlem (ARCH)
306 Lenox Avenue
427-2450

October 1965

Paul _ I was so glad we were ready when he asked. I've attached some revisions & notes made since your previous copy, fyi. It occurs to me, everybody is asking for this information. Should it inaugurate those quick, topical releases you want VEP to produce? Nobody else has anything as good, including, we now learn, Justice. BP

file
Field Fd.
Cr. ref.
1965 - V.E.P.

November 17, 1965

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation , Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Leslie:

Enclosed are the figures I have been using for about 3 weeks, with some elaborations attached. The requests have been legion. At first, I was shy about these numbers, but the more I have shared them and compared them with others, including some statewide totals from Justice, the more comfortable I get. As you will see, "pettifogging" does not appear to be the right word for claiming a 30% increase.

Best,

Enclosures (2)

Barbara Patterson
Research

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

Negro Voter Registration in the South, October 1965

Alabama	135,000	estimate	
Arkansas	104,000	estimate	(official total registered: 559,851)
Florida	289,792	official	
Georgia	290,000	estimate	
Louisiana	186,333	official	
Mississippi	56,000	official	(state officials reported in press)
North Carolina	275,000	estimate	
South Carolina	142,780	official	
Tennessee	220,000	estimate	
Virginia	205,000	estimate	
Texas	380,000	estimate	
Total	2,283,905		

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Some annotations on Negro voter registration figures

Alabama — an additional 28,443 registered by federal examiners as of 10/25

Arkansas — Negro registration probably declined in Arkansas, 11/64 to 11/65. Knowledgeable local persons are in agreement and the official total registered is lower than the same figure a year ago

Florida — officially recognized as a decline over 11/64 lists have been officially purged

Georgia — a better estimate might be between 280,000 and 290,000

Louisiana — an additional 10,926 registered by federal examiners as of 10/25

Mississippi — 56,000 has been the figure used by state officials while they have not released official registration data. The figure has not been challenged by civil rights personnel in the field. An additional 15,422 had been listed by federal examiners as of 10/25.

North Carolina — this is quite a rough estimate

South Carolina — released official figures for the first time recently. 142,780 is a slight decline over SRC figures for a year ago. Granted the 1964 figure was an estimate, SRC had its most precise reporting from this state.

Tennessee — this is a very low estimate. Tennessee has had an increase but we have not yet documented it.

Texas — has probably had little change. Also not documented.

Virginia — this is a low estimate. Official data from the State is anticipated in Nov. '65.

The total we talk in terms of at this time is roughly 2.3 million. This is a 5% increase over the SRC total for one year ago, i.e., 2,174,200. If the number listed by federal examiners were added to the 1965 total, the increase (as of 10/25) would be 7.6%.

mt - file -

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

November 15, 1965

done 11/17/65
will wait EP
see a letter

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

What, with everything else you have to do this week, I hate to add to your load but, as you know, we shall be having some conversations next week about voter registration. Do you think you could get to me, this week, your latest estimates of registration totals; I recognize that they will be very rough and approximate.

But is it possible that the Department of Justice is pettifogging figures here just as you have already pointed out the Office of Education has been doing; see the enclosure.

Mrs. Knox - if Paul is not in the office, please give this letter to Same or someone.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je

Minutes November 5, 1965

NATIONAL CIVIL LIBERTIES CLEARING HOUSE

Attendance : The National Civil Liberties Clearing House met in the Washington Post's Community Room on November 5, 1965, with the following attendance : Thomas E. Harris, AFL-CIO, presiding in the absence of the chairman, Lawrence Speiser, American Civil Liberties Union; Olinda M. Roettger, Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod; Samuel Ethridge, National Education Association; Mary O'Melveny, American Civil Liberties Union; Olya Margolin, National Council of Jewish Women; Mrs. Wilbur L. Morse, National Board, Y W C A: Cleo Tavani, National Association of Social Workers; Moe Hoffman, National Jewish Welfare Board; Katherine Clendening, National Cathedral; David A. Brody, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; John H. Eberly, Church of the Brethren; Milnor Alexander and Charlotte Hankin, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Patty Coe, National Council of Catholic Women; Barbara Iliff, League of Women Voters; Beatrice McConnell, United Church Women; Anne Foss, American Jewish Congress; Russell Bradley, National Conference of Christians and Jews; Kenneth Clark, Motion Picture Association of America.

Meryle Hutchison, American Nurses Association; Yvonne Price, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights; Judy Starbuck and Alison Gordon, Friends Committee on National Legislation; Doris Gibson and Norman Hill, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department; B. T. McGraw, Housing and Home Finance Agency; Marvin Caplan, I U D, AFL-CIO; Frank Pohlhaus, N A A C P; Phineas Indritz, American Veterans Committee; Felix Putterman, Jewish War Veterans; Ashby Smith and Leon Henderson, National Alliance of Postal Employees; Rosaline Fisher, D.C. League of Women Voters; Grace Jones, Methodist Church, Women's Division, and United Church Women; Margaret McCane, United Church of Christ; Robert Stein and Edward L. Eriscon, American Ethical Union; Armand Derfner and James V. Siena, National Capital Area Civil Liberties Union; Emily Reed, American Library Association; Robert E. Jones, Unitarian Universalist Association; Clarence Fisher, Rev. John Bayley Jones, Robert E. Baker, Alan Barth; Mary Alice Baldinger for the office.

Next Meeting : Thursday, December 2, at 2 p. m. at the Post's Community Room.

Program : Stephen J. Pollak, First Assistant in the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, speaking on "What Justice Is Doing and Hopes to Do in Enforcing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act," discussed the effects to date of both laws and cited changes that have been brought about by them, both through voluntary compliance and through the Department's enforcement activities. He cited a 30% increase in the number of Negroes registered, either with the aid of Federal registrars or by state officials. The Justice Department, he said, will continue to encourage voluntary compliance but will insist that compliance be full and complete. He also commented upon the refusal of Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana to register on their own books voter applicants who have qualified before Federal examiners under the Voting Rights Act and the court moves that aim at an early test of the Act's constitutionality, and on the Justice Department's involvement in the Lowndes Country, Ala., jury participation case. On the Civil Rights Act, he discussed the activities in which Justice is engaged and some of the problems it faces, particularly in the areas of employment, the schools, and Federally-aided programs.

Henry Schwarzschild, Executive Director of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union -- an agency co-operatively established by several civil rights organizations to enlist lawyers to serve in the

South on a voluntary basis, providing legal help and counsel to persons engaged in achieving constitutional rights -- discussed "The Legal Needs of the Civil Rights Movement." He described another face of the South -- the hard-core areas of resistance, intransigeance and violence. He held that the government is operating under two misconceptions: the first, voluntary compliance, which he called almost totally lacking, noting that many of the law officers who are supposed to lead in compliance are themselves actively working to deny constitutional rights to Negro citizens; and the second, the doctrine of "consensus" which, he said, frequently operates to weaken or nullify enforcement of the law. He placed a different emphasis on the need for further legislation, stressing the desirability of stronger enforcement of existing laws; more Federal registrars operating not in the court-houses (which he called "the citadels of the rednecks") but in community locations; and reform of the whole area of the administration of justice in the South. Southern Negroes, he said, need protection for their families, their property and their lives; but they also need assurance that there is "another America" and whites who are their friends and will work to help them.

Current Material : The office will send out its remaining copies of literature distributed at the meeting on request (1637 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C. - 20036):

1) THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965 -- The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights' new pamphlet which presents a summary of the Act's provisions, along with its full text.

2) SOUTHERN JUSTICE : AN INDICTMENT -- A special report by the Southern Regional Council, prepared with the co-operation of the American Civil Liberties Union, and dealing with the double standards of justice prevalent through the South.

3) CIVIL RIGHTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN EDUCATION -- The report of the conference of the National Education Association's Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities, which includes talks presented by Clarence Mitchell of the N A A C P, Otis Finley of the Urban League, Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel, Buell Gallagher, president of the City College of New York, and numerous others.

4) LOS ANGELES : WHY? -- Newsweek's detailed study of the Watts riots and their causes and likely consequences, reprinted by the Citizens Crusade against Poverty.

5) From the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, its statement on SEGREGATED JUSTICE and the conduct of Southern courts, and reprints of newspaper reactions to the acquittal of Thomas Coleman in the killing of ESCRU worker Jonathan Daniels.

File
Field Foundation

November 29, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Included is a copy of our proposal to the Rockefeller Foundation. In addition to the proposal there were a number of attachments, including the:

Board List
Staff List
Publications List, 1965
Proposed Budgets, 1966
SRC Publications Program
Press Cpmments about SRC
SSSampling of Comments on SRC Materials

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/pf

File - Field Foundation 1965

November 29, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Several matters.

NSA has sent a memorandum to members of the advisory committee which is not a copy of the proposal to Field, though I assume much of the same thinking is in it. I was disappointed to see the idea of several persons on the staff, each responsible for an area or specialty rather than a couple of good people to work in all the program. This, and the heavy emphasis on community involvement, is contrary to the advice of the advisory committee -- but so be it. I doubt, too, the wisdom of thinking of NSA as the instrument to change higher education in the South, though it is certainly a valid student concern. The Southern Project needs to continue, but if the Foundation is disposed to give further support I don't see why they can't give some guidance as well. (Since the above was written, I have seen a copy of your letter to Phil. Good luck!)

I have read Al's memo. It's good, though I disagree with it in several places. On SSOC I think he's correct, though the critical answer as to who will lead and provide the manpower is left unanswered. With the Southern Project I think he was less critical than he should have been

of accomplishments this year, and that he omitted some of their best accomplishments. The same is true of the student human relations councils; in many instances they are weak and border on insignificance, but they have done and are doing considerably more than the memo indicates. I know in this instance it will not, but I would be concerned if someone not familiar with the student movement saw this as the analysis of all the student movement in the region.

I know little about the Central Louisiana Total Community Action, Inc., except that on a very limited basis they did some good work and now want to expand considerably. Dave Freeman had the same proposal on his desk when I was there some weeks ago. He indicated some amount of checking and a negative response. You might want to talk with him about his findings and opinions if you have serious interest.

Much more later.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

November 12, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Could you, at your convenience, give me some word about Central Louisiana Total Community Action, Inc.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je
Enc.

Same to Dave Freeman

CENTRAL LOUISIANA TOTAL COMMUNITY ACTION INCORPORATED

Phone 443-1477 ALEXANDRIA, LA. 71301 1406 Ninth St.

October 11, 1965

Field Foundation
135 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Gentlemen:

The Central Louisiana Total Community Action, Incorporated, a tax-exempt, non profit corporation organized under the laws of the State of Louisiana, is vitally interested in two projects in its overall fight against poverty and racial discrimination, namely: "Affirmative Action For Equal Employment Opportunities," and Preparation For Full Citizenship in a Democratic Society." We feel that there is a vital need for these projects in this area, as explained by the narratives which we have attached hereto and made a part hereof.

The Corporation would like to point out that no other organization is doing similar or comparable work in this area.

We hope that your foundation will agree with us that there is a great need for projects of the types which we are submitting to you.

Respectfully yours,

CENTRAL LOUISIANA TOTAL COMMUNITY
ACTION, INCORPORATED

Louis Berry

Louis Berry, Attorney

LB:cwr

Enclosures

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION FOR EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Vice President H. H. Humphrey in a recent speech pointed out a fact which is alarming but well known. That is, the unemployment among Negroes is higher, more acute, and more chronic than among any other racial group in America.

The main contributing factors can be found in a lack of training, education, motivation, and widespread racial discrimination in all parts of this country.

The statistics show that although the gross national products has risen considerably in the last few years, in spite of this fact, the Negro has only received a negligible amount of this gross national product.

This chronic and acute condition has resulted in complete demoralization and frustration in a large segment of Negroes all over this county, which at many times has manifested itself in ugly riots and violence, throughout the length and breadth of this land.

Rapides Parish, Louisiana, is in a transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy. The employable Negroes in this area constitutes about 10,935. The average education among these people is less than functional literacy. Their experience, by and large, has been in agricultural pursuits and menial labor for which there is no room in the new industrial economy which is expanding by leaps and bounds into this area.

It is elementary that the Negroes' crippling disability can be found in the lack of training and education which is compounded by racial discrimination.

The Central Louisiana Total Community Action, Inc., made a study of this problem and became profoundly interested in devising ways and means to solve and ameliorate these conditions among Negroes and other minorities as a part of its War Against Poverty.

Our survey showed that the bulk of Negroes were employed as domestics, sawmill workers, agricultural workers, unskilled laborers, such as service station attendants, sanitation workers, laundry workers, motel workers and other service categories.

The median income for the non-white population in Rapides Parish as shown in 1960 was $2,201.00 annually per family.

We found overwhelming discrimination against Negroes in such jobs as clerical workers, grocery store clerks, supervisory positions, in Federal Projects such as the Post Office, USDA, HEW, Social Security Office, Employment Office, V. A. Hospitals, National Forests, Military establishments and all forms of white collar work, both public and private.

There were no Negroes employed in the Federal, State, and Parish positions.

There were no Negroes employed as bus drivers and meter readers.

There were no Negroes employed as clerks and salesmen in retail and department stores.

There were no Negroes employed with the telephone company and public utilities.

There were no Negroes employed in financial institutions.

There were no Negroes employed as peace officers, either for Parish or City Government.

There were few Negroes employed at the State Medical Institutions, such as the Huey P. Long Charity Hospital, Pinecrest State School for Retarded Children, State School for Spastic Children. In all of these last cases Negroes were employed in no positions higher than broom or mop.

The Central Louisiana Total Community Actions, Inc. without any private or public funds launched Operation "Affirmative Action for Equal Employment Opportunities for minorities."

The first thing we did was to authorize our attorney to file suit against the Avoyelles Vo-Technical Trade School for the purpose of obtaing an injunction enjoining the trade school from refusing to admit Negroes to the School simply and solely because of race and color. This suit was successfully prosecuted in the Federal Court and the door is now opened for Negroes to obtain training in the various crafts in order to qualify for the skilled jobs.

We also authorized our attorney to send out letters to all the employers, both Public and Private and those doing inter- and intra- state business, charging them with racial discrimination and reminding them that the equal employment section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act would become operative on July 2, 1965. A copy of this letter is attached hereto and made a part hereof by reference. We also appealed to those employers who were not directly covered by the Civil Rights Act to comply with the spirit of the law since they derive a substantial income from Negro clientele.

This technique brought quick and surprising response from most of the employers contacted. For example, Sears Roebuck and other department stores along with the City Government of Alexandria and the Rapides Parish Sheriff's Office and the City of Pineville—all arranged conferences and, as a direct result of these conferences, Negroes were employed as policemen, deputy sheriffs, store clerks, telephone operators, bus drivers, meter readers, etc. In all of these categories a precedent was set.

In these conferences, the employers took an oblique position that they were not discriminating against Negroes, but that they did not know any qualified Negroes. We advised the employers that we had a job referral service as a part of our operations whereby we went out, found, and screened applicants for these various positions.

Our records show that we have successfully placed:

2 Negroes as Deputy Sheriffs

1 Negro Policeman in Alexandria

1 Negro Policeman in Pineville

1 Negro Policeman in Boyce

3 Negroes as salesmen for Cotton Bros. Bakery

2 Negroes as cashiers for A & P Grocery

1 Negro as cashier for Food Mart

1 Negro clerk at Wellan's Department Store

1 Negro as clerk at J. C. Penny

2 Negroes as clerks at Kress

1 Negro as clerk at Schwartzberg Department Store

1 Negro as clerk at Grant

2 Negroes as telephone operators

2 Negroes as linemen at the telephone company

2 Negroes as city bus drivers, and

2 Negroes as meter readers

These jobs represent the first break-through ever made by Negroes in this community. It is to be pointed out, however, that the surface has only been scratched. The magnitude of the task to be accomplished involves an all out effort by this corporation with paid personnel and staff in order to fully integrate Negroes and other non-white into the employment picture in this area.

We profoundly feel that this corporation has rendered yeoman services without any private or public funds with a handful of dedicated volunteers.

The time has come, however, when we must look to the strong arm of your foundation for support and help to carry out this great humanitarian objective in this

Holy War Against Poverty.

In conclusion, we also feel that our efforts in striking a blow for fair employment practices for minorities is consistent with and is in complement with some of the objectives of your foundation. It is our intention to render Herculean service as aiders and abetters in this gread and noble project.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION FOR EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Budget

	Month	Year
14 Field Workers	$400.00	$56,000.00
1 Co-ordinator	600.00	7,200.00
1 Assistant Co-ordinator	500.00	6,000.00
2 Statisticians	500.00	12,000.00
2 Clerk Typist	700.00	8,400.00
Materials and Supplies	50.00	600.00
Canvas Expense (70 X 14)	980.00	11,760.00
Travel Expense	30.00	4,880.00
Utilities	75.00	900.00
Rent	100.00	1,200.00
Legal	500.00	6,000.00
		$114,940.00

L O U I S B E R R Y
Attorney at Law
Phone HI 3-1414
1406 Ninth Street
Alexandria, Louisiana

July 28, 1965

I am the legal advisor and general counsel for the Alexandria Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), Pineville Helplaners Civic and Political Association and the Rapides Parish Advancement Association.

We have made an informal survey which reveals that your business has not given Negroes fair and equitable job opportunities.

I am sure that you are aware of the fact that the Fair Employment section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, as of July 2, 1965, is now in effect and that your firm is covered under the Act since it is involved in an industry which affects commerce. Therefore, we feel now is the time for your firm to have a meeting with our group for the purpose of devising ways and means to facilitate the transition from inequitable employment practices to fair employment practice as embodied in the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

We profoundly feel that a conference now would ameliorate the transition so as to avoid boycotting, demonstrations, and litigation under the 1964 Civil Rights Act. We would be very pleased to hear from your Company to see whether or not a conference could be held as expeditiously as possible.

Yours very truly,

Louis Berry

LB:alt

PREPARATION FOR FULL CITIZENSHIP IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Bill and the 1965 Voting Rights Bill amounted to a second emancipation and a political Magna Charta. However, these bills are not self-implementing. They must be tested functionally by the people they were passed to help, namely, Negroes, and other minority groups who are the hapless victims of the two by-products of slavery—segregation and discrimination.

It would seem that Negroes and other minority groups would take quick, resolute, and affirmative steps to immediately eradicate these political, economic, and social disabilities which have plagued them as a cultural hold over from slavery. However, this is not the case.

The subjugation of Negroes and other minorities from one generation after another, has left psychological scars which can only be erased by remedial and curative measures which must be affirmatively put into operation.

Negroes and other minorities as a group have a deep feeling of inferiority which has made them apathetic, reticent, and placid in claiming their basic constitutional rights. For example, in Rapides Parish, Louisiana the eligible Negores of voting age are roughly over 18,000 or 17 per cent of the electorate. But in spite of this only 3,036[1] are registered, or approximately 16 per cent. Fear, both real and imaginary, is the chief deterrent to the Negroes affirmatively asserting constitutional rights.

This mental and psychological block, can, and must be overcome by a program of "Affirmative Citizenship," whereupon the Negro is taught to believe in himself as a human being. This includes his right to vote and to participate in the

---

[1] Times Picayune, October 30, 1960.

the democratic process.

This program must include professional and volunteers who will conduct orientation courses in the rights and duties of good citizenship by seeing to it that every eligible Negro registers and votes, so that he can be propelled into the mainstreams of American life.

PREPARATION FOR FULL CITIZENSHIP IN A
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Budget

	Month	Year
15 Field Workers	$400.00	$ 72,000.00
1 Co-ordinator	600.00	7,200.00
1 Assistant Co-ordinator	500.00	6,000.00
1 Statistician	500.00	6,000.00
1 Clerk Typist	350.00	4,200.00
15 Citizenship Teachers	400.00	72,000.00
Canvas Expense (70 X 15)	1,050.00	12,600.00
Travel Expense	30.00	5,400.00
Materials and Supplies	100.00	1,200.00
Utilities	75.00	900.00
Rent	100.00	1,200.00
		$187,700.00

File Field Foundation 1965

Cr. ref - VEP - 1965 "Proposal"

December 7, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Here it is. This represents the best work of a lot of people here. I am still unhappy that we did not have more time, for although this represents a great deal of thinking more obviously needs to be done.

An original of this proposal is going to Taconic, and a copy to David Hunter, at his request.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Proposal - Citizenship Participation)

See: Voter Ed. Project - 1965

File

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 22, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Here are the notes I made on our phone conversation. I don't know whether they can be of any help to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je
Enc.

Telephone Notes

Paul Anthony, 12/1[illegible]/65

Page 3 You say "by phone" with certain people. I thought you had met with and talked with others?

Yes. Just listed key names. Talked with John Lewin, Hosea Williams, Andy Young, Clarence Coleman, etc.

Page 4 Aren't you a little off in the 1½ million figure?

Sorry; (should be a million increase in last 4 years.)

Page 6 I'm not clear what the first graf means?

What we are trying to say is that need to defend southern urban Negro voter from being manipulated by machine politics.

Page 6 What ways do you see of involving colleges and universities?

We are very clear as to how to use schools such as Miles, and Tuskeegee: they are both sources of student workers (as internes and perhaps also as organized projects) and resources for workshops. We want also to use "white" campuses like Chapel Hill. This has to be thought out.

Page 7 I'm not clear about first graf.

What we mean is that we (or grantee) needs to go into a place and learn who the leaders actually are.

Page 7 Why no SRC overhead?

Would be glad to have it. If any foundations other than those that contribute general support to SRC are interested, there'll be overhead for them. Would be glad to have it from you too. Keep in mind, incidentally, that all these new Ford projects give us a lot more staff and program resources of our own to back up a voter program with. But we're maybe "project poor".

Page 8 "already begun this process". Means what?

Means that we are having a lot of talk with people in Alabama and South Carolina (and some in Georgia). Both local type people and NAACP and SNCC.

Page 8 "general agreement". You mean this?

Yes. See Morrell's letter. Coleman agrees (regional director, National Urban League). We talked about it with Forman and at least he didn't disagree.

Page 9 Here at Field we have invested a fortune in the Citizenship Education Program. Could you be specific at this time how you will work with it?

No. We'll look into it.

Page 10 You are not clear what the advisory committee will do.

Yes, but the more we think of it the more sure we are that it's a good idea. We intend to use it, truly.

Page 10 "shall be" added? Why backward areas representation?

Vernon Jordan is determined about this.

Page 11 Explain these scholarships.

They will be to put students to work in the locales of their campuses; money will relieve them from table waiting, etc. Maybe try to enlist high school students too! And, ex-SNCC people.

Page 12 I'm not clear about last graf.

Means when this is over we'll have a lot of data we or some one can do something with.

Page 13 You can't pay all those people with $38,500.

Paul re-figured it on the phone; he had added wrong: should be $48,500, which would raise total to $358,900.

Consultants $6,000?

For example, we might send some one like Sugarman to another city for a day or two to tell them how its done in Memphis.

Statewide meetings?

Should have covered them in text. We mean statewide rallies and we think they are useful.

Other meetings and travel?

This is a catch-all.

Salaries and travel $25,000?

Should have been covered in text - remember, you said this was to be a preliminary draft. If NAACP wants to send one of its staffers to, say, Texas for 3 months, we could give the money. Or, we could send some one we choose into a situation for a few weeks or months.

$250 for a summer - low?

It will do.

Morrell letter — Does he mean that NAACP would be willing for you to become recipient of grants for which it has applied?

I think he means they'll work with us but try to raise their own money too.

As I understand, you are proposing:

1. A VEP type registration program confined to ghettos, slums, rural poverty pockets.

2. Workshops, etc. for leadership training. (Would you make grants for this, or do it yourself?) Answer: both.

3. Use of students.

Is $200,000 what you think is needed or what you think you might get?

The latter. But probably couldn't spend much more responsibly at first.

January 3, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Les:

Enclosed is the report on the first meeting of the advisory committee. It was a good meeting and a helpful one.

The group independently reached the conclusion that the proposed budget was at best a minimum one and that additional funds were desirable. They also felt quite strongly about having one additional staff person with the primary responsibility of working with and supervising the work of students. (The group surprised us by the extent of their enthusiasm for the student-related programs.)

There was a genuine sense of urgency about getting started. Russell Sugarman was particularly insistant that a tremendous opportunity existed in Tennessee for the state-wide organization and program but that it must be started soon. Gomillion felt somewhat the same about Alabama and, of course, Dick Miles needs support as soon as possible. These would likely be the first three areas to get support.

We will check with you to get your reaction.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Field Foundation - Field 1964

January 3, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

This is to request consideration by the Field Foundation for a terminal grant to the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

On March 28 1962 the Foundation granted $75,000 for this Project for the twelve-month period ending March 31, 1963. On April 9, 1963, an additional $75,000 was granted, but for a 20-month period ending November 30, 1964. In our acknowledgement of April 16, 1963 we informed you that, in our judgment, disbursements from this second grant should be scheduled over a twelve-month period.

We believe that all concerned in the establishment of the Voter Education Project have understood that its success would require that its field work continue into the fall of 1964. Attachment A shows for each southern state the date up to which registration activity may be carried on in 1964.

It is our hope and belief that during 1964 great gains can be made, supported by the organizational preparation done through the Project during

1962-63 and by the Project's continuous research. We expect the period also to yield research discoveries of the greatest value for the future, which we shall report in the book to be written after conclusion of the Project's field work.

We believe, therefore, that we can bring 1964 responsibly spend at a rate considerably higher than during the earlier years. For this reason, we ask your consideration of a terminal grant of $75,000 for the period beginning April 1, 1964 and extending to the completion of the writing of the final report, with the understanding that disbursements for field work in each state will stop as of the registration cut-off dates indicated in Attachment A. We anticipate that the preparation of research results for publication will be completed by mid-1965. It is our intention at that time to advise all donors to the Project of the amount of unexpended funds, if any, and to request their instructions for disposition of them.

As you know, the principal donors to the Project have been the Field and Taconic Foundations and the Stern Family Fund. A formal request to Taconic for renewal will go forth at about the same time as this request to you. A formal request to Stern was considered some weeks ago: $20,000 was voted at that time, and the Stern Board will consider the remainder of the request this month.

Attachment B is a synoptic statement of Project finances to date.

A statistical report on registration results will be ready for forwarding to you later this month.

The Southern Regional Council continues to believe that the Voter Education Project is of unsurpassed importance for the strengthening of American democracy. Voting is not a panacea. Yet it is unmistakably the indispensable pre-condition to all other civic advance. The Project does not and should not embrace all southern voter registration work. Its true worth is its function in leading, in seeding on-going effort, in supplementing strongly the normal pace of work, and in harnessing energies and ideas and skills.

With very best regards

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Encls: 2

Enclosures: Attachments "A" & "B":
"1964 VEP Election Information"
"VEP Financial Summary"
(See ltr. to Stephen R. Currier of this date for these enclosures)

January 8, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

This is to request consideration by the Field Foundation for a terminal grant to the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

On March 28, 1962 the Foundation granted $75,000 for this Project for the twelve-month period ending March 31, 1963. On April 9, 1963, an additional $75,000 was granted, but for a 20-month period ending November 30, 1964. In our acknowledgement of April 16, 1963 we advised you that, in our judgment, disbursements from this second grant should be scheduled over a twelve-month period.

We believe that all concerned in the establishment of the Voter Education Project have understood that its success would require that its field work continue into the fall of 1964. Attachment "A" shows for each southern state the date up to which registration activity may be carried on in 1964.

It is our hope and belief that during 1964 great gains can be made, supported by the organisational preparation done through the Project during 1962-63

and by the Project's continuous research. We expect the period also to yield research discoveries of the greatest value for the future, which we shall report in the book to be written after conclusion of the Project's field work.

We believe, therefore, that we can during 1964 responsibly spend at a rate considerably higher than during the earlier years. For this reason, we ask your consideration of a terminal grant of $125,000 for the period beginning April 1, 1964 and extending to the completion of the writing of the final report, with the understanding that disbursements for field work in each state will stop as of the registration cut-off dates for the general elections indicated in Attachment "A" (unless they are revised). We anticipate that the preparation of research results for publication will be completed by mid-1965.

It is our intention at that time to advise all donors to the Project of the amount of unexpended funds, if any, and to request their instructions for disposition of them.

As you know, the principal donors to the Project have been the Field and Taconic Foundations and the Stern Family Fund. A formal request to Taconic for renewal will go forth at about the same time as this request to you. A formal request to Stern was considered some weeks ago: $20,000 was voted at that time, and the Stern Board will consider the remainder of the request this month.

Attachment "B" is a synoptic statement of Project finances to date.

A statistical report on registration results will be ready for forwarding to you later this month.

The Southern Regional Council continues to believe that the Voter Education Project is of unsurpassed importance for the strengthening of American democracy. Voting is not a panacea. Yet it is unmistakably the indispensable pre-condition to

all other civic advance. The Project does not and should not embrace all southern voter registration work. Its true worth is its function in leading, in seeding on-going effort, in harnessing energies and ideas and skills, and in supplementing strongly the normal pace of work.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

Bc: ~~Mr. Morris Abram~~
Mr. Wiley A. Branton

file

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

January 8, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

This is to request consideration by the Field Foundation for a terminal grant to the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

On March 28, 1962 the Foundation granted $75,000 for this Project for the twelve-month period ending March 31, 1963. On April 9, 1963, an additional $75,000 was granted, but for a 20-month period ending November 30, 1964. In our acknowledgement of April 16, 1963 we advised you that, in our judgment, disbursements from this second grant should be scheduled over a twelve-month period.

We believe that all concerned in the establishment of the Voter Education Project have understood that its success would require that its field work continue into the fall of 1964. Attachment "A" shows for each southern state the date up to which registration activity may be carried on in 1964.

It is our hope and belief that during 1964 great gains can be made, supported by the organizational preparation done through the Project during 1962-63

and by the Project's continuous research. We expect the period also to yield research discoveries of the greatest value for the future, which we shall report in the book to be written after conclusion of the Project's field work.

We believe, therefore, that we can during 1964 responsibly spend at a rate considerably higher than during the earlier years. For this reason, we ask your consideration of a terminal grant of $125,000 for the period beginning April 1, 1964 and extending to the completion of the writing of the final report, with the understanding that disbursements for field work in each state will stop as of the registration cut-off dates for the general elections indicated in Attachment "A" (unless they are revised). We anticipate that the preparation of research results for publication will be completed by mid-1965.

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all other civic advance. The Project does not and should not embrace all southern voter registration work. Its true worth is its function in leading, in seeding on-going effort, in harnessing energies and ideas and skills, and in supplementing strongly the normal pace of work.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

ATTACHMENT A

Prepared by the Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

1964 VEP ELECTION INFORMATION

STATE	U.S. CONGRESS		GOVERNOR		STATE LEGISLATURE				Filing Deadline For Candidate	DEADLINE FOR REGISTRATION		Primary Date	Runoff Primary Date	SPECIAL REMARKS
					UPPER HOUSE		LOWER HOUSE							
	Elect Senator	No. of Representatives	Elect Governor	Term	Elect	Term	Elect	Term		Primary	General Election			
ALABAMA	No	8	No	4	No	4	No	4	March 1	April 24	Oct. 23	May 5	June 2	Pay Poll Tax by February 1
ARKANSAS	No	4	Yes	2	17	4	100	2	April 29	POLL TAX IS ONLY REGISTRATION Oct.1,'63	Oct.1,'64	July 28	Aug. 11	
FLORIDA	Yes	12	Yes	4	22	4	112	2	March 3	April 4	Oct. 3	May 5	May 26	
GEORGIA	No	10	No	4	54	2	205	2	July 24	May 2*	May 2*	Sept. 9		
LOUISIANA	No	8	Yes	4	39	4	105	4	May 29	June 26	Oct. 5**	July 25	Aug. 29	
MISSISSIPPI	Yes	5	No	4	No	4	No	4	April 3	May 2	July 3	June 2	June 23	Pay Poll Tax by February 1
NORTH CAROLINA	No	11	Yes	4	50	2	120	2	March 20	May 16	Oct. 24	May 30	June 27	
SOUTH CAROLINA	No	6	No	4	23	4	124	2	To be set***	May 11	Oct. 5	June 9	June 23	
TENNESSEE	Yes (2)	9	No	4	33	2	99	2	June 8	July 6	Oct. 3	Aug. 6		
TEXAS	Yes	23	Yes	2	16	4	150	2	Feb. 3	POLL TAX IS ONLY REGISTRATION Jan. 31	Jan. 31	May 2	June 6	Pay Poll Tax by Jan. 31
VIRGINIA	Yes	10	No	4	No	4	No	2	Apr. 15	June 13	Oct. 3	July 14	Aug. 18	Pay Poll Tax by May 2

*Election Law Study Committee has recommended that registration deadline be changed to July 3.
**General Election for State Officers, March 3, 1964.
***Third Thursday after State Convention.

AS OF JANUARY 1, 1964, 36 STATES HAVE ADOPTED THE ANTI-POLL TAX AMENDMENT AND ONLY TWO (2) MORE ARE NEEDED FOR PASSAGE. UPON PASSAGE, ADDITIONAL TIME MAY BE ALLOWED FOR REGISTRATION IN ARKANSAS, TEXAS, MISSISSIPPI, ALABAMA, AND VIRGINIA.

File: Foundations: Field 1964

January 8, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

This is quite a package. I thought you might find it more convenient to get it all at once.

The Voter Education Project request is neither lengthy nor detailed, considering the sum involved. There does not seem to be much to say that is not already in your files. We shall issue a V.E.P. annual report, probably in April or early May. But if you would like additional information, please let me know.

The size of the request may be greater than you expected, though I call your attention to the statement therein that we shall report all unexpended funds to the donors for instructions. We hope for great opportunities and accomplishments this year; if money can ever help do the job, now is the time when it can. Frankly, neither Wiley nor I can, in January, predict how much money we can put to good use by next Fall -- and we don't

intend to put it to any other kind of use. We want, and I don't mind confessing this, to have enough.

After this Fall, expenditures will be low -- just enough to sustain the report preparation. I am hopeful that the situation will permit me to give a lot of personal time to its writing. The material we are accumulating is fascinating; I think we can make a good book out of it.

The request on the state Councils on Human Relations movement follows the line I discussed with you when in New York. I hope it will merit your support. If there are parts of it you would like to discuss or to see revised, please let me know.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures
Rc: Wiley Brantom

January 8, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

On behalf of the Council, I acknowledge with deepest gratitude your two letters of December 20, 1963, and the enclosed checks, representing the second and final payment of $25,000 on the Foundation's grant in assistance of state and local Councils on Human Relations, and the second of three payments of $25,000 on the Foundation's grant in support of our activities; our official receipts are enclosed.

We hope that you, the other Officers and Directors of the Foundation will call on us whenever we may be of service to you. We are more appreciative than I can say that we continue to enjoy your confidence.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2. (Official receipts)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 20, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am enclosing with this letter the Field Foundation's check in the amount of $25,000, payable to the order of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. This is the second and final payment on the award voted by the board of directors on December 14, 1962, and is intended to be allocated among state and local human relations councils during the twelve-month period beginning January 1, 1964.

I will appreciate having your official acknowledgment of this check.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

H
25,000.00 CR
RHA
12/20/63
(1964)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 20, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

You will find enclosed with this letter the Field Foundation's check in the amount of $25,000, payable to the order of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. This check, the second of three equal payments on the award voted by the board of directors on May 28, 1962, is to be applied toward the Council's activities during the calendar year 1964.

May I have your official acknowledgment of this check?

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

H
25,000 00
CR
RHA
12/20/63
(1964)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 9, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you for your brief letter transmitting the appeals to the Field Foundation for a $125,000 terminal grant to the Voter Education Project and for two $75,000 grants for the state and local councils. Would you want to review the confidential brief synopsis of the present situation of each state council? -- On page 2 in the Georgia paragraph the sentence beginning "The Atlanta Council" is garbled, and in the Mississippi paragraph, the second paragraph is probably not what you intended. Although I could guess at these I would rather not. We will be putting our teeth into this material next week and, therefore, I shall be glad to hear from you promptly.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

See over: P.A says if you decide to make Hahn he'd like to speak with you before you call

File
Foundations
"Field 1964"
Max Hahn
cr. ref - State Councils

MJ

Refile Field Fd. 1964

January 8, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

This is to request consideration by the Field Foundation for a program of support for the Councils on Human Relations to be administered by the Southern Regional Council.

For several years past, the Foundation has contributed $25,000 annually for allocation by us as grants-in-aid to the state councils. This assistance, joined with an equal grant for the same purpose, from the Taconic Foundation, has been the undoubted means of sustaining the Council on Human Relations movement.

To have done so has been, we are convinced, a great benefaction to the southern region. We do not think, however, that the regional interest is primary in the value of either your grant or of the Human Relations movement. President Kennedy commented once that the job of every succeeding President was to tackle the unfinished business of American democracy. It seems to us that this is the job of all citizens as well. Pre-eminently, human relations and the equal enjoyment of Constitutional rights is for our time the next order of unfinished business within our democracy.

We know well that the problems before us are not confined to the South. Indeed, we doubt that our specifically southern problems can be well solved unless their counterparts north and west are progressively solved. The converse is also true. American democracy is a unity.

The Council on Human Relations movement is a servant, and a valued and important one, of this cause. It has during the past two to three years grown in numbers and in program effectiveness. For several thousand white Southerners today it is the normal channel for active work and experiences in behalf of their moral and civic principles. For as many Negro Southerners, it is both the efficient way to reach program goals not attainable by the Negro action groups and the principal -- frequently, the only -- way for satisfying interracial work and friendship.

Attached to this request is a very brief, very over-simplified, description of the present situation of each Council. We would, of course, be happy to send you additional information about any or all of them or to answer any questions you may have. We have prepared the description with candor.

In addition to the Field Foundation's basic grant of $25,000 per annum, you have of late made special grants to the state Councils of Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. These have been of tremendous assistance to the emergence of these groups into new program areas.

In our opinion, two forms of assistance would be of greatest value now and over the next few years. They are:

(a) increased staff services to the state and local Councils from the Southern Regional Council;

(b) enabling funds to permit program expansion.

As to (a), we can here suitably note that the Southern Regional Council has only one person (our

Field Director), with secretary, who is primarily concerned with the servicing of the state Councils; he has other important duties to perform as well. A second staff person (the Assistant to the Director) is able to help in this field, as do, from time to time, other professional staff members as well. We are convinced that much added strength would be given to the state and local Councils by an Assistant Field Director, able to spend all or nearly all of his or her time in field work with them.

Our proposal to the Foundation at this time is that, over and above the basic grant-in-aid, the Foundation provide funds to us for a three-year program of special assistance to state and local Councils for special program efforts, chiefly of a project nature.

We would propose that these funds be administered according to the following considerations:

(a) priority to be given to the applications of those state and local Councils which have demonstrated high program quality; however,

(b) during the early part of the three-year period, the priority would not necessarily apply to the Alabama and Mississippi Councils;

(c) SRC would recommend the applications which it concurred in to you for final approval before committing any funds;

(d) the Foundation could include in the terms of the original grant, or at any subsequent time, instruction to SRC for the payment of any portion of it to any particular state Council or Councils.

What we are proposing here is a new approach. As such, we recognize that there may be need for discussion, modification, and clarification of it. We are hopeful, therefore, that you will call upon us for any discussion you may think advisable.

Similarly, the size of the grant is something which might, at this point, be only tentatively proposed. The Foundation's pledges to the five state Councils specially assisted in 1963 were, according to our records, at the rate of $45,900 per year. We are very mindful of the magnitude of this contribution. Moreover, this is in addition to the $25,000 per year which the Foundation has been giving for basic assistance.

We would like your consideration of the following:

(1) A three-year renewal, 1965-68, of the Foundation's grant of $25,000 per year for grants-in-aid to the state Councils.

(2) A terminal three-year grant of $75,000 per year, 1964-67, available for special program assistance to state and local Councils, with the further understanding that SRC would apply against this sum a 15% deduction for administrative costs, to be used toward salary and travel for an Assistant Field Director.

(a) The $75,000 figure is predicated on the assumption that from it we would pay out any outstanding pledges of the Foundation, as well as other sums which you might want to have reserved for any particular state Council or Councils.

(b) The period 1964-67 appears to us to be the time when urgency and opportunity will both be ripest for the kind of contribution which the Human Relations movement can make. Our intention would not be, however, to distribute the entire amount each year -- as with the basic program of grants-in-aid -- but to grant only on the basis of sound applications, recommended to and concurred in by you.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (A Brief Synopsis of the State Councils on Human Relations)

January 8, 1964

C O N F I D E N T I A L

THE STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS
(A Brief Synopsis of the Present Situation of Each)

ALABAMA. -- Membership* is 420, an increase of 20% during 1963. Operates under very difficult conditions, and is largely confined in program to buidding and strengthening interracial contacts, and quiet assistance in crisis areas. It carries on a project of mailing reprints to a wide spectrum of state white leadership. The staff director, and also several officers, are constantly used resources for the press and federal agencies. The lay leadership is strong, and a remarkably good morale exists and has always existed within the Council. The most immediate problem is the recruitment of a new director: Norman Jimerson feels a need for relief from the pressures of the job, and we concur with him.

ARKANSAS. -- Membership is 503, an increase of 56% during 1963. Quality of the membership is high, and there is gratification over the recent increase of Negro participation, in what has been predominantly a white organization. In two other respects also the Council is improving: first, it is giving more attention to affairs of the state outside Little Rock; and second, it is seeking and receiving notably more local financial support. A three-person staff consists of Nat Griswold (director), Ozell Sutton (associate), and Ruth Arnold (administrative secretary); the last named is an experienced and widely regarded community worker.

FLORIDA. -- Membership is 1,200, an increase of 200% during 1963. Under an imaginative and tireless new director, Louis Mitchell, the Council during 1963 underwent a remarkable growth and rejuvenation which has been perhaps the year's highlight of the state Council movement. The Council has strong and exceptionally dedicated lay leadership, and has during the year moved toward creating or invigorating local Councils. With this organizational

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*All membership figures here and for the other Councils are as of Fall 1963.

achievement now well advanced, there is every reason to expect Florida to develop rapidly strength and program comparable to Virginia. One local Council (Jacksonville) is also staffed.

GEORGIA. -- Membership is 1,023, an increase of 12% during 1963. Operations are segmented into (a) Atlanta and (b) the rest of the state. The Atlanta Council, with two full-time staff persons, supports strongly and fully the local Negro campaign for integration. The state Council, also with two staff persons (Frances Pauley, director, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, associate), operates chiefly outside the greater Atlanta area, and with outstanding successes. Its very able staff has planted local Councils over the state, performed skillfully in several crisis situations, and brought off several specific victories (such as voluntary school desegregation in Brunswick and recruitment of Negro school transferees in Savannah). A shortcoming is the comparative lack of status white persons in the lay leadership, though a number are members.

MISSISSIPPI. -- Membership is approximately 100. Has existed publicly. Under present circumstances, and after the severe pressure to which the Council has been subjected since its re-organization in 1962, the simple fact of continued public existence is a victory, for it gives the lie to the Mississippi claim of complete orthodoxy. Program ideas are, however, being eagerly discussed. The presidency has passed from Dan Beittel (Tougaloo) to the Rev. Duncan Gray of Oxford.

NORTH CAROLINA. -- Membership is 514, a decrease of 4% during 1963. Superb lay leadership, top quality and devoted membership, and minimal program and local fund-raising -- this has been the paradoxical story of the Council. In effect, it has been principally an excellent and effective Charlotte council, to which persons throughout the state belong. The tragic and sudden death during 1963 of its director leaves the Council presently unstaffed. But the vacancy has lasted as long as it has because of the determination of the lay leadership first of all to build a financial base and secondly to find a first-rate and experienced person, and not to fill the job otherwise. This Council has unlimited potential.

SOUTH CAROLINA. -- Membership is 945, an increase of 57% during 1963. Primarily a Negro organization (though with white leadership), the Council is and has been characterized by administrative oddities and program soundness. Staff director is Alice Spearman, assisted by Libby Ledeen, and, on a special project, L. S. James. Not only in its unique and valuable

farm program and its unique campus program, but in a variety of ways the Council does very good work, though no one can be quite sure how.

TENNESSEE. -- Membership is 676, an increase of 14% during 1963. The Council had a disappointing year. It has good basic strength, and this should assure that it will overcome its difficulties. Unlike other Councils, its mode of operation requires that the officers participate actively in program implementation. This is a laudable aspiration, but one which proves a handicap when, as recently, the president is involved in too many other activities. A new president and a new realism about operation may enable the director, Katherine Jones, to regain for the Council the momentum which it not long ago had.

HOUSTON. -- Membership is 509, an increase of 113% during 1963. Has now a two-person staff (Charles Kelly, director, and Ethel Dumbauld, associate). A strong membership and able, vigorous staff sponsor excellent program. No Council has tried and succeeded as well in studying and influencing the social problems of an urban society. Except for $2,400 grant-in-aid from SRC, all funds are raised locally.

VIRGINIA. -- Membership is 2,367, an increase of 15% during 1963. Presently the largest and strongest of state Councils. A chain of active local Councils gives the state operation both a firm base and the flexibility to respond to local variety. State director is Heslip Lee; Gregory Shinert heads the important employment project. For 1964, an income goal of $100,000 has been set, and the Council has a good chance of raising it, and has program plans and opportunities which justify it.

- 0 -

January 10, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

I have revised page 2. Would you be good enough to substitute the enclosed for the page you now have?

You certainly did study our submission promptly. I am very grateful.

May I trouble you on another matter? Reverend Robert M. Puckett has requested that he be considered for the position of Director of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations. He has sent biographical information, and has also talked by telephone with the President of the North Carolina Council, on whom he made a most favorable impression. On Thursday, September 16 he will be in North Carolina for an interview, and will come down here on Friday.

I believe you know Mr. Puckett. Would it be possible for you to offer us a comment about him?

Although only the North Carolina job has been discussed with him, I believe you know that we are looking about for a successor for Norman Jimerson. If you could indicate any views as to Mr. Puckett's suitability for Alabama, we would be grateful.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

achievement now well advanced, there is every reason to expect Florida to develop rapidly strength and program comparable to Virginia. One local Council (Jacksonville) is also staffed.

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MISSISSIPPI. -- Membership is approximately 100. Has existed publicly. Under present circumstances, and after the severe pressure to which the Council has been subjected since its re-organization in 1962, the simple fact of continued public existence is a victory, for it gives the lie to the Mississippi claim of complete orthodoxy. Program ideas are, however, being eagerly discussed. The presidency has passed from Dan Beittel (Tougaloo) to the Rev. Duncan Gray of Oxford.

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PAGE (s) MISSING

See Foundations "Field"

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 13, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Your promptness in sending the Page 2 substitute is much appreciated. Many thanks.

You ask about Rev. Robert M. Puckett. The person who knows him best is Happy Lee. They were school friends in Georgia and have kept in close contact since then. Bob has been keenly interested in race relations and has been very good in youth work in our church, but I understand that the board of trustees is not considering him for the position of senior minister* of the Scarsdale Community Baptist Church. He succeeded J. C. Herrin in the number two spot. I like Bob, but for some reason there is not much enthusiasm for him as I am sure he wishes. I do not know what foundation there is for the attitude.

There has been no occasion to observe whether he has organizing ability. I doubt that he should go into Alabama unless Happy Lee thinks he is the man for the job. He has three or four school-age children, and I suspect his problem would be even more acute than Norm's is. Mrs. Puckett recently had an operation, but I believe is now in good health.

Bob's build is sort of short and stocky which gives him a pouter pidgeon walk. I suspect some assume that he is cocky and too sure of himself, but I don't get this feeling.

In summary, Happy Lee is your best source of evaluation. I would rather see Bob start in an area where the tensions would not be as acute as they are in Alabama or Mississippi. J. C. Herrin could deal with them more effectively, I believe, than Bob Puckett.

I tried to phone you since your letter mentions that he has an appointment in North Carolina on September 16th and in Atlanta on the 17th, but long distance is extremely busy, probably due to our blizzard.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max.

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

* which will be vacant in November.

File Foundations

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 29, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Two things are on my mind. First, Morris Abram mentioned last night that your brief talk to the U.N. Sub-Commission group contained the most profound statement of the weekend. Perhaps he already has told you. Secondly, one of the members of the Foundation's group (this was not a board meeting) mentioned an article by Dr. Robert Coles which has appeared in some American Psychiatric Association journal. I was asked to get copies for the board. I thought immediately of the brochure on the desegregation of southern schools which appeared in July 1963 with the joint sponsorship of ADL and SRC. If you don't have copies of the APA speech available, perhaps you could send 15 copies of the pamphlet. Or should I send a check?

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

February 4, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

file: Foundations

Dear Max:

Thank you for your letter of January 29, and for relaying Morris Abram's comment. I was half asleep when called upon to speak; perhaps that is when I do my best.

We do not have reprints of Coles's APA article as it appeared in the Journal. It was, however, a printing of a paper which he delivered before the Association and which we have mimeographed. We are sending you, under separate cover, therefore, fifteen (15) copies of the paper, and are including in the package a few additional copies of the pamphlet he did for us, as well as a New South article.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Leo - Foundations - Field

February 6, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

I am writing to you at the request of the Jacksonville Council on Human Relations, but I join with it in the request.

The Jacksonville Council was selected a year or so ago by the Unitarian Service Committee to duplicate, more or less, what the Committee has done for sometime with the Atlanta Council; that is, i.e., provide it with funds to have a staff director. Although the Jacksonville Council was given to understand that these funds would come from two to five years, the Committee, because of its own budgetary problems, has informed the Jacksonville Council that after March it will cut off all funds except those for the director's salary, and after December will cut off all funds. The Council wants to make a valient effort to keep the office open at least through 1964, and to this end wants to have a fund-raising dinner.

The speaker they want is Ralph Bunche. Would it be possible for you to ask Dr. Bunche, or to advise me how best to go about doing so? The Jacksonville Council will set the date anytime between April 15 and May 20, to suit his convenience.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Bc: Dr. Ralph Dreger

Free Foundations

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

February 11, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Forgive me for the long delay in responding to your letter of February 4 -- I was waiting for the copies of Coles' paper. They did arrive today, and I'm very glad to have them as well as the extra copies of his pamphlet and the New South article.

With all good wishes and thanks.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

February 25, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation — file: Foundations - Field
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

I am enclosing a copy of a manual we have prepared which I thought you might like to have for your files. This has not been given a general circulation; indeed, we are being rather careful as to who receives it. It was intended as a manual for ad hoc and other lay groups.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Transition Without Tragedy)

PA ✓
VI ✓
MI file

file: Foundations

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

February 28, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you so much for your letter of February 25 and for the copy of "Transition Without Tragedy." This is a thoughtful and sensitive manual. The directions, with accompanying examples of letters and brochures, should furnish fine guidelines for community groups looking for help with peaceful school desegregation. You take your own advice (on page 5) and are yourselves "good with words."

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

- File
Foundations - Field

March 9, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

Enclosed are our financial statement and my annual report for 1963.

For your possible interest, I am also enclosing a copy of the "Program Review and Evaluation" which we did last year, and which is now guiding our mighty efforts.

I shall be coming up to New York on April 13, and will be in town most of the week. I shall call you when I get in, but I thought I had better let you know ahead of time in case there may be some particular matter you would like to see me about.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mg

Enclosures: Partners for Progress ad, Financial Statement, Annual Report, Program Review and Evaluation.

MM - better warn Francis the possibility — Don

MJ - file foundations

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

March 10, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you for your annual report, "Program Review and Evaluation", and financial statement. April 13th is not distant, but I don't know now whether I shall be here or out in the field at that time. In fact, I cannot tell you for sure whether I shall be in Atlanta on Thursday, March 19th, en route to the august Augusta conference. I shall be in Chicago earlier in the week, and dependent upon things there and here, I shall decide whether it is possible to get to Augusta. Both Frances Pauley and Alice Spearman have spoken about the meeting to me, but I haven't been able to warn them that I am going to try to get there. If I do make the trip, I will give your office a ring on the 19th to see what part of the world you are in.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

FIELD FOUNDATION (a proposal to)

REGARDING:

The Southern Teaching Program will place well-qualified screened Yale graduate and professional students toteach in predominatly Negro colleges this summer.

DATE

March 26, 1964

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Correspondence filed under ~~Southern Teaching Program~~ Walker John (Yale Univ.)

Rec'd 4/11/64

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 9, 1964

Pub

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am very glad to have the complimentary copy of Col. Benjamin Muse's Ten Years of Prelude. This is a most welcome addition to my library, and I thank you.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

April 24, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

On behalf of the Council I acknowledge with warm thanks your letter of April 4, 1964 informing us of the Foundation's renewed support for the program of grants-in-aid to the state Councils on Human Relations.

As stated in your letter, this will provide $25,000 per annum for the calendar years 1965, 1966, and 1967.

We note the other terms of the grant as specified in your letter, and accept them fully.

It is very hard to convey the sense of partnership which we feel exists between the Foundation and the thousands of persons across the South engaged in the Council on Human Relations movement. I know, however, that you and the Directors of the Foundation have a personal awareness of that bond, and that you share with all of us the same hopes.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 4/6/64
File: Foundations
Field
Cr. ref. State Councils on Hum. Rels.

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VIH for
LD

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 4, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

It is a pleasure to send you official word of the Field Foundation's approval of your request for renewed support of the state councils on human relations. The directors adopted the following resolution at a recent meeting.

> RESOLVED that the Corporation appropriate and contribute to Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia, the sum of $75,000, or as much thereof as shall be needed, to assist ~~state councils on human relations,~~ for the thirty-six month ~~period beginning~~ January 1, 1965, to be paid as follows: $25,000 by January 2, 1965, $25,000 by January 2, 1966 and $25,000 by January 2, 1967.

In accordance with the terms of this grant we will forward the first payment on the award to you in January of next year. From past awards, you understand, I know, that in making further support available for the state councils on human relations, the board does not wish to imply commitment to renew this support at the expiration of the award period.

In making a further grant, the directors recognize the great need to offer assistance to those who work so effectively, usually against discouraging odds, toward a higher moral and civic standard. May they gain in strength and numbers to cope with the increasingly complex situation ahead.

You already know of our interest in being kept informed regularly and of the Foundation's requirements for progress reports and financial statements. We will appreciate at this time having your official acceptance of the terms of the grant as set forth in the above letter.

With warmest wishes to you and all your associates.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

P.S. - We should like to have a copy of any public announcement concerning this grant for our files.

File "Foundations" Field

April 24, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

As always I greatly relished my visit with you last week. I only wish that there could be more convenient opportunities to chat with you.

Of course we were disappointed in the Board's action regarding the proposed new and enlarged program of special program assistance for state and local councils. I take heart, however, from your report that the Foundation continues able to help with specific requests. As the situation may clarify itself I would appreciate being kept informed by you as to procedures and policies I ought to follow in encouraging requests to you.

If we can find the right person, we think we will plunge ahead in appointing an assistant field director, even though the funds are not clearly available or in sight. This is a very critical need, not only for us, but for the state and local councils themselves, and sometimes you have to live in faith.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

PA — hold
— let's discuss
VI
LD

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 9, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

This letter should have gone to you last week but a cold kept me home. I set a bad example for Mrs. Alcock. She is out now, but fortunately Mrs. Semmel is able to get in two days a week. It is awkward and embarrassing when important letters remain unwritten.

Our board found three SRC appeals a larger C.O.D. package than they were willing to accept. As a result, they said "No" to SRC's request for a one-time grant of $225,000 to be utilized over three years for special program assistance for state and local councils. After rejecting my recommendation that the Foundation give SRC most of the requested sum, the directors then set aside money for the Foundation to draw upon for essentially the same purposes. This will be of no help this year in meeting your need for expanded SRC staff services to the state and local councils, but it will permit us to help finance special state and local projects which seem to you and to us to have special merit. Perhaps by next Spring we can interest the Field Foundation board in SRC's need to increase staff services to state and local councils. At least we can try.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

File "Foundations" File

May 8, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed memorandum.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmi
Enclosure 1

(Anthony's field report of May 5, 1964: "Present status of Save the School efforts in Mississippi.")

PAV
MJ-file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 11, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

Your memoranda of May 5 and May 8 convey the rough conditions in Mississippi. I doubt that I would care to live there.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

TA ✓
CHV
MJ. file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 20 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you for sending the report on the May 14 meeting in Cocoa, Florida. After reading it, you certainly are left with mixed emotions.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

fib

June 18, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you for sending the reprint of the Business Week article on John H. Wheeler and the June 1 article from the Arkansas Gazette on the 10th anniversary of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. As you know, we are always interested in reading material of this type.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

PA ✓
MJ-file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
~~250 PARK AVENUE~~
NEW YORK 17

August 3, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Mr. Hahn is out of the office on a field trip, and we do not expect him back until early next week. I am sorry, therefore, that there will be a delay in answering your letter of July 31 regarding the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

Sincerely,

Betty Wilson

Betty Wilson
for
Maxwell Hahn

File: Foundations - Field, 1964

August 12, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

As you know Les is away on vacation, so I have asked Wiley Branton and Paul Anthony to take a look at the statements you have sent on the Voter Education Project and state council support which you hope to use in your annual report.

The statement on the state councils is fine, as Paul has told you on the telephone. I am attaching Wiley's comments which show a larger total number of new registrants for the 11 southern states.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures

Memo. . . FROM THE DESK OF

W. A. BRANTON

DATE 8/12/64

TO: Mr. Maxwell Hahn:

VEP had registered a total of 551,328 new voters by the end of our second fiscal year on March 31, 1964.

The figure is now over 600,000 and total Negro registration in the 11 southern states now exceeds two million. It now appears that this increase will aid in placing Negro office holders in the state legislatures of Georgia (already a fact), Tennessee and North Carolina, to say nothing of local office holders in such places as Tuskeegee, Alabama and Petersburg, Va.

Our program is strictly non-partisan and has the endorsement of the National Chairman of both the Republican and Democratic parties.

COMPLIMENTS OF DARBY PRINTING COMPANY

PA - ✓ Called 8/10/67

Attached is Les's ltr. to Hahn - would you want to call Hahn about this as he suggests in P.S.?

WB - Pls. attach comments

Lwd - for

file

PA - see Note at bottom
WB
LWD

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

August 7, 1964

Rec'd 8/10/64

Yulon - 212
6-6688

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I would appreciate it very much if you could look over the enclosed brief write-ups on the Voter Education Project and the state council support which have been prepared with this year's Field Foundation annual report in mind. Your comments will be welcomed.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

P.S. I tried to phone you today about yr letter and one other item. If you are in the office Monday perhaps you can call me collect.

Ten - Annual Report

To Encourage Voter Registration

The Ballot has been said to be the Negro's best friend in his struggle for advancement. The Southern Regional Council, which has been carrying on a program of education for voter registration, believes the elections of November 1964 will provide a great opportunity for the Negro to demonstrate his ability to make effective use of the ballot. The Council has been conducting its campaign for voter education and registration for nearly two years and already is able to count ~~527,598~~ 551,328 new registrants due to its efforts, which also saved some 15,000 registered voters from being purged from the lists. This program, which is carried on in cooperation with leading civil rights organizations, has brought voter education to many thousands who have neither previously understood their rights nor dared to exercise them. The Foundation has made a grant of $75,000 to the Southern Regional Council, raising its total support for this project to $225,000.

The Foundation also renewed its support of the state councils on human relations with a $75,000 grant -- for 1965, 1966 and 1967 -- to Southern Regional Council to assist these biracial efforts to achieve a higher moral and civic standard.

September 1, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

This is to express my personal thanks for the action you have taken in regard to the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. I found your letter of August 27 to Duncan Gray on my desk when I returned yesterday from vacation, and it was a truly warm greeting.

We had a wonderful three weeks in the southwest, seeing the Grand Canyon and the Mesa Verde, but also just exposing ourselves to it. New Mexico is our favorite state out there, and we would like to go back just to spend time there.

I am on the speaking schedule for the NAIRO conference October 8, and so will be in town then. I do hope there may be a chance to see you.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

Rec'd 8/28/64

August 27, 1964

The Reverend Duncan M. Gray, Jr.
President
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 10482, Westland Station
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Gray:

This is in further response to your letter of August 14, 1964. The Field Foundation is willing to contribute to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., with which the Mississippi Council on Human Relations is affiliated, the sum of $8,000 for the 12-month period beginning on the date that the new executive director of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations begins full-time service to the Mississippi Council.

The Field Foundation, at a meeting later this year, will take up the question of a grant in support of the Mississippi Council during the second and third years that it has the full-time service of an executive. The offer of the emergency grant of $8,000 will expire November 16, 1964 unless an executive has been found by that time.

Please keep me advised on the progress of your search for an executive.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

cc: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

File: Foundations: Field
cc. Ref. State Councils - "Mississippi"

July 31, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

You will recall that sometime ago I spoke to you regarding the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. The Mississippi Council has now come to the point of offering the position of Executive Director to a candidate: the Reverend James L. Waits.

Mr. Waits is minister now to the Epworth Methodist Church in Biloxi. He is one of the "28," the native-born Mississippi Methodist ministers who wrote and signed that famous statement of a year and a half ago. He is one of the few of that group who has not since left the state or been pushed out. He is a good man, and would make a good director. He has agreed to take the job subject, however, to the consent of his bishop. Bishop Franklin is retiring, and his successor has already been appointed. Mr. Waits went to Bishop Franklin for consent, but the Bishop decided to leave the question to his successor. The new bishop is a man from Orlando, Florida, about whom we hear conflicting reports. He will take office within the next month, and we should have a decision then.

If the decision is favorable, Mr. Waits is in a position to assume the directorship of the Mississippi Council as early as September. If the decision is an unfavorable one, a search for a director will have to go on, and we are unable to predict when another person, both able and willing, can be found; we hope, however, for the best.

The staffing of the Mississippi Council is, we think, a matter of real urgency because there is such a need. Under these circumstances, would it be possible for the Field Foundation to consider, at this time, an application from Mississippi for financial assistance, the payment of which would be conditioned on the appointment of a director.

I don't know when your Board meets next. On the assumption, however, that it may meet in late summer or early fall, and that some time would be needed for study, we are anxious to get this question before you now.

We have suggested to the Mississippi Council that it prepare an application, but it will not be submitted until you have had time to let me know if this procedure is, although unorthodox, allowable under the circumstances.

We have suggested to the Mississippi Council that it hold its request to a $10,000 annual grant, but that it raise with you the possibility of renewals. I don't need to tell you that local support in Mississippi will be hard to come by.

You may not know that the American Friends Service Committee has asked Dan Beittel to head an office for it in the state, and he is considering it. This possibility, and the emergence of Mississippians for Public Education (with whom we and Jean Fairfax and Connie Curry of the AFSC have worked long and hard), give hope that this is a uniquely opportune time for the Mississippi Council to move out.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Recd 9/10/64

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

file

September 8, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have your letter, and I hope you will save some time for a chat here in the office when you are in town for the NAIRO meeting. I am pleased to know Benjamin Muse thinks Memphis is coming along. My daughter and her husband have just been sent to Memphis by the Navy, and I would hope that my granddaughter has a sound introduction to the South.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

December 4, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

Jane Lee Eddy and Stephen Currier rather unexpectedly decided to attend our Annual Meeting; also did Christopher Edley of Ford Foundation. I think they all enjoyed themselves and found the two days profitable. Certainly we were pleased to have these visitors from New York.

Why don't you think about coming down next year? The date is not yet certain, but in recent years has been just before Thanksgiving.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm

Rec'd 12/11/64

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 9, 1964

Mr. Leslie M. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your invitation to attend next year's Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council. I will keep it in mind and see if it can be worked into my schedule.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

December 11, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

On behalf of the Council, I acknowledge your letter of December 9, 1964 and the enclosed check for $25,000 representing the first payment of the Foundation's three-year grant in support of the state councils on human relations; our receipt is enclosed.

We are heartened by the steady growth of the state council movement, and we know that it could not have been possible without the Foundation's faith and sustaining help.

With best wishes for the season,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure - 1, receipt

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 9, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

#25,000.00
RHA
12/11/64

I am enclosing with this letter the Field Foundation's check in the amount of $25,000, payable to the order of Southern Regional Council, Inc., and representing the first of three equal payments on the award voted by the board of directors at a meeting held March 31, 1964. This payment is intended to assist the state councils on human relations in the twelve month period beginning January 1, 1965.

May we have your official acknowledgment of this check?

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

December 11, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

On behalf of the Council, I acknowledge your letter of December 9, 1964 and the enclosed check of $25,000 representing the final payment of the Foundation's current grant in support of our general program, our receipt is enclosed.

Once again, we express our deep thanks for the Foundation's assistance to us in the past and for its continued confidence. Your contribution to the strengthening of American democracy is unique and unsurpassed.

With best wishes for the season.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/rh
Encl.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 9, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

$25,000.00
RHA
12/11/64

You will find enclosed with this letter the Field Foundation's check in the amount of $25,000, payable to the order of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. This check, the third and final payment on the award voted by the Board of Directors on May 28, 1962, is to be applied toward the Council's activities during the calendar year 1965.

May I have your official acknowledgment of this check?

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

enclosure

December 11, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Thank you for your letter of December 9, 1964 authorizing the transfer of the $1,552.91 balance to the Economic Counselling and Study Project. You may be sure that we shall comply with all the terms set forth in your letter.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/rh

Rec'd initially -

RHH ✓

SW-file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 9, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

As requested in your letter of December 4, The Field Foundation is agreeable to the Southern Regional Council's transfer of the $1,552.91 balance in the Voter Education Program to the Economic Counselling and Study Research Project. Because of an experience this year, we want to emphasize, however, that no part of this money is to be used for propaganda or efforts to influence legislation or the election or defeat of candidates for political office.

Best wishes to you with your study on housing conditions.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

December 4, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

By your letter of April 22, 1958 the Foundation granted to us $10,000 for a continuing survey of Negro registration and voting in the South. This project eventuated in the publication of The Negro and The Ballot in the South in 1959. Since then we have maintained, of course, our strong interest in the subject, but no further special research was carried on until the Voter Education Project was established. As you can well understand, VEP has prempted this field so far as our work is concerned. A balance of $1552.91 has remained unexpended from the 1958 grant.

We have in planning a program of studies dealing with housing questions. These studies will focus directly and solely on the South and will relate issues of housing desegregation to other political, economic, and educational problems.

Could we have your permission to transfer the $1552.91 remaining from the voting survey to this housing study. What we have in mind will undoubtedly cost more than this, but these funds will be of

inestimable help. If you consent, we shall transfer the funds by assigning them to our recently established Economic Counselling and Study Research Project, under which these housing studies will be carried out.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm

Foundations Section

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 16, 1964

Cross ref. Shelt - State Councils - Miss.

File

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In accordance with your letter of December 11, 1964, stating that Mr. Kenneth Dean has accepted the position of executive director of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations I am enclosing the Field Foundation's check in the amount of $8,000 payable to the order of Southern Regional Council. This check discharges in full the Field Foundation's responsibility for the first 12-month period that Mr. Dean serves the Mississippi Council on Human Relations full time.

$8,000. CK
12/17/64
RHA

May I have your acknowledgment of the receipt of this check?

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

December 11, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

On behalf of the Council, I acknowledge your letter of December 3, 1964, informing us that the Foundation has granted to us up to $8,000 a year for three years in support of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

I find myself almost at a loss to express our gratitude. Only the Field Foundation, I think, ever grants more than is asked! That you have done so in this case seems to us another indication of your habitual assumption of responsibility for seeing problems and opportunities through.

I had delayed an immediate response to your letter, hoping to be able to announce the appointment of a Mississippi director. This is now possible. Mr. Kenneth Dean has been offered the position, and has accepted. He will begin his duties toward the end of January 1965, and we shall advise you further on that. Mr. Dean is a Tennessean in his late twenties, single, and with considerable experience in Southern Baptist churches as a pastor and counsellor. He has also been a high school teacher in Florida. He is now completing studies at Colgate-Rochester, from which he will graduate in January. Here at SRC we think him an excellent choice.

I came back from the annual meeting of the Mississippi Council, held last month at the King Edward Hotel in Jackson, braced as I have seldom been. About 200 people attended, and the spirit was magnificent.

We fully accept the terms of the grant, as outlined in your letter.

With cordial best wishes, and greetings for the season,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

cc: Duncan Gray

Rec'd 12/7/64

FA
VD

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 3, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I know that you will pleased to learn that The Field Foundation Board of Directors has adopted the following resolution:

> RESOLVED that the Corporation appropriate and contribute the sum of $8,000 a year for three years, or as much thereof as shall be needed, to the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, for the Mississippi Council on Human Relations upon the following terms and conditions:
>
> 1. This letter nullifies The Field Foundation's emergency grant commitment embodied in the Corporation's August 27, 1964, letter to the Reverend Duncan M. Gray, Jr. of Oxford, Mississippi, and modified in the Corporation's letter to Mr. Gray November 9, 1964.
>
> 2. The Southern Regional Council shall give the Corporation written notification before April 1, 1965, that a new executive director has begun full time service to the Mississippi Council on Human Relations,
>
> 3. This commitment shall become invalid in the event and on the date that the Mississippi Council on Human Relations ceases to have a full time executive, and
>
> 4. No part of this grant shall be used for propaganda or efforts to influence legislation or the election or defeat of candidates for political office.

In accordance with the action of the board, I will forward the foundation's check for $8,000 covering the first 12-month period after receipt of word from you that an executive director has begun full time service at the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. This, of course, is conditioned on notification prior to April 1, 1965. As you know, the foundation, in taking favorable action, does not wish to imply any commitment to renew support at the expiration of the grant period.

May we now have your official acceptance of the terms of the grant as set forth above.

With warmest wishes to you and your associates.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

cc: Rev. Duncan M. Gray, Jr.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

THE FIELD FOUNDATION - Maxwell Hahn

REGARDING:

~~Money~~ Mr. Kenneth L. Dean will not take the position of Executive Director of the Miss. Council on Human Relations. Will began his duties on January 20, 1965.

DATE

12/16/64

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Correspondence filed in MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

RECEIVED
MAR 8 1954
Southern Regional Council

March 4, 1954

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

FILE COPY

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your request for $1,500 for the New South will be brought before our Spring board meeting. I note that you will be in New York about March 22 or 23. These are dates on which I am scheduled to be in the West. If I get back by that time, I'm afraid that the most I could offer you is a telephone conversation because we are swamped with Spring meeting work. I am sure you will understand.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

March 11, 1954

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue,
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Here is the report on NEW SOUTH which Dr. Mitchell promised in his letter of March 1st.

Included you will find a report on the disbursements made, a copy of each issue, and a report, prepared by Mr. Fleming on the publicity received by the various issues.

We do greatly appreciate the help of the Field Foundation which has made possible our publishing NEW SOUTH during the past year.

Sincerely,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks
encl.

REPORT ON USE OF FUNDS FROM THE FIELD FOUNDATION FOR PUBLICATION OF NEW SOUTH

Date			Printing	Postage
May 1953	- THE IMPENDING CRISIS OF THE SOUTH	- 8 pp.	$ 186.39	$ 44.00
June 1953	- A NEW ERA IN HUMAN RELATIONS	- 8 pp.	186.39	46.00
July 1953	- THE COURT TAKES MORE TIME	- 8 pp.	186.40	45.00
August 1953	- QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS - THE SCHOOLS AND THE COURTS	- 16 pp.	300.00	49.00
September 1953	- A CHECKLIST FOR YOUR LOCAL SCHOOLS	- 8 pp.	215.51	46.00
October-November 1953	- NEGRO FAMILY INCOME IN THE SOUTHERN STATES	- 8 pp.	221.73	46.00
December 1953	- THE LAST ROUND OF DEBATE	- 8 pp.	186.39	44.00
January 1954	- THE COLOR LINE IN SOUTHERN LIBRARIES	- 16 pp.	362.70	51.20
February 1954	- WE ARE UNNECESSARILY EXCITED	- 8 pp.		44.00
			$ 1,845.51	$ 375.00

Balance in account May 1, 1953		$ 31.19
Received from THE FIELD FOUNDATION		2500.00
		$ 2531.19
Disbursements		
Printing	1845.51	
Postage	375.60	
Salary, (Harold Fleming)	150.00	
Bank charges	.32	2411.03
Balance on hand, March 1, 1954		$ 120.16

REPORT ON PUBLICITY RECEIVED BY NEW SOUTH DURING PERIOD MAY 1953 to MARCH 1954

NEW SOUTH has continued to get gratifying notice in the news and editorial columns of the press and in nationally circulated periodicals.

The May issue, which carried a wise article by Guy B. Johnson on the school segregation issue, was widely quoted and praised. In our letter of July 29, 1953, we cited some indications of its impact on the thinking of Southern newspaper editors. The large number of requests for individual copies exhausted our supply of the issue some time ago.

The June issue carried the annual meeting address of SRC president, Marion A. Wright, "A New Era in Human Relations." It was summarized at length in the Christian Science Monitor and has also brought many individual requests for copies.

The July issue gave the terms and implications of the Supreme Court's call for reargument in the school cases. It has provided useful background for writers and others wanting information on this important issue.

The August issue -- Questions and Answers: The Schools and the Courts -- has had the widest and most rapid distribution of any SRC publication in recent years. Its organizational distribution is described in detail in the enclosed excerpt from our Report to the Board. Its use by the press has been equally remarkable. Lengthy summaries of it have appeared in the New York Times, the Chattanooga Times, the Baltimore Sun, the Miami Herald, America, the Methodist Youth Publication Concern, The Methodist Woman, and many other denominational publications. All of the wire services sent out stories based on the pamphlet and these were widely run in the Southern papers. The Macon (Ga.) Telegraph and the Birmingham World serialized it in full. It elicited favorable editorial comment from a host of papers, including the Charlotte News, the Asheville Citizen, and the Negro weeklies. In short, we think the pamphlet has contributed significantly to an informed and constructive public view of the question.

A Checklist for Your Local Schools, published as the September issue, was a supplement to Questions and Answers, designed for use by local groups. Some 10,000 copies have been distributed.

The October-November issue interpreted the census figures on Negro income. The Asheville Citizen-Times and the Norfolk Journal and Guide cited it as evidence of the need for a conscious effort to broaden employment opportunities for Southern Negroes. The annual list of cities employing Negro policemen, supplemented by favorable quotes from police chiefs, received the usual newspaper notice.

Of the last three issues, the January report on "The Color Line in Southern Libraries" has had the most noteworthy publicity. The SRC survey on which the issue was based was the first in the field since 1941 and revealed remarkable progress toward library integration. The publicity given the findings through local releases, wire service stories, the New York Times, and so on, has created much interest in library circles. A number of librarians have requested enough copies to distribute to each member of their boards. This issue should do much to hasten the common-sense measure of opening main branch libraries to all, without respect to race.

The December issue dealt with the rearguments of the school segregation issue before the Supreme Court. The last (February) issue contained three articles -- Dr. Benjamin Mays on the practical and moral significance of the impending Supreme Court Decision, a Negro college student on the problems of integration, and a young teaching couple on their observations of South Africa during a recent stay there.

April 21, 1954

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

We are most grateful indeed for the Field Foundation's generous gift to the Southern Regional Council of $1,500, receipt for which is enclosed.

It will enable us to keep New South going for the rest of the year; a critical year when it's pilot-function is badly needed.

As you will have seen, the Fund for the Republic did help us of a good scale, with a grant to enable us to put paid personnel into each of twelve States, and enough left over to enlarge a little the central office here. But the budget has nothing in it for our publication, and nothing for the little job in research interpretation (as distinct from research) that we wanted to do. I note the statement the Board of the Field Foundation made that no commitment is made as to future aid to New South, but I would still like to be permitted later in the year to submit a project for a substantial reorganization of it that might appeal to your Board.

And for the rest of this year, again that blessed feeling that our printer's bills can be paid, in full, on the nail. We are most appreciative

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/
Encl.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

RECEIVED
APR 21 1954
Southern Regional Council

April 19, 1954

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

You will be pleased to learn that the board of directors of The Field Foundation adopted the following resolution at its meeting recently:

> RESOLVED that the Corporation appropriate and contribute to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia, in support of the monthly publication, NEW SOUTH, in the eight-month period beginning May 1, 1954, the sum of $1,500, or as much thereof as shall be needed, to be paid in full in April 1954.

The board asked me to report that there is no implied commitment that the Foundation would renew support of NEW SOUTH upon the termination of this contribution in December.

You will find enclosed the Field Foundation's check in the amount of $1,500, payable to the order of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., paying the grant in full. May I have the Council's official acknowledgment of the receipt of the enclosed check?

The Foundation would appreciate receiving a progress report, including financial statement, on the NEW SOUTH, as in the past. We shall plan to give you at least thirty days' notice when such a report is desired.

The Field Foundation would appreciate appropriate recognition of our support of the Council's work in any public acknowledgment that may be made. If you have any questions concerning the terms of this award, please do not hesitate to write.

Sincerely yours,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

Encl.

August 28, 1954

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

We are hit a little hard by your emphatic turn-down of our request for further aid to New South.

I will be coming to New York along in the Fall and hope you will let me come and get advice from you on where and how we should turn.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
(Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

July 23, 1954

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have your letter in which you present the data you and Harold Fleming have prepared for expansion of New South in 1955, 1956, and 1957.

Frankly, you had better look elsewhere for this support. As you know, the Field Foundation made a policy exception in providing modest assistance for the New South in the past. There were raised eyebrows when you indicated in last Spring's application your intention of coming back for publication subsidy, possibly to the extent of $5,000 for 1955. We have stretched a point in the past to help Southern Regional Council, but your current request is not for us.

I trust that you meet with success in raising the essential funds from local sources. The time for stronger Southern support of the Southern Regional Council has come.

Sincerely yours,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

RECEIVED
JUL 26 195
Southern Regional Council

September 28, 1954

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Many thanks for your note of September 24. I will come in at 4:00 on October 18.

I will be staying at the Hotel New Yorker.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

September 24, 1954

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
SEP 27 '54
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I will be glad to see you at 4 o'clock on October 18. Will you please let me know in advance though where you will be staying so that we may get in touch with you should an unexpected situation arise.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

have notified for ticket
eb

September 22, 1954

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

The Herald-Tribune Forum people pay for me to come up to New York October 18. Could I hope to have a visit with you on the afternoon of October 18?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 21, 1954

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

RECEIVED
10/25/54
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The board of directors of the Field Foundation has asked me to report to you that the following resolution was adopted at our annual meeting:

> RESOLVED that the Corporation appropriate and contribute to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia, in support of the monthly publication, NEW SOUTH, in the thirty-six month period beginning January 1, 1955, the sum of $15,000, or as much thereof as shall be needed, to be paid as follows: $7,000 in January 1955, $5,000 in January 1956, and $3,000 in January 1957.

It was the sense of the meeting that this award should be a terminal grant for NEW SOUTH. If the Southern Regional Council finds the terms of the award satisfactory, we would appreciate receiving your official acknowledgment accepting the grant.

The Foundation will again plan to receive progress reports on NEW SOUTH, accompanied by financial statements. We expect to give the Council at least thirty days' notice when such reports are desired.

Our officers and directors join me in sending you and your colleagues our best wishes for continued success.

Sincerely yours,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

October 28, 1954

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

At the second session of the Herald-Tribune Forum a large chorus sang powerfully "Amazing Grace." I am afraid that I was in whispered conversation with Judge and Mrs. Waring during much of that fall and swell, but I did remember, at least, the name and the promise of the song.

What very good news your letter of October 21st contains!

That will be enough for us to be sure that New South can do what it ought to do for 1955-56-57. I think there is every possibility that the mounting volume of subscriptions for a better magazine will give us the added funds that will be needed to keep it running well.

And we are in agreement that this most generous gift is to be the final one from the Field Foundation for New South.

We will continue to let you know of the plans for New South and its weightier guise.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

January 13, 1955

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

We are extremely grateful for the Field Foundation's check for $7,000, being the initial payment under the terms of the Foundation's award to the Southern Regional Council made in October, 1954, for the support of New South for the calendar year, 1955.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - Official Receipt of SRC.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 4, 1955

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JAN 6 1955

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am pleased to enclose herewith the Field Foundation's initial payment under the terms of its award to the Southern Regional Council, made in October 1954 for support of the publication, NEW SOUTH. As you know, this check, in the amount of $7,000, payable to the Southern Regional Council, is for the calendar year 1955.

May we have the Council's official receipt for this payment?

Best wishes for a Happy New Year!

Sincerely yours,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

Encl.

February 25, 1955

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

To be sure that you get them, I send you directly the January and February issues of New South. They show a remarkable perk-up in format, and some in ideas.

As the months go by we will try to make the magazine live up to its new opportunities.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Encls.
GSM/eab

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

February 28, 1955

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

MAR 2 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks so much for sending "Changing Patterns in the New South," the special December-January issue, and also New South for February 1955. I know that I shall find these informative.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

August 1, 1955

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Here is a recent quarterly report from the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 4, 1955

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

Your wording is perfect.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

(Dictated by Dr. Mitchell 8/1/
Signed in his absence.)

Eval.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

HCF
What should I say?
eur.

July 22, 1955

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

JUL 25 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Enclosed is a copy of the statement which we plan to use in the Foundation's annual report for this year. I will appreciate your indicating any essential changes or additions and returning the copy to me with your approval.

Sincerely yours,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

Enclosure

File

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

August 5, 1955

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

AUG 8 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Your letter of August 1 with the quarterly report dated July 27 was received today. Thank you very much.

Perhaps someone can check your mailing list to make sure the Field Foundation receives the New South as each issue comes out.

2 copies each month as of 2/24/55 nha

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

August 5, 1955

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

AUG 8 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter of August 3rd endorsing the Child Study Association project.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn

September 19, 1955

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

I am going to be in New York Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, September 27th, 28th, and 29th, for Clifford Earle of the Northern Presbyterian Church. Free time on the 27th and the morning of the 28th. I would like to come and tell you what we have been doing with the Field Foundation's help. Would that be possible on the afternoon of the 27th or the morning of the 28th -- either that might suit you? And if none of those, I could try for a squeeze-in later on.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
(Dictated September 9th)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

September 22, 1955

SEP 24 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am putting you down for 4:00 p.m. on Tuesday, September 27 at this office.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn

September 26, 1955

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

I find we have allowed to lapse our good and proper habit of sending you a monthly report on expenditures from the Field Foundation for New South. We will resume. Meanwhile, here is a summary thus far into 1955.

We allocated, of the $7,000 for this calendar year, $6,000 for printing costs of New South. We have spent thus far from the allocation $4,456.95, itemized as follows:

January	$ 700.00
February	455.79
March	562.90
April	417.28
May	416.36
June	482.58
July-August	422.04
Aug. 2nd printing of Changing Patterns in the New South	1,000.00
Total	$4,456.95

We have allocated for this calendar year $1,000 for postage and supplies. Of that we have spent, as of September 15th, $837.06.

A good $500 of the $1,000 devoted to a second printing of Changing Patterns will come back to us before December of this year. With that back-flow, and with the unspent amounts, we expect to get successfully through this calendar year.

I can report that the magazine grows in circulation, and at a gratifyingly speedy rate. Each of our twelve new state organizations is industriously getting new members, and each new member is ordinarily a subscriber to New South at $2.00 a year. In a good month this arrangement brings us in 300 new subscribers. The magazine already has nearly 4,000 paid subscribers, and we print and circulate 5,000 of each issue.

As to its content, you are a better judge than we. We think it quite a lot better than it was in the old guise. For one thing, we have been helped by the $10,000 grant from the Doris Duke Foundation for improving the flow of catalogued information to the Council, and that has made it possible for us to do the several serious articles on higher education and public parks and baseball. All our experience teaches that nothing is so effective in producing change as the evidence that change is already occurring in other parts of the South.

We feel new pride in putting out a little journal that has color and good printing and more space and a good deal more claim to being a month-by-month summary of progress in this field in the Southern states, and we could never do this without the sustaining help of the Field Foundation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: RA

October 31, 1955

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

Week before last, in a speech mainly jumping on the NAACP, the Attorney General of Georgia took some sideswipes at us. Said we were a front group. But I never got quite clear on whether we were fronting for the NAACP or the Communist Party.

We have prepared this manuscript and have circulated it among people influential in making opinion in Georgia.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

November 4, 1955

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

NOV 8 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for sending me the memorandum "The Attack on the Southern Regional Council and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation" dated October 1955. Perhaps Georgia's Attorney General equates NAACP with the Communist Party!

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Mr. Howard Kester

To The Women's Society of Christian
Service of the Methodist Church
Camp Dogwood
Nashville, Tennessee

Not Box 171

Postmaster: This parcel may be opened for postal inspection if necessary.
Return Postage Guaranteed.

Foundations - Field

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

RECEIVED DEC 29 1955

December 27, 1955

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am enclosing a carbon of a letter I have just written to Howard Kester and I hope that you or in your absence Mr. Fleming will see that some copies of "New South", if available, are sent to Mr. Kester at Camp Dogwood. As you probably know, the camp is operated by The Women's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church. I am sure that there is a better address for the camp than just Camp Dogwood, Nashville, Tenn., and probably you or Mr. Fleming or Mrs. Tilly will know what it is.

I shall appreciate it if you can help out in this way.

Sincerely,

Max Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Field Foundation

Sent 1/3/56
pb.

Send
30 copies each
Sept, Oct., Dec

December 27, 1955

Mr. Howard Kester, Executive Secretary
The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
Black Mountain, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Kester:

J. C. Herrin has been interested to see recent issues of "New South" which, as you know, is issued by the Southern Regional Council. J. C. thought that it would be good if George Mitchell could make available 30 copies of recent issues for distribution at Camp Dogwood, Nashville, on January 10. I am not sure about Camp Dogwood's mail address or I would have asked Mr. Mitchell directly to send along extra copies of "New South".

I therefore am writing to ask you to suggest to Mr. Mitchell that the Field Foundation would appreciate it if he would send a sample supply of "New South" for distribution at the off-the-record meeting at Dogwood. I am sure that he will be glad to comply if there are extra copies, for it will be a way of sampling prospective new subscribers.

With best wishes for the new year.

Sincerely,

M.H.

Maxwell Hahn

MARSHALL FIELD GRANT

AMOUNT OF GRANT - 1955			7,000.00
ALLOCATED FOR PRINTING OF NEW SOUTH		6,000.00	
JANUARY	700.00		
FEBRUARY	455.79		
MARCH	562.90		
APRIL	417.28		
MAY	416.36		
JUNE	482.58		
JULY-AUGUST	422.04		
AUG.- 2ND PRINTING OF CHANGING PATTERNS IN THE NEW SOUTH	1,000.00*		
		4,456.95	
BALANCE TO SEPT. 15, 1955		1,543.65	
~~BALANCE TO SEPT. 15, 1955~~			
ALLOCATED FOR POSTAL & SUPPLIES		1,000.00	
NEW SOUTH ENVELOPES	238.45		
ADDRESSOGRAPH STENCILS FOR NEW SOUTH & SERVICE OF MACHINE	84.61		
POSTAGE (NEW SOUTH ONLY) JANUARY THRU' AUG. 1955	514.00		
TOTAL TO SEPT. 15, 1955		837.06	
BALANCE TO DEC. 31, 1955		162.94	

ABZ

* EXPECT TO REC~~UPERATE~~OUP $500.00 BY DEC. 1, 1955 TOWARD CHARGE

2000

Foundation
Field

January 4, 1956

Mr. Maxwell Hahn,
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

We are extremely grateful for the Field Foundation's check for $5,000 in support of New South, in the calendar year of 1956, being the second installment on the Foundation's award at its October, 1954 meeting.

With cordial appreciation,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

RECEIVED DEC 31 1955

December 29, 1955

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

CR
Rha

I am enclosing the Field Foundation's check in the amount of $5,000, payable to the order of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. This payment, in support of the monthly publication, NEW SOUTH, in the twelve-month period beginning January 1, 1956, is the second installment of the Foundation's award which was made at its October 1954 meeting. You may wish to refer to the terms of the grant in my letter of October 21, 1954.

May I have the official receipt of the Council for the Foundation's files?

With best wishes for the new year to you and your associates.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

Enclosure

Foundations - Field

January 13, 1956

Mr. Maxwell Hahn,
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

It occured to us this year that we might do Mr. Field, yourself, and the Foundation the courtesy of sending a bound volume for 1955 of New South. And so one is on its way with gratefulness.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Forward - Field

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 16, 1956

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED JAN 18 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

The bound volume of New South for 1955 should be useful. I shall look forward to its delivery.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn

Mr. Maxwell Hahn,
The Field Foundation, Inc.,
250 Park Avenue,
New York 17,
NEW YORK.

March 12th, 1956.

Dear Mr. Hahn,

My absence from this city has delayed my reply to your letter of March 2nd. in regard to Highlander Workshop Program on Desegregation. I was in one of these workshops last year, held especially for college young people and it was most stimulating and worth while. I also was impressed with the work of the Highlander Folk School and its influence on the community. In every way I would say an investment in Highlander workshops would be a most worth while way to place the grant again.

Regretting the delay in answering your letter,

I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
In Charge of Women's Work.

MET:rl.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

March 2, 1956

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Myles Horton and Henry Shipherd have applied to the Field Foundation for continued support of the Workshop Program in Desegregation and have given your name as a reference. May I ask that you send me a letter frankly stating your views on Highlander?

I shall be sincerely appreciative.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

Fund to file

The New York Times
Wednesday
November 21, 1956

FIELD FUND GETS 30 MILLION IN WILL

Chicago Publisher Also Gives $1,100,000 to His Widow, —Son Receives Residue

Marshall Field 3d, who died on Nov. 8 at the age of 63, left $30,000,000 to the Field Foundation, Inc.

Mr. Field organized the foundation in 1940 to administer his philanthropies. The bequest was made known yesterday by John F. Wharton a lawyer and executor of the estate. The will is to be filed for probate seen in Huntington, Suffolk County, L.I., where Mr. Field had a 2,200-acre estate.

The residuary estate, the value of which was not stated: goes to Mr. Field's only son, Marshall Field Jr., who is also an executor of the estate. Mrs. Ruth Pruyn Field, his widow, receives $1,100,000 in cash and the family homes. Besides the Long Island place, these are a cooperative apartment at 740 Park Avenue, New York, and a 13,000-acre estate in South Carolina that Mr. Field called his "quail lodge."

Eleven grandchildren get $100,000 each. Four are children of Marshall Field Jr., four are children of his sister Barbara (Mrs. Robert Boggs), and three are children of his sister Bettine (Mrs. Eldridge Bruce).

Mr. Fields left $50,000 to four employes. Gesine M. Heller, secretary, receives $20,000. Charlotte Hagemann, secretary; Edward Hort, valet, and James Haslam, chauffeur, get $10,000 each.

Employes Get Bequests

Bequests weer made to all Mr. Field's personal employes except those covered by a retirement plan. About sixty employes of his New York and Long Island homes and his office at 250 Park Avenue, who had been in his employ for at least a year, receive bequests. These amount to a month's salary for every year of employment with a maximum of a year's salary for those employed ten years or more.

Mr. Field gave Daumier's painting, "L'Amateur d'Estampes," to the Chicago Art Institute.

Mr. Field inherited a fortune from his grandfather, Marshall Field, the Chicago department store owner and real estate dealer. This fortune was estimated at nearly $175,000,000 in 1943 when its final portion passed into possession of Marshall Field 3d.

During his lifetime Mr. Field gave to members of his family and to charity a large part of his inheritance from his grandfather, according to yesterday's announcement. These gifts to members of his family included the controlling stock in Field Enterprises, Inc., a corporation he formed in 1944 to consolidate his publishing ventures.

These ventures included The Chicago Sun-Times, the World Book, Childcraft, Parade, Pocket Books, Little Golden Books, and Simon & Schuster, the book publishing company. Field Enterprises also had interests in banks, retail stores and industries.

Securities Go to Fund

Certain senior securities of Field Enterprises are included in Mr. Field's bequest to the Field Foundation. This bequest includes stocks, bonds, notes and similar assets. If his wife should disclaim any of the real property, it also will go to the Field Foundation.

Among the charitable gifts made by Mr. Field during his lifetime, it was announced, were two Chicago real estate properties now estimated as worth $40,000,000.

The eleven grandchildren include Marshall Field 3d, Joanne Field, Frederick Woodruff Field and Katherine Woodruff Field, children of Marshall Field Jr. Others are Barbara Bliss, Robert Boggs Jr., Sarah Lenox Boggs and Evelyn Boggs, children of Mrs. Boggs. The children of Mrs. Bruce are Bettine Marshall Goodall, Gregory Eldridge Bruce and Catherine Bruce.

Marshall Field 3d was married three times. His first wife was the former Evelyn Marshall of New York, whom he married in 1916. They were divorced in 1930. They had three children—Marshall Field Jr, Barbara (Mrs. Boggs) and Bettine (Mrs. Bruce). HM HM H CkdB Bruce).

In 1930 Mr. Field married Mrs. Audrey Janes Coats, a widow. They were divorced in 1934. His third wife was the former Mrs. Ruth Pruyn Phipps, former wife of Ogden Phipps. She and Mr. Field were married in 1936. They had two childern—Phyllis, now Mrs. Hernando Samper, and Fiona.

The executors of the estate, besides Marshall Field Jr. and Mr. Wharton, are George Richardson and Carl J. Weitzel of Chicago, who are associated with Field Enterprizes.

December 6, 1956

Mr. Marshall Field, Jr.
Editor and Publisher
Chicago Sun-Times
211 W. Wacker Drive
Chicago 6, Illinois

Dear Mr. Field:

The Board of the Southern Regional Council in annual meeting November 14, 1956, at Williamsburg, Virginia, expressed its warm appreciation for the valued support of Mr. Marshall Field. The Board directed that a copy of the resolution unanimously adopted be sent to Mrs. Field, to the Field Foundation, and to you, as follows:

> The Southern Regional Council, at its Thirteenth Annual Meeting, notes with sincere regret the passing of Marshall Field who was long one of its best friends and most generous benefactors. Mr. Field's deep dedication to democracy is recorded in his gifts to the many organizations which work for equal citizenship for all people. Long after any stone monument would crumble, the memory of Marshall Field will be enshrined in the hearts of the people for whom he helped obtain a fuller recognition of their intrinsic human dignity.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

December 6, 1956

Mrs. Marshall Field
c/o The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Field:

The Board of the Southern Regional Council in annual meeting November 14, 1956, at Williamsburg, Virginia, expressed its warm appreciation for the valued support of Mr. Marshall Field. The Board directed that a copy of the resolution unanimously adopted be sent to the Editor of the Chicago Sun-Times, to the Field Foundation, and to you, as follows:

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

December 6, 1956

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

The Board of the Southern Regional Council in annual meeting November 14, 1956, at Williamsburg, Virginia, expressed its warm appreciation for the valued support of Mr. Marshall Field. The Board directed that a copy of the resolution unanimously adopted be sent to the Editor of the Chicago Sun-Times, to Mrs. Field, and to you, as follows:

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GS

December 6, 1956

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Jack Sessions at the ILGWU, Columbus 5-7000, has me coming to New York December 11th and 12th to do some teaching for him.

I will make it my business to call at your office. I enjoy the occasions for sampling and summation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED DEC 12 1956

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 10, 1956

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Staff

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for the copy of the resolution expressing appreciation for Mr. Field's interest in the Southern Regional Council. This was very thoughtful.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

87 AFF

RECEIVED DEC 13 1956

CHICAGO
SUN-TIMES
211 W. WACKER DRIVE, CHICAGO 6, ILL.

MARSHALL FIELD, JR.
EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

December 11, 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you so much for sending me a copy of the resolution unanimously adopted by The Board of the Southern Regional Council at its annual meeting on November 14th at Williamsburg, Virginia, as expressed in your letter of December 6th.

Would you please express to the Board my deep appreciation and that of the rest of the family for the kind thoughts about my father.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Marshall Field Jr.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

STAFF

740 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK

December 12, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I found the resolution adopted by the Southern Regional Council very touching. I am glad that the Council feels that my husband's work was an inspiration and was at least of some small help in furthering the cause of equal citizenship for all people.

Sincerely, and Thank you

Ruth Field

file

January 8, 1957

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Our warmest thanks for the Field Foundation's check in support of the publication of New South for 1957. An official receipt is enclosed.

You will be receiving from us shortly a report on what we were able to accomplish through New South with the aid of the Field Foundation grant during 1956.

The next time I am to be in New York, I will write you in the hope of fixing a convenient time for a conversation. Meanwhile, if we can at any time furnish any information or analysis that would be helpful, call on us.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mm

enclosure

January 8, 1957

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Our warmest thanks for the Field Foundation's check in support of the publication of New South for 1957. An official receipt is enclosed.

You will be receiving from us shortly a report on what we were able to accomplish through New South with the aid of the Field Foundation grant during 1956.

The next time I am to be in New York, I will write you in the hope of fixing a convenient time for a conversation. Meanwhile, if we can at any time furnish any information or analysis that would be helpful, call on us.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mm

enclosure

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 4, 1957

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

CR 1/8/57
rhw

I am enclosing the Field Foundation's check in the amount of $3,000, payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. This represents the final payment of the award granted to the Council in October, 1954, in support of the monthly publication "New South", and covers the twelve month period beginning January 1, 1957.

May we have an official receipt of the Council for the Foundation's files?

With best wishes for the new year!

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

Enclosure

March 19, 1957

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

I am to be in New York next Tuesday, March 26th, and probably for several succeeding days. Would it be possible for me to see you in mid-afternoon Tuesday? If not perhaps you could set aside some time on Wednesday or Thursday.

Dave Freeman sent me a copy of your excellent speech to the Association of Fund-Raising Counsel and wrote me of his conversation with you. I profited greatly both from the speech and from the advice which Dave passed along.

I shall call your office when I reach New York to see if it will be possible for me to see you.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

File

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

March 21, 1957

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of March 19. I have time available on Thursday, March 28 at 3:30.

Will you let me know if this is agreeable with you. Also it might be a good idea to let me know where you will be staying in New York in the event that I am called out of town unexpectedly.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

April 10, 1957

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

In view of the Field Foundation's assistance to New South, I thought you would be interested in the enclosed critique from the columns of the pro-segregationist Jackson, Mississippi, Clarion-Ledger. We felt rather proud of this working over, since it indicates that Mr. Ethridge, at any rate, feels New South is making an effective contribution to desegregation.

I am also enclosing a piece of evidence from Alabama that indicates the growing awareness of the threat to Southern economic development presented by the activities of the Ku Klux Klan and other extremist elements.

I enjoyed our recent conversation. If there are occasions in which we can assist you with information or otherwise, please feel free to call on me.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 12, 1957

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED APR 15 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of April 10th and the enclosures. These, of course, are of considerable interest to me.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

May 13, 1957

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation
250 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Dave Freeman and Frank Loescher have advised me that you are considering an early trip South and might be interested in attending the forthcoming conference of agencies concerned with human relations in the region. The meeting is scheduled to run from 1:00 p.m. on Tuesday, May 28th through Noon, Wednesday, May 29th; we will meet in the board room of Atlanta University.

I know that this is pretty short notice, but if you should find it possible to sit in on the conference, you would be most welcome. Of course, I shall make no mention to anyone of the possibility that you may be present.

In any case, when and if you make your Southern trip, I hope you will call on us for any advice you can offer and that you will plan to pay us a visit.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 16, 1957

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for giving me the time of the conference in Atlanta. I am afraid that I shall not be able to come because of appointments made with out-of-town people before the question of visiting the South arose.

I do appreciate your cordial invitation to call upon you for advice when I do get South. I had planned, of course, to see you.

Again, my thanks.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

Sent July 8, 1957

May 30, 1957

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

The meeting of agencies, just held at Atlanta University, was a well attended and useful session. I, too, am sorry that you could not be present, but I will be glad to see that you receive a report of the proceedings.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 28, 1957

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED MAY 29 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I regret that it was not possible for me to attend the Atlanta University meeting which is taking place at this time. I hope that you will see that I receive a report of the proceedings.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

July 17, 1957

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I wish to acknowledge and thank you for the Report on the Conference of Agencies Working in the South held in Atlanta on May 28 and 29 as well as for your letter of July 12 transmitting the Report on Council activities in the first six months of 1957. These will be held for Mr. Hahn's attention following his return to New York from an extended field trip.

Sincerely,

Maxine Semmel

Maxine Semmel
Assistant to the
Executive Vice President

August 5, 1957

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Since Harold Fleming is away on vacation, your letter of August 1, 1957 has been referred to me. We are mailing you, under separate cover, the eighteen copies of the June issue of NEW SOUTH which you requested.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

RECEIVED AUG 5 1957

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

August 1, 1957

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I was very glad to have the report on the Council's activities for the first six months of this year and also the report of the May 28-29 Atlanta meeting.

If you still have a supply of the June issue of NEW SOUTH containing Mayes Dabbs' article, will you please see that I receive 18 copies for circulation to our board of directors.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

August 12, 1957

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thank you for sending the 19 copies of the June issue of NEW SOUTH. I am glad to have these for distribution to the members of our board and appreciate your promptness in sending them.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 28, 1957

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I believe that your office may have an incorrect address for the Foundation. I think this enclosed envelope is the second one which has gone to Fifth Avenue.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

Enclosure

October 28, 1957

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

After our conversation last week, I talked with some of the people at the Fund for the Advancement of Education and found that they did, after all, make a grant to the Committee of Educators for the preparation of a manual on desegregation. The Committee is headed by Dean J. B. White, Dean of the College of Education at the University of Florida. I thought you would want to know that this project apparently is underway.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

November 8, 1957

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Thank you for letting me know that it will be some time before the Field Foundation will have a meeting at which grant requests can be considered. In view of this, I will defer a request from the Southern Regional Council for a while, so that our assessment of the Southern situation and program needs will not be too out dated when your board does convene. However, we do wish to have a request before you and will submit one within the next two or three months.

Meanwhile, I know you will feel free to call on me for any help or information that the Council can render.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED NOV 1 1957

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 30, 1957

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I appreciate your thoughtfulness in informing me that the Fund for the Advancement of Education has made a grant for preparation of a manual on desegregation.

And now there is one piece of news which I must pass on to you. That is, that our officers decided over the weekend that due to lack of funds the Foundation is not warranted in having a meeting next month and that we probably will not meet to make grants for some months.

I can assure you that as soon as our finances improve the board will be eager to get together to put available funds to work constructively. I shall continue to process applications so as to be ready for the meeting when we can hold it.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

March 21, 1958

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

I thought you might like to have a copy of the Council's last annual report and the 1957 audit. Part of the activities reported were made possible by the third-year grant from the Field Foundation, for which we are most grateful.

I hope I may have the opportunity to talk with you again on some early visit to New York.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2 (Annual Report & Audit, 1957)

Rec'd 3/26/58

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

March 24, 1958

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for the Southern Regional Council annual report and audit.

I know that I shall find these of interest.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

voting study
C. R. Reprint
Therno, copies of C. R. Reprint with 2 figs
+ ltrs from Douglas + News Clips on
voting study

VIA AIR MAIL March 28, 1958

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

As you can see, I have made our request to the Field Foundation the first order of business on my return. With more time, the proposal might have been better written or more detailed, but I believe it gives a reasonably good account of the project we have in mind.

Since you have recently had our annual report and audit, I am limiting the enclosures to those exhibits which bear specifically on the proposed project.

I enjoyed our conversation yesterday afternoon and greatly appreciate your willingness to consider this eleventh-hour request. Please let me know if further information on any point would be helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

A PROPOSAL TO THE FIELD FOUNDATION → file

FROM THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

March 28, 1958

Synopsis

This is a request for a one-year grant of $10,000 to make possible a continuing survey of Negro registration and voting in the South. This current survey would follow up the Council's regionwide study of Negro suffrage in 1956. It would have special timeliness because of the great national interest in the pivotal right to vote. By virtue of experience in this area of fact-finding and relations with the press, other media, and appropriate official agencies, the Council is uniquely fitted to carry on the proposed project.

1956 Survey

Beginning in the Spring of 1956, the Council devoted a major part of its fact-finding efforts to the compilation of data on the status of Negro suffrage in the South. The most ambitious survey of its kind yet attempted, the study drew together county-by-county registration figures for most of the Southern states. Information on discrimination, apathy, and other obstacles to proportionate use of the ballot by Negroes was also collected.

The fact-finding in each state was directed by a skilled and respected social scientist, in most cases university-based. The findings were analyzed in terms of the potentially eligible population and county data on urbanization, economy, education, etc. The results were made available in several reports, the most comprehensive being The Negro Voter in the South by Margaret Price. The Council's survey provided almost the only reliable data in this field at a time when public opinion and Congressional debate centered on the right to vote. Enclosed are several exhibits illustrating the widespread impact of the survey findings.

Current Developments

Access to the ballot by Negroes continues to be a central and contested issue. Since the passage of the Civil Rights Act in August 1957, the following developments have taken place: (1) Several states have enacted new restrictive legislation designed to curtail Negro registration and voting; other state legislatures are expected to pass such measures. (2) Through such organizations as the NAACP and the Southern Leadership Conference, Negroes have launched intensive registration campaigns. (3) A new civil rights division, concerned specifically with voting, has been created within the Department of Justice; the newly authorized Civil Rights Commission has been appointed, and the staff director is awaiting Senate confirmation.

All of these developments point to the need for a continuing flow of information on registration and voting practices across the region. It will be some time before any appreciable amount of fact-finding can be done by the new Federal agencies. Meanwhile, the Council has received from the Department of Justice, private organizations concerned with voting discrimination, and the press, requests for current information on Negro suffrage in the South. We believe that the continuing survey proposed will be a valuable aid to the elimination of restrictions on the voting rights of Negro Southerners. The strategic importance of the ballot in the solution of the South's acute racial problems is too obvious to require detailed discussion here.

The Proposed Project

We propose to update and keep current the record of registration and voting practices in the eight states where voting discrimination presents serious problems -- Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. The part-time services of fact-finding consultants -- mainly social scientists who have followed the development of Negro suffrage in one or more states -- will be employed. The findings of these consultants will be correlated, supplemented as necessary, and prepared for publication and other uses by the staff

Clear Copy Onion Skin

of the Council, with the assistance of an experienced part-time person employed for a total of about three months of the project year. This, in a limited degree, is the pattern used successfully in the 1956 survey.

The information to be sought may be briefly characterized as follows: (1) Current estimates - or official figures where available - of registration in selected counties of the eight-state area. It would not be feasible to update the figures for all counties, but the sampling will be large enough to show major trends. (2) Documented information on the application of restrictive laws and extra-legal methods used to disfranchise potential Negro registrants. (3) Methods and results of Negro registration efforts, including obstacles growing out of social, psychological, and economic problems within the Negro group.

The Proposed Budget

Consultant Fees	
Central Project Consultant	$ 1,600
State Consultants	4,200
Expenses	
Travel and per diem	1,600
Communications	1,000
Clerical	600
Central Office	
Staff direction and overhead	1,000
Total Requested	$10,000

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 2, 1958

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your promptness in sending the application is appreciated more than I can say.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

VIA AIR MAIL

April 2, 1958

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

It occurs to me that I failed to send you last week a list of our current board. A copy is enclosed, with the thought that it may be pertinent to your consideration of our request.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 SRC Board List

copy of this sent to Mr. Cooper

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 22, 1958

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

AIR MAIL

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

You will be pleased to know that the Field Foundation has adopted the following resolution:

> RESOLVED that the corporation appropriate and contribute the sum of $10,000, or as much thereof as shall be needed to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia, to finance a continuing survey of Negro registration and voting in the South.

CR
RHA
4/25/58

You will find enclosed the Foundation check in the amount of $10,000 payable to the order of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., paying this grant in full. May we have acknowledgment.

You understand, I am sure, that there is no implied commitment that this grant would be renewed at the end of the year.

We hope that this continuing survey proves as useful as the earlier study made in 1956.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

Enclosure

April 25, 1958

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Your letter informing us of the Field Foundation's favorable action on our request, and transmitting payment of the grant in full, pleases us more than I can say. The promptness with which our request was considered and approved gives us all the more reason to be grateful.

I am enclosing our official receipt for this contribution and will see that you receive periodic reports on the progress of the continuing survey thus made possible.

I might add that the grant could not have been more timely. Within the past week, we have had requests for current information on Negro registration and voting from representatives of the Miami Daily News, the Wall Street Journal, the New York Times, the Associated Press, U. S. News and World Report, the Department of Justice, a staff member of the Civil Rights Commission, and two Members of Congress! Had there been any doubt of the need for the continuing survey, these demands would have eliminated them.

I feel certain that the effectiveness of the project will justify the confidence and generosity of the Field Foundation.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2 (Official Receipt; Special Report on "Moves to Disenfranchise the Negro Voter")

July 1, 1958

Miss Maxine Semmel
Assistant to the Executive
Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Miss Semmel:

In response to your letter of June 26, we are sending you separately twenty-five (25) copies of the special report by Dr. Kenneth B. Clark.

Enclosed is a copy of the recent issue of New South, which contains an article adapted from the special report. If, after looking at it, you feel that this would serve your purposes better than the mimeographed document, let me know and I will send your requisite number of copies. In that event, it would not be necessary to return the special report.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (New South, June/1958)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

June 26, 1958

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

We have received one copy of the Special Report dated May 1958 entitled "Some General Observations in the Negro Community of Little Rock, Arkansas" which represents a portion of Dr. Kenneth B. Clark's report for the Southern Regional Council. We would very much appreciate receiving 25 additional copies of this report for our board if they are available.

Sincerely,

Maxine Semmel

Maxine Semmel
Assistant to the
Executive Vice President

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

July 10, 1958

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of July 1st and for the 25 copies of the Special Report by Dr. Kenneth B. Clark which were sent separately.

We would be very much interested in receiving 25 copies of the June 1958 issue of New South if this would not seriously limit your supply. Thank you for offering these.

Sent 7/14/58 mf

Sincerely,

Maxine Semmel

Maxine Semmel
Assistant to the
Executive Vice President

File - Field Found.

HAMMER AND COMPANY ASSOCIATES

Economic and business research

70 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA. JACKSON 4-6441
300 McDOWELL BUILDING, LOUISVILLE 2, KENTUCKY, JUNIPER 3-0924

PHILIP HAMMER
PRESIDENT

Associates
JESS CUSICK
LAWRENCE GREENE
JOHN GOULD
AMY COLLINS
RAYMOND HERMAN
ROBERT GLADSTONE

July 30, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Attached is a copy of aproposal on the Negro shopping center idea which I have just sent to Vernon Eagle and Lloyd Garrison. The draft leaves much to be desired, but I think it covers the main points. Let me know what you think of it. It was pretty hastily put together and it could stand some Fleming polish.

Regards.

Sincerely yours,

Kern

Philip Hammer

PH/sr

Enc.

PRELIMINARY PROPOSAL
RECONNAISSANCE SURVEY OF POTENTIAL COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN NEGRO AREAS OF THE SOUTH

It is proposed that a Reconnaissance Survey be undertaken to study and evaluate the potential development on a large-scale of new commercial enterprises in the Negro sections of the larger cities in the South. The survey would attempt to determine the dimensions of this potential in terms of Negro investment, Negro entrepreneurship and Negro employment.

The basic premise of the proposal is that Negroes are creating vast new potential for the use of their own resources through their expanding consumer market. Hundreds of thousands of Negro families have moved into Southern cities. Their income has been rising steadily and their consumer expenditures are tremendous. Existing retail establishments (predominantly white) have a growing interest in the Negro market. As of today, however, virtually no new modern retail facilities have been built in Negro urban areas, either close in or in the suburbs. More important, few new businesses have been created to reach this huge market which would utilize Negro capital, entrepreneurship or manpower.

Existing retail establishments will undoubtedly develop new facilities in the untapped Negro areas in the near future, as expansion of facilities in the white areas tapers off. This will bring more and better goods and services closer to the Negro consumer. However, unless steps are soon taken by Negroes themselves, this development is not likely to open up new employment, investment or business opportunities for Negroes.

The Reconnaissance Survey would serve as a pilot study to indicate the dimensions of the potential and the steps that might be taken to maximize the Negro participation in the inevitable commercial expansion that will take place. Essentially, the ultimate aim would be more Negro businesses within the Negro community. The program to achieve these results, however, would not be at the expense of other efforts to get the Negro into other economic activities throughout the broader community. The simple fact is that the prospects for more Negro business within the Negro community itself are tremendous. The training of Negroes in their own businesses should be a significant factor in the ultimate integration of Negroes in broader economic activities throughout the entire community.

The Reconnaissance Survey would break down into three major parts designed to get the answers to three major questions:

1. What are the specific potentials for new business enterprises to reach the Negro consumer market and to utilize in a maximum degree Negro capital, entrepreneurship, and manpower?

2. What are the specific problems that stand in the way of realizing the potentials?

3. What are the specific lines of indicated action that must be followed to solve the problems and get this development moving on a large scale throughout the South?

Each of these three parts of the Reconnaissance Survey will be briefly described below.

Part 1. Potentials

The first phase of the study of potentials would call for pilot studies in at least two and possibly three major cities in the South, selected from a list that might include Atlanta, Memphis, Charlotte, Jacksonville, Chattanooga and New Orleans.

These studies would be undertaken by professionals in commercial and retail analysis who would also be the prime contractors for the overall survey. In effect, they would be comprehensive market studies for one or more shopping centers in the Negro communities in each city. They would evaluate potential retail markets and competition, appropriate sites, and new facilities needed at strategic locations to meet the demand. A specific complement of retail sales and service units would be proposed for each indicated shopping center, listed by kind, type of merchandise, size and estimated first-year sales volumes. For each feasible shopping center, the study would develop realistic figures on the total investment needed, estimated returns and operating expenses, methods of financing, and procedures of putting together the indicated project. Estimates would also be developed showing the indicated types and volume of employment that might be generated by each center.

The second phase of the study of potential would translate the findings of the pilot studies for general applicability to other areas. This would involve brief but conclusive studies of the feasibility of similar developments in other major cities throughout the region and concrete estimates of the dimensions of the overall South-wide potential. The findings would indicate in a preliminary way the total number of centers that might appear feasible within a specified period in the future; the total needs for equity capital and mortgage finance; the overall implications as to national and local tenants; and the total potentials for new Negro business enterprises and employment.

These studies of potentials would be objective surveys similar to those undertaken by professional research organizations for any client. They would not set out to prove a predetermined point of view. Conceivably, the studies might indicate a much smaller potential than might appear at the present time. On the other hand, if the findings indicated a substantial potential, the results would be useful not only in establishing the dimensions of the opportunities, but also in subsequently making a strong case to financial institutions, retail chain companies, foundations and others with a specific interest.

Part 2. Problems

This part of the Reconnaissance Survey would seek to identify, describe and evaluate the problems that might stand in the way of the large-scale development of these shopping centers utilizing to the maximum extent Negro capital, entrepreneurship and employees. In the evaluation of these problems, the study would attempt not only to isolate as clearly as possible the particular difficulties involved, but also to indicate the specific alternative solutions that might be available.

Following are some (but not all) of the problems that would have to be carefully studied and evaluated:

1. Availability of Land. Negro markets are still predominantly close-in markets. Is enough land available at strategic close-in locations for the development of modern efficient shopping centers? Can the land be assembled? Are the prices right? To what extent can the urban renewal program aid in making this land available for this type of commercial development?

2. Availability of Leases. The financing of shopping centers depends largely upon the types of key leases that can be obtained. Would there be any special problems in getting major chain stores for key tenants? What about local stores? Would the absence of any large-scale experience at specialized Negro centers make any difference in lease terms?

3. Absence of Entrepreneurship. Although Negro business has grown rapidly in the South in recent years, there has been almost no experience in shopping center development. What are the prospects of Negroes handling the development of these new centers? How many of the stores in the centers might be owned and operated by Negro entrepreneurs? What are the bottlenecks that might handicap the development of Negro businesses in the consumer field?

4. Availability of Capital. A substantial amount of both equity and mortgage capital will be required to develop these centers. Negroes have accumulated large reservoirs of capital in recent years, and presumably Negro money will be available for both equity and mortgage financing. To what extent will other sources be needed? What are the best supplemental sources to consider?

5. Availability of Manpower. One of the basic aims of this commercial development would be to train and utilize large numbers of Negroes in jobs not now open to them in the South. How big a training program might be required for the specified number of projects that are indicated? How much of this training can be done on the job? What are the policies of the chains with respect to

special training for Negroes? What is the role of the Negro college in the training program? What is the role of the foundations?

6. Community Attitudes. These new commercial developments presumably would be located for the most part within the physical boundaries of Negro neighborhoods. To what extent is there likely to be opposition on the part of white groups who do not want to see Negroes moving into jobs formally held by whites, even within the Negro community? To what extent will the Negro community itself resent the development of facilities within their own areas which might be regarded as perpetuating the pattern of segregation? What are the potentials effects of these and other attitudes upon the success of the retail development?

In the last analysis, this phase of the Reconnaissance Survey would involve conclusions based primarily on judgments of the research staff. These studies of problems would bring a number of different types of research people into the picture, each with a special knowledge of a particular field. However, the findings would have to be pulled together and the basic conclusions reached by the commercial market analysts who would have the primary responsibility for determining the feasibility of the overall project.

Part 3. Lines of Action

The third part of the Reconnaissance Survey would be concerned with setting forth clearly the steps that should be taken to stimulate, promote and organize an effective effort to develop large-scale Negro consumer facilities in the South, if so indicated by earlier findings. Recognizing that the ultimate job would be done by a number of private agencies, organizations and businesses, the Reconnaissance Survey would attempt to identify the "catalyst" in each phase of the action program.

The indicated lines of action would of course have to come out of the earlier phases of the Reconnaissance Survey and cannot be set forth in detail in this outline. However, several specific areas can be identified in which action steps will probably have to be spelled out. One is the development that must take place at the local level -- the methods of establishing development companies, raising equity capital, enlisting the cooperation of existing business enterprises, setting up new business enterprises, assembling and acquiring land, and so on. Although the patterns of development might well vary in each locality, certain principles of action might be established.

Another area in which specific lines of action might be indicated is the national level. It is probable that direct approaches must be made to national chain organizations at the national level in order to assure local participation in these unique shopping center projects. Similarly, approaches might be made to national financial organizations

such as insurance companies to get their collaboration with local financial organizations.

The third area of action would involve training of Negroes for employment in the new retail facilities. To the extent that special programs might be established at Negro colleges for turning out supervisory and management personnel, foundation assistance might be required. The in-service training programs of existing retail agencies might be supplemented for these special purposes. The entire problem of training would have to be carefully tied in to the requirements of the specific commercial enterprises involved if the Negro's participation in this development is to be maximized.

In addition, the outlines of an organization for carrying out this development program would have to be clearly defined. If there is not to be a vacuum at the conclusion of the Reconnaissance Survey, a development organization of some sort must be established to follow through on all phases of the program. It is possible that some existing organization such as the National Business League could do the job. The work of this organization might be financed by private enterprise, possibly the financial institutions interested in the commercial developments as investment possibilities, or additional money might also be required from the foundations. The Reconnaissance Survey should clearly indicate not only the type of organization that would be needed but the budget that would be required for a specific period of time and the indicated methods of financing the operation.

Setting Up the Reconnaissance Survey

Responsibility for undertaking the Reconnaissance Survey should be given to a professional research agency competent in the field of retail and commercial development. This agency would be paid a fixed fee under contract to complete all phases of the work. As indicated, however, a number of additional consultants in allied and related fields would undoubtedly have to be brought in by the prime contractor in the course of the assignment.

The Reconnaissance Survey would result in a report document in which all of the major findings, conclusions and recommendations would be clearly set forth. In addition to the written report, the consultant should make a detailed verbal report to the sponsors. The written report should be prepared in sufficient copies for distribution to a large number of institutions, colleges, foundations, private businesses, financial agencies and other interested parties. It is suggested that 200 copies would be sufficient for these needs.

A reasonable figure for undertaking and completing this Reconnaissance Survey would be $25,000, of which at least $7,000 would probably be needed for direct out-of-pocket expenses and printing the report. This fee would be paid to the principal consultant who in turn would bring in other consultants and experts under sub-contract as required.

The Reconnaissance Survey could be completed within nine months after signing of the contract. All reports would become the property of the sponsoring agency and the consultant or consultants would not be free to make any distribution except upon the specific instructions of the sponsor.

Philip Hammer
July 30, 1958

September 2, 1958

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

We have an ample supply of the mid-Summer Report, and I am glad to send you, separately, the additional copies you requested.

Although the plans are not yet definite, it appears likely that I will be in New York for a meeting September 18 or 19. If this is confirmed, I will write you again for an appointment.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

August 27, 1958

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Do you have additional copies of the 1958 SRC Mid-Summer Report? I could use from seven to seventeen, but please do not bother to have them run off especially if they are not in stock.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

P. S. Would you let me have advance notice when you are planning to come to New York, and I should be glad to save time for you.

Rcd Aug 27, 1958

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

August 25, 1958

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of August 22nd and for the copy of your interim report of activities in 1958. I will be interested in reading this.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

September 14, 1958

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

YU 6-6688

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your air mail special delivery letter of September 11th. I am wondering if it will be possible for you to come into the office on Thursday, September 18th, at 12 noon so that we could have lunch together. If that is not convenient, I would suggest 3:30 P. M. that same day.

Would you please let me know which of these times is better for you and where you could be reached Thursday morning just in case an emergency arises here at the Foundation.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 (4-55)

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

SEPTEMBER 15, 1958

MR. MAXWELL HAHN
FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

LUNCH THURSDAY FINE. MY MEETING ENDS AT NOON

WILL COME DIRECTLY TO YOUR OFFICE. REGARDS.

HAROLD C. FLEMING

September 30, 1958

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

I enjoyed our lunch together last week. In the course of our conversation, you expressed some interest in the series originated by the New Bedford Standard-Times and reprinted in some Southern newspapers. Enclosed are thermofaxed copies of these articles (only passably readable I'm afraid) and a copy of an editorial from the Richmond Times-Dispatch refuting the statements made about the Southern Regional Council.

We are working on a request to the Field Foundation which should be in your hands very soon.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

of the Foundation. If so, I need hardly say that we will appreciate consideration of so much of the requested amount as may be practicable.

We are most grateful for this opportunity to put the needs of the Council before the Foundation.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

VIA AIR MAIL

October 1, 1958

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Enclosed is our request to the Field Foundation for financial assistance in 1959 and possibly for two succeeding years. Please call on us for any further information that may be appropriate.

The amount requested may be out of proportion to the available resources and existing commitments of the Foundation. If so, I need hardly say that we will appreciate consideration of so much of the requested amount as may be practicable.

We are most grateful for this opportunity to put the needs of the Council before the Foundation.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

2 Requests for Aid
2 Financial Analyses
~~1 Midsummer Report of Program Activities~~

Copy of proposal sent to
Vernon A. Eagle, New World Foundation

REQUEST TO THE FIELD FOUNDATION FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

October 2, 1958

Within recent years, the Field Foundation has made annual grants ranging from $1,500 to $10,000 in support of special projects of the Southern Regional Council. This support has greatly benefited the program of the Council, and we are deeply appreciative.

For 1959 we ask that the Field Foundation consider aid to the Council on a larger scale and on different terms than heretofore. Specifically, we should like to request an annual grant of $40,000 for general support, renewable in the same amount for two succeeding years.

We are fully aware that a requested grant of this size, representing a marked departure from earlier practice, calls for special justification. Following, in brief, are our grounds for hope that such a grant may be favorably considered.

The current crisis in Southern race relations is the most acute since the end of Reconstruction. Not only is the welfare of the South at stake, but the welfare of the whole Nation, in domestic and international terms. This point need not be labored for the Trustees of the Field Foundation; but we do want to give it emphatic mention, since it is basic to this request.

The Southern Regional Council has unique responsibilities and opportunities in this critical situation. The Council and its associated state and local groups provide one of the very few channels through which whites and Negroes of the region can work together in mutual confidence. As the successor to the old Interracial Commission, the Council draws on forty years of experience and reputation in race relations. It has a seasoned staff and a respected board -- both interracial and both composed of Southerners. Aside from these formal qualifications, we can testify from daily experience to the large and increasing demands for the services of this organization. While we often feel inadequate in the face of such vast problems, we are convinced that the Council has shown steady growth in skill and effectiveness in the recent, critical years. And we believe most informed persons would agree that there is no comparable instrument through which positive efforts by Southerners of both races can be carried on.

It has been said that an organization like the Council would be more effective if it secured its financial support within the South. This may well be true, but the point is a theoretical one. No organization working meaningfully for change in the racial status quo can hope to raise an adequate budget within the South. This conclusion is supported not only by the experience of the Council, but by

that of every other organization we know of. It should also be pointed out that the Council has voluntarily left such local sources as exist to the various State councils on Human Relations which it created and continues to assist. Any assessment of Southern support of this movement should take into account the funds raised locally by the state councils -- amounting in the past four years to approximately $150,000.

The Council has received major assistance from the Fund for the Republic. As the attached financial analysis makes clear, however, this support will diminish sharply in the next two years and will cease entirely after 1960. Of the Fund for the Republic's 1957 terminal grant, $100,000 will remain at the end of 1958. Sixty thousand of this will be available for the general support of the Council in 1959, and the remaining $40,000 in 1960. If the Council is to maintain its present level of operation, the steep decline in this support must be made up, over and above the sizable fund-raising task which has existed even at the peak of Fund for the Republic assistance.

A fair number of foundations will consider support to projects. (As the attached financial analysis shows, more than forty per cent of the Council's expectable income for 1959 is in this category.) But few will consider general

support. As George Mitchell once put it, in typically colorful fashion, "A good many will help you grow a rose, but precious few will water the main stem." To attract and hold able staff members, to meet opportunities and crises as they arise, the Council's greatest need is for grants in support of the total operation, renewable for three to five years. It is our honest conviction that support on this basis yields, dollar for dollar, far more fruitful program results than narrowly earmarked grants. Since the activities of the Council were rather fully summarized in our recent program report (additional copy attached), we will forego a detailed account here. But it may be appropriate to describe briefly the main functions that must be carried on with general support, as follows:

(1) Administration and overhead. There would be no program at all, of course, if the Council could not maintain an effective professional and clerical staff, carry on promotion and fund-raising, combat public attacks by the organized segregationists, and so on.

(2) Public information. All of the Council's information functions are dependent on general support -- the monthly publication New South, special reports, work with the press and other media, the handling of thousands of information requests from community leaders and organizations, and the maintenance of the reference files on which these activities depend.

(3) Financial and program aid to state and local Councils on Human Relations. These councils, which in many areas are the only vehicles for communication and cooperation by whites and Negroes, could hardly survive without the services and financial assistance of the Council.

(4) Work with government agencies. The Council is in a strategic position to advise and strengthen the performance of those official agencies with responsibilities in the field of civil rights -- e. g., the Commission on Civil Rights, the Department of Justice, the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

(5) Services to foreign visitors. The Council now plays host to more than 100 influential foreign leaders a year. Through the Council, they get a view of the South that serves, as nothing else could, to offset the damaging effects of propaganda and adverse publicity abroad.

(6) Assistance to beleaguered individuals and groups. As our program reports have pointed out, the emotionalism of Southern resistance to desegregation has led to increasing pressures and reprisals against liberals and moderates, white and Negro. The Council is one of the very few organizations in the South to which they can turn for advice and help.

Few of the larger foundations are inclined to support organized efforts in so "controversial" a field as race relations, particularly in the South. The Field Foundation is a courageous exception. If this request seems to presume unduly on the Foundation's generosity, it is for that reason.

I.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

GENERAL OPERATIONS BUDGET
Actual 1958 and Estimated Minimum 1959

	Actual 1958	Estimated 1959
Salaries	$70,368.00	$77,600.00
Social Security Taxes	1,355.00	1,750.00
Travel	8,500.00	8,500.00
Printing & Postage, NEW SOUTH	7,150.00	8,850.00
Printing, Other	1,500.00	1,500.00
Rent	3,600.00	3,600.00
Telephone & Telegraph	4,880.00	4,880.00
Postage	1,400.00	1,800.00
Accounting & Legal Fees	600.00	600.00
Insurance	300.00	500.00
Office Equipment)	4,550.00	(1,800.00
Office Supplies)		(3,600.00
Office Repairs & Maintenance	1,750.00	750.00
Sales Taxes & Other Special Charges	--	200.00
Bank Charges	--	200.00
Commercial Clerical Services	--	750.00
Board and Executive Committee Meetings	3,300.00	3,300.00
Miscellaneous	2,200.00	900.00
Aid to Independent State Councils On Human Relations	40,500.00	40,000.00
Total, General Operations	$152,703.00	$161,080.00

General Operations	
Estimated Minimum Needs, 1959	$161,080.00
Income Expectable, 1959 (See Page II)	104,000.00
BALANCE TO BE RAISED:	$ 57,080.00

II.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

GENERAL OPERATIONS INCOME
Actual 1958 and Expectable 1959

	Actual 1958	Expectable 1959	Totals 1959
Foundations			
Fund for the Republic	$ 74,600.00	$ 60,000.00	
N. Y. Fund for Children	7,500.00	5,000.00	
Christopher Reynolds Foundation	5,000.00	5,000.00	
Wm. C. Whitney Foundation	5,000.00	5,000.00	
Sigmund Silberman Foundation	400.00	400.00	
Edgar B. Stern Family Fund	100.00	100.00	
The Chace Fund	5,000.00	-- *	
Hopkins Charitable Trust	2,500.00	-- *	
New York Foundation	5,000.00	-- *	
New Land Foundation	1,000.00	--	
	($106,100.00)		$75,500.00
Labor			
AFL-CIO	1,000.00	1,000.00	
United Auto Workers	--	1,000.00	
United Steelworkers	1,000.00	1,000.00	
ILGWU	500.00	500.00	
	($ 2,500.00)		3,500.00
Churches			
Nat'l. Council, Protestant Episcopal Church	--	1,000.00	
Women's Div. of Christian Ser., The Methodist Church	1,200.00	1,200.00	
Div. of Nat'l. Missions, Bd. of Missions, The Methodist Church	1,000.00	1,000.00	
Gen'l. Bd. of Education, The Methodist Church	300.00	300.00	
Presbyterian Church, U.S.	250.00	250.00	
Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.	250.00	250.00	
	($ 3,000.00)		4,000.00
Other			
Individual Contributions	2,000.00	3,000.00	
Office Related Income	6,500.00	7,500.00	
Overhead from Project Funds	10,500.00	10,500.00	
	($ 19,000.00)		21,000.00
1959 TOTAL, GENERAL OPERATIONS:			$104,000.00

*Contributed for first time in 1958. Though further grants will be requested, there is no basis in experience for predicting renewed support.

III.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

SPECIAL PROJECTS BUDGETS AND INCOME
Actual 1958 and Expectable 1959

BUDGETS

	Actual 1958	Estimated 1959	
Southern Leadership Project	$40,000.00	$40,000.00	
Consultant Service Program	15,000.00	20,000.00	
Labor Consultant	7,000.00	8,000.00	
Fellowship of the Concerned (Work with Church Women)	6,000.00	9,500.00	
Fact-Finding (Voting Survey)	10,000.00	--	
Interagency Coordination	5,000.00	5,000.00	
TOTAL FOR PROJECTS, 1959	($83,000.00)		$82,500.00

INCOME

Rockefeller Brothers Fund (Leadership Project)	40,000.00	40,000.00	
New World Foundation (Consultant Ser. Program)	15,000.00	20,000.00	
Trade Union Program on Civil Rights and Liberties (Labor Consultant)	7,000.00	8,000.00	
John Hay Whitney Foundation	2,000.00	2,000.00	
Phelps-Stokes Fund	2,000.00	2,000.00	
Ella Lyman Cabot Trust Fund (Work with Church Women)	2,000.00	2,000.00	
Field Foundation (Voting Survey)	10,000.00	--	
Norman Fund (Interagency Coordination)	5,000.00	5,000.00	
TOTAL FOR PROJECTS, 1959			$79,000.00
BALANCE TO BE RAISED			$ 3,500.00

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 31, 1958

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will acknowledge the Southern Regional Council's application. I have waited to write because I was perplexed as to what I might have said in our luncheon conference which encouraged you to make a request of such magnitude. When I changed planes in Atlanta on October 10th, I called your office to put this question to you, but you were in conference.

I shall await word as to whether you wish to submit a substitute request. It has been my observation that the board as a whole tends to react against applications which seem to them to be disproportionate.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

Enclosures: Nov. 2nd Special Report "The Negro Voter in the South-1958"
News clips: New York Times, Chatt. Times, Journal-Const. -

November 6, 1958

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Enclosed is a copy of our latest Special Report on the Negro voter in the South and several newspaper clippings which illustrate the kind of publicity it received. We are distributing it to interested individuals and agencies, official and private.

This is the first published report on the follow-up survey made possible by the 1958 grant from the Field Foundation. Our researches, including a number of field studies, are continuing; somewhat later a more comprehensive, printed report will be issued.

We continue to be most grateful to the Foundation for making this important project possible.

If you should want more copies of the report, please have your secretary advise me and they will be promptly sent.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

November 7, 1958

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Enclosed is our substitute request to the Field Foundation for financial assistance in 1959. The earlier application may be disregarded; however, since the rather lengthy enclosures remain unchanged, I have assumed that it will not be necessary to duplicate them in the enclosed.

I sincerely hope that the revised amount will not seem an unreasonable one for the Council to request of the Field Foundation. In arriving at it, we have given careful consideration to the amounts granted similar organizations, as shown in the Foundation's last published report. You will also note that we have eliminated the request for a three-year grant period.

I am sorry for the extra bother which this matter has caused you, and grateful for the consideration you have given it.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure

REQUEST TO THE FIELD FOUNDATION
FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

November 7, 1958

Within recent years, the Field Foundation has made annual grants ranging from 1,500 to 10,000 in support of special projects of the Southern Regional Council. This support has greatly benefited the program of the Council, and we are deeply appreciative.

For 1959 we ask that the Field Foundation consider aid to the Council on a slightly larger scale and on different terms than heretofore. Specifically, we should like to request an annual grant of $20,000 for general support.

Following, in brief, are our grounds for hope that such a grant may be favorably considered.

The current crisis in Southern race relations is the most acute since the end of Reconstruction. Not only is the welfare of the South at stake, but the welfare of the whole Nation, in domestic and international terms. This point need not be labored for the Trustees of the Field Foundation; but we do want to give it emphatic mention, since it is basic to this request.

The Southern Regional Council has unique responsibilities and opportunities in this critical situation. The Council and its associated state and local groups provide one of the very few channels through which whites and

Negroes of the region can work together in mutual confidence. As the successor to the old Interracial Commission, the Council draws on forty years of experience and reputation in race relations. It has a seasoned staff and a respected board -- both interracial and both composed of Southerners.

Aside from these formal qualifications, we can testify from daily experience to the large and increasing demands for the services of this organization. While we often feel inadequate in the face of such vast problems, we are convinced that the Council has shown steady growth in skill and effectiveness in the recent, critical years. And we believe most informed persons would agree that there is no comparable instrument through which positive efforts by Southerners of both races can be carried on.

It has been said that an organization like the Council would be more effective if it secured its financial support within the South. This may well be true, but the point is a theoretical one. No organization working meaningfully for change in the racial status quo can hope to raise an adequate budget within the South. This conclusion is supported not only by the experience of the Council, but by that of every other organization we know of. It should also be pointed out that the Council has voluntarily left such local sources as exist to the various State councils on Human Relations which it created and continues to assist.

Any assessment of Southern support of this movement should take into account the funds raised locally by the state councils -- amounting in the past four years to approximately $150,000.

The Council has received major assistance from the Fund for the Republic. As the attached financial analysis makes clear, however, this support will diminish sharply in the next two years and will cease entirely after 1960. Of the Fund for the Republic's 1957 terminal grant, $100,000 will remain at the end of 1958. Sixty thousand of this will be available for the general support of the Council in 1959, and the remaining $40,000 in 1960. If the Council is to maintain its present level of operation, the steep decline in this support must be made up, over and above the sizable fund-raising task which has existed even at the peak of Fund for the Republic assistance.

A fair number of foundations will consider support to projects. (As the attached financial analysis shows, more than forty per cent of the Council's expectable income for 1959 is in this category.) But few will consider general support. As George Mitchell once put it, in typically colorful fashion, "A good many will help you grow a rose, but precious few will water the main stem." To attract and hold able staff members, to meet opportunities and crises as they arise, the Council's greatest need is for grants in support of the total operation. It is

our honest conviction that support on this basis yields, dollar for dollar, far more fruitful program results than narrowly earmarked grants. Since the activities of the Council were rather fully summarized in our recent program report (additional copy attached), we will forego a detailed account here. But it may be appropriate to describe briefly the main functions that must be carried on with general support, as follows:

(1) Administration and overhead. There would be no program at all, of course, if the Council could not maintain an effective professional and clerical staff, carry on promotion and fund-raising, combat public attacks by the organized segregationists, and so on.

(2) Public information. All of the Council's information functions are dependent on general support -- the monthly publication New South, special reports, work with the press and other media, the handling of thousands of information requests from community leaders and organizations, and the maintenance of the reference files on which these activities depend.

(3) Financial and program aid to state and local Councils on Human Relations. These councils, which in many areas are the only vehicles for communication and

cooperation by whites and Negroes, could hardly survive without the services and financial assistance of the Council.

(4) Work with government agencies. The Council is in a strategic position to advise and strengthen the performance of those official agencies with responsibilities in the field of civil rights -- e. g., the Commission on Civil Rights, the Department of Justice, the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

(5) Services to foreign visitors. The Council now plays host to more than 100 influential foreign leaders a year. Through the Council, they get a view of the South that serves, as nothing else could, to offset the damaging effects of propaganda and adverse publicity abroad.

(6) Assistance to beleaguered individuals and groups. As our program reports have pointed out, the emotionalism of Southern resistance to desegregation has led to increasing pressures and reprisals against liberals and moderates, white and Negro. The Council is one of the very few organizations in the South to which they can turn for advice and help.

End

Few of the larger foundations are inclined to support organized efforts in so "controversial" a field as race

relations, particularly in the South. The Field Foundation is a courageous exception. If this request seems to presume unduly on the Foundation's generosity, it is for that reason.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

November 10, 1958

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have your letter of November 7th and, as you request, I shall substitute this for the earlier application.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

November 10, 1958

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

You have thoughtfully sent me a copy of The Negro Voter in the South--1958. It probably would be well to send me seventeen copies which would be enough for each member of our board of directors.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

Sent 11-17-58

January 30, 1959

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

In Mr. Fleming's absence, I would like to acknowledge receipt of your letter to him transmitting the $20,000. check from the Field Foundation to the Southern Regional Council. The Council is extremely grateful for this generous appropriation in support of its program.

I know that Mr. Fleming will want to write again when he returns to the office next week.

The Council's official receipt is enclosed for your records.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

rha
Enclosure

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Highlander Folk School

REGARDING:

Question of continued foundation support by Field Foundation

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Corresp. from and to Judge Justine W. Polier (dtd. 1/26/59 &1/30/59)

VIA AIR MAIL February 3, 1959

Mrs. Marshall Field
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Field:

At the very outset, I want to assure you that I did not make the statement about Highlander Folk School evidently attributed to me in the recent Field Foundation board meeting. I am distressed that so grave a misunderstanding occurred, and am grateful for this chance to correct it. I should hate to have had you and the other members feel that I would seek to prejudice a foundation action by so sweeping a judgment of another human relations organization. It would not be fair to the foundation, to Myles Horton, or to me to leave the slightest doubt on this point.

As much as I should like to be of service to the Field Foundation, I can contribute little to your evaluation of Highlander. Unlike George Mitchell, my predecessor, I have not been close to Highlander's operation. Lacking closer acquaintance with its day to day activities, I should hardly be justified in attempting an overall evaluation.

Although I am not in position to give you the assessment you need, I can suggest one nearby and reliable source. John Hope II, who serves the Southern Regional Council part-time as chief consultant, is temporarily based in New York. He was granted a year's leave from his position at Fisk University to direct a study for the

National Manpower Council (UN 5-4000, ext. 2286). John has long been a board member of Highlander. I have great confidence in his judgment and integrity, and I am sure he would give you a conscientious appraisal of Highlander's current program.

I must add a personal word of appreciation for the generous grant just made to the Southern Regional Council. There are few gifts that mean as much to the Council's basic work.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

BC to: Judge Justine Wise Polier
John Hope II

MRS. MARSHALL FIELD
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK

January 30, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am writing to ask if you would be kind enough to give me your opinion regarding the effectiveness of Highlander Folk School and whether you consider that it warrants financial support.

This request may seem odd, but at a recent meeting of the Field Foundation, of which I am a Vice-President, Mr. "X", a member of the Board, quoted Mr. "Y", a man interested in race relations, to the effect that you had told Mr. "Y" that you thought the Highlander operation was harmful at the present time.

Most members of our Board thought that it was probable that you had been quoted out of context or misunderstood, but your opinion carries great weight and the Foundation would like to know what it really is.

It would be of great value to us if you would give us a frank opinion, and I assure you that anything you care to say will be treated confidentially, and will not be quoted outside our meeting.

May I hear from you?

Sincerely yours,

Ruth Field

Return to Hef. Prior to Ex. Comm. Mtg

VIA AIR MAIL February 3, 1959

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

We are warmly grateful for your letter of January 27 and the check for $20,000 representing the Field Foundation's grant to the Southern Regional Council. Few gifts are as important to the Council's basic work as this one, and you may be sure we will do our utmost to justify the Foundation's confidence.

I know our Executive Committee will want to make an additional expression of acknowledgment and appreciation by formal resolution at its next meeting. Meanwhile, you will have received the Council's official receipt from Mrs. Ruth Alexander, our secretary-treasurer.

I shall see that you receive appropriate progress reports and an audited statement at the end of the year. You will shortly be receiving our reports, program and financial, for 1958.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

HCF/mf

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 27, 1959

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

CR
$20,000.00
RHA
1/29/59

The Field Foundation has authorized a grant in the amount of $20,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. for the 12-month period beginning February 1, 1959. The Foundation's check paying this grant in full in enclosed.

We should like to have formal acknowledgment of the receipt of this check, progress reports at appropriate intervals and an audited statement of expenditures at the end of the year.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

Enclosure:
Check No. 565.

February 25, 1959

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

I take pleasure in sending you the enclosed copies of the Council's Annual Report and audited financial statement for 1958. We are grateful to the Field Foundation for its important part in making this work possible.

Additional copies are available if you should need them.

The reports do not reflect a considerable amount of work, commissioned but not completed in 1958, on the survey of Negro registration and voting. I will be submitting further progress reports on that project during the coming months.

With appreciation and good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2.

March 6, 1959

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue, N.
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Thank you for your letter of March 2.

I am happy to send you, separately, the additional copies of our reports which you requested.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

March 2, 1959

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for sending us the 1958 annual report of program activities of the Southern Regional Council and its 1958 financial statement.

We should like to have 15 additional copies of the 1958 annual report and 15 copies of the 1958 financial statement.

Upon its completion, we shall look forward to receiving the progress reports on the survey of Negro registration and voting.

Sent 3/6/59 [illegible]

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

Air Mail

April 13, 1959

Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson, President
The Field Foundation, Inc.q
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Stevenson:

Thank you for your letter of April 6.

Nothing would please me more than to be of help to the directors and staff of the Field Foundation. I expect to be in New York next Tuesday and Wednesday, April 21 and 22, and could arrange to be available on either afternoon or evening.

In the likely event that this notice is too short, I shall be glad to advise you further in advance of a subsequent trip to New York.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/pa

RECEIVED APR 8 1959

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 6, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The Field Foundation hopes that you will consent to give it advance notice when you will be in New York and have a free period in the late afternoon or evening, Monday through Thursday, which you would be willing to share with some of us.

The Foundation, which has interracial relations as one of its major interests, seeks to understand the situation in the South and to determine how philanthropy may aid constructively. To this end the Foundation is trying to set up occasional off-the-record, informal discussions between some of the Field Foundation directors and staff, and informed guests.

The Foundation is prepared to offer a modest honorarium of one hundred dollars when such discussions can be arranged.

Please address your reply to me in care of The Field Foundation, Inc., Room 2015, 250 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

Sincerely,

Adlai E. Stevenson

Adlai E. Stevenson
President

RECEIVED APR 16 1959

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 14, 1959

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Governor Stevenson sent me word yesterday that he would not be here this week as scheduled. I am forwarding your letter to him, but I wanted you to know promptly that the Governor has a lecture series in a university town and will not be available next week.

I am sure that he will be eager to have you meet with members of our group at some other, mutually convenient time, so please give us advance notice when you will be here again.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

April 24, 1959

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Thanks for your letter of April 14th.

I expect to be in New York again for a meeting of social scientists on May 22 and 23 and could easily come up a day or two early. If I can be of any service to the Foundation at that time, I shall be glad to make myself available.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

May 11, 1959

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Thank you for your letter of May 7.

I know how difficult it must be for you to assemble busy members of your board. If you feel I can be of any help in the fall, it would probably be simpler for me to plan a New York trip at the convenience of your group, rather than vice versa. In any case, you have only to call on me whenever I can be of service to the Foundation.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

RECEIVED MAY 6 1959

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

RECEIVED MAY 8 1959

May 7, 1959

RECEIVED MAY 1959

Mr. Harold G. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I promised to write you today after we had reached a decision whether to try to schedule a small off-the-record meeting on race relations for May 20. It is now clear that we shall not be able to get our group together. I wish to thank you for holding the date.

We shall try to take advantage of one of your visits to New York in the fall.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President

RECEIVED MAY 4 1959

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 30, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Everyone is so rushed that it seems doubtful that we will try to schedule another meeting this Spring. It isn't definitely out yet and if we do decide upon one, I should know it by next Thursday, May 7.

You might put a hold date on your calendar for Wednesday, May 20, but release it if you do not hear from me by Saturday, the 9th.

I am sorry that I cannot be more definite.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK

RECEIVED MAY 18 1959

May 15, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your suggestion of May 11th is helpful. We will give you advance notice when we are going to try to get a group together.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

via air mail

August 26, 1959

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

I thought you would like to see the news release we are issuing on the forthcoming report of Negro registration and voting in the South. The release date, as you will see, is for next Sunday, August 30, and the pamphlet itself will be ready next week. We will, of course, be sending you a supply of the full report as soon as it is available.

You will also be getting from us soon an overall accounting of this project made possible by the special grant from the Field Foundation. We feel that the results thus far have been quite useful.

I hope you have had a pleasant summer.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

August 27, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This one if for your mailing department. Please don't bother to acknowledge this.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

August 28, 1959

RECEIVED AUG 31 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have received today your letter and the August 30th news release on Negro registration. I note that the Mississippi estimate is the same for 1958 as for 1956 and is at the bottom of the list. From my brief conversation in Mississippi last fall I would guess that probably fewer are registered there now than 3 years ago.

Yes, I am glad to say I did have a holiday away from the office, but it has been hectic since I got back. I have given Larry Moore some time off to get ready for the fall rush.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max H

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

via air mail

September 30, 1959

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

It was good to have your recent letter and to hear that the summer afforded you some relief from the treadmill.

I am to be in New York on Wednesday and Thursday of next week, October 7 and 8, and hope very much that it will be possible for me to see you. Since the time is so close, I will plan to call your office on Wednesday morning to see if your schedule will permit an appointment.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rt. -Ho

File

THE FIELD FOUNDATION INC.

EAST HARLEM PROTESTANT PARISH, NEW YORK CITY

Refreshers for Clergy Serving Troubled Areas

If anybody needs energy renewal, it is the clergy who serve the quarter of a million Puerto Ricans and Negroes packed into East Harlem. In their dedication to helping all members of their community they often reach deep problems inaccessible to more traditional social and medical work.

The ministers who serve this parish have no churches beyond simple storefronts. They and their families live in the same tenements and projects with their East Harlem neighbors, doors open to all. They intimately share the common life day and night, without escape into peace or comfort. They serve with complete realism — their wives and children exposed with them to every danger in an area whose poverty, disease and crime exemplify what race discrimination has done to people's lives.

They become drained and exhausted and need rest.

The Foundation granted $25,000 to enable the ministers and families to get away from the stresses and sordidness of the area for from four to six months so that they can return to serve their people again with renewed warmth and sensitivity.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Do Negroes Get the Right to Vote?

The basic issue behind the civil rights debate in the United States Congress is still the denial of Southern Negroes' right to vote. It is strategically important to find out just what is happening, particularly in the eight states where voting discrimination is most serious (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia). This information has been hard to get. With the help of a Foundation grant of $10,000, the Southern Regional Council has rooted it out and kept the public informed.

via air mail

October 2,1959

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

Many thanks for your prompt reply. Wednesday at 10:30 will be perfect for me. I am looking forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 1, 1959

RECEIVED OCT 2 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am putting you down for 10:30 next Wednesday, October 7th. If this is difficult for you to keep please write immediately and we will make a later appointment.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Encls: Mimeo'd Bd. List
Cong. Record Reprint
1958 Financial Analysis
Midsummer Report - 1958
Lin Holloway's Journal & Guide Reprint - dtd. May 31, 1958
Popham's N. Y. Times Reprint - dtd. 12/25/57

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

October 3, 1958

Mr. Lloyd K. Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Garrison:

Many thanks for your welcome telegram, which arrived this morning.

Enclosed are various materials describing the Council's history, current activities, and financial status. This may well be more detail than you will want to use, but I thought it best to risk erring on the side of too much rather than too little.

Your thoughtfulness in putting the Council's needs before a potential donor means a great deal to us, and we are warmly grateful.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AA10 BB417

1958 OCT 2 PM 4 48

B KLA158 NL PD=KL NEWYORK NY 2=

HAROLD FELMING, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

63 AUBURN AVE ATLA=

WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF YOU WOULD SEND DESCRIPTION OF SOUTHER REGIONAL COUNCIL WORK TO ME BY RETURN MAIL HOPEFULLY FOR USE WITH A POTENTIAL DONOR ON TUESDAY=

LLOYD K GARRISON 575 MADISON AVENUE=.

Fin. Analysis
Cong. Record
Midsummer Rept
Jud & Bridge reprint
Mimeo bd list
Popham's N.Y. Times Reprint 12/25/58

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Rec'd 10/16/59

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 15, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Your observations were very helpful as our group discussed the Harold Taylor memorandum. As one board member observed as the duscussion ended, "We really chewed that memo to fine bits".

It was good of you to write so fully, for you are in a position to know what can and cannot be done in the South.

Again, thanks.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

via air mail special October 13, 1959

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

Here are some observations -- less carefully developed than I should wish -- on Dr. Harold Taylor's memorandum.

(1) The proposed summer institutes would undoubtedly benefit the participants and might contribute to important careers. It seems unlikely, however, that a term of six to eight weeks could produce the kind of startling and decisive results that would have major influence on educational practices and social thinking. The deficiencies resulting from years of inferior schooling and cultural impoverishment would, I should think, only begin to be modified in so short a period. Moreover, the amount of talent that could be discovered and nurtured would be severely limited. I wonder whether assistance to the National Service and Scholarship Fund for Negro Students wouldn't be a more economical and effective means of furthering these purposes.

(2) It would be practicable to hold such institutes at Northern colleges and Negro colleges in the South, but I doubt the feasibility of involving white Southern colleges, even those which have begun desegregation. My guess - and one can only guess until it is tried - is that Berea College

and others in the border states would mark the southernmost limits. In any case, it is doubtful that many white Southern students could be recruited, not only because of parental prejudices but also because of fear of community attitudes. The placing of students in Southern homes of the other race would present great difficulties and might well have unpleasant consequences for student and host family alike. Of course, the South-to-North part of the exchange need not involve the same difficulties and would no doubt prove beneficial to all concerned.

(3) If such institutes were held, the inclusion of African students might be desirable. Several border-state colleges found the admission of such students a good way to break the ice for "domestic" desegregation.

(4) It would be helpful for the Experiment in International Living to offer scholarships for Negro students. Not enough ordinary Negro Americans visit other countries. I see no advantage, however, in having the participants study race relations in the country visited; the pursuit of usual academic or cultural interests would contribute much more to "natural" relationships.

(5) Most of what I have said is critical, but I don't want to leave the impression that I think the objectives described by Dr. Taylor are valueless; far from it. The question is how best to achieve them. My own conviction is that the best way to advance race relations (and the elimination of racial differentials) is to concentrate on modifying the general institutions of the society. In the case of education, this would mean building into desegregated schools and colleges programs of instruction that would help Negro students, along with others, to overcome their handicaps. Similarly, whites benefit from an integration experience in a normal, continuing activity far more than in a special, short-lived one. The substance of Dr. Taylor's proposals might be realized more quickly and on a far larger scale through programs designed to stimulate, encourage, and assist these developments within the schools and colleges that are desegregated or will be desegregating within the next few years.

(6) As I believe I mentioned in our conversation, the Phelps-Stokes Fund has been administering a sizeable foundation grant aimed at developing remedial techniques of education and demonstrating the rapidity with which Negroes respond to enriched opportunities. Dillard University and Morehouse College are experimenting with similar "catch-up" programs for pre-freshman students, also supported by substantial grants. If the Field Foundation decides to explore Dr. Taylor's proposals, you might wish to look into these somewhat comparable programs.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Mtg Nov 16 or 17?

By Wed 14.

Admittedly preliminary
hard to evaluate
w/o mechanics.

September 11, 1959

Better to concentrate on institutions themselves rather than such small-scale remedial program?

Long & short run
maybe long o/c, but
a question to be disc'd.

Phelps-Stokes
project. Other?

Bd member?

Some Suggestions For A Program Of Education In The Field Of Race Relations

By Harold Taylor

There are many ways to improve race relations in the United States. One is by direct political action resulting in legislation; another is by legal action resulting in the enforcement of existing legislation; a third is the study of race problems in this country and abroad with a view to bringing together the best available knowledge relevant to race questions; another is by putting one's energies into educational projects which can change public and private attitudes toward the Negro. Or one can engage in all of these activities and at the same time work for the provision of a high quality of education for the Negro population.

Two main lines of effort are open to foundations - research and education. I suggest that the Field Foundation undertake a program of direct work in education, out of which may come some positive results for the improvement of relations between the races and some research findings of importance to an understanding of the education of the Negro.

The Education of the Negro

The education of individual Negroes is the point around which most other action programs in the field of race relations turn. In the long run, it is the leadership of the Negro, a leadership conceived in its own terms, which will have most to do with the

ultimate solution of the race problem in the United States. One Ralph Bunche, one Thurman Arnold, one Rufus Clement can do more for the cause of race relations in this country than dozens of studies. Once we have the men and women with education adequate to their talents, they will find the ways to carry forward the aims of democratic relations between the races.

In the present situation of Negro education, the opportunity for developing such leadership is severely limited. Nor are foundation funds being spent in any large amount for Negro education or for the improvement of race relations. The General Education Board supports a number of programs in the South; the Whitney Foundation provides a program of scholarships and fellowships for Negroes and others; studies of the race problem have been financed by the larger foundations with the means to do so; but with the exception of the former Rosenwald Foundation and the Whitney, seldom has a foundation devoted itself directly to the improvement of race relations, through education or other means.

The severe limitations in the scope and quality of education for the Negro are present at a time when we are suffering from an acute shortage of educated Negro men and women for positions of cultural and social leadership both here and abroad. One need only think of how our Government missions abroad would benefit by the inclusion of Negro administrators, engineers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, educators, cultural and labor attachés, and diplomatic representatives to realize how

handicapped we are. The presence of distinguished Negro scholars and students on the faculties and in the student bodies of our major universities, and thus, on the faculties and in the student bodies of the universities of other countries as representatives of the United States, could do more for the cause of racial equality and an accurate presentation of American ideals both to ourselves and to others, than any of the formal statements and Government efforts now being made.

In what follows, I have suggested in general terms a program for the Field Foundation in race relations which concentrates on direct work in education and which takes account of possibilities in the field of international co-operation. It is based upon the present situation in Negro education and upon the idea that white students must be given the chance to work with Negro students in terms of equality, both for their own sake and for the sake of the Negro, otherwise the persistence of unconscious and conscious social attitudes will destroy many of the positive educational factors making for ease of relationship and democracy of feeling. It also takes account of the main issues in contemporary American education and assumes that for any educational project to achieve significant results, it must contribute to the solution of educational problems as a whole, of which the Negro educational problem is a component part. I have included suggestions for research of a kind which may be able to avoid the question so often asked about foundation studies, Who reads them? by the fact that the research itself is designed to give answers

Don't they?

to questions which many people are asking.

The Discovery of Talent

One of the main problems of education in every country is the discovery of talent - the matter of who should be educated, and how to tell what talents in what persons are most likely to develop to a high level of achievement. The conventional way of identifying talent is by intelligence testing and scholastic grades, although we know enough from educational research findings that intelligence tests depend so heavily on conceptual thinking and vocabulary that their results are often obscured by the economic, social and family status of the person tested, and that the scholastic grade, while it affords a rough measure of a certain kind of achievement, may not measure the intelligence or talent of a person who has not learned to be articulate, either in speaking or in writing, and who has not learned to compose his thoughts or to organize his thinking. Nor can the scholastic grade measure factors of motivation nor take them into account in its results.

In the discovery and development of talent among the Negro population, the Negro is obviously at a great disadvantage, since his psychological, social and economic status in comparsion with members of other social groups often prevents the development of testable mental skills and often prevents the development of strong motivation for scholastic excellence.

Accordingly, one of the Negro's greatest obstacles to educational success lies in the "hard subjects" and in the "funda-

mentals" which he must master before he is recognized as possessing the talent for further study. In the present situation of American education, ability to do well in mathematics, in English and in a foreign language in high school is usually equated with academic promise, and those who are able to pass examinations with a grade of B in English, a foreign language and mathematics are usually accepted in college.

A Summer Institute Program

I would like to propose that we establish from one to three summer institutes of six to eight weeks in length on the campuses of selected Southern colleges, both Negro and white, with an integrated student body of junior and/or senior high school students drawn from northern and southern high schools, the students to be chosen from among those who, in the opinion of their teachers have ability, but who are not doing sufficiently well in English or in mathematics to handle the regular academic program. At the present time, students who do poorly in these subjects are usually placed in vocational programs, and a good many talented Negro boys and girls prefer vocational curricula both because they lead more directly to employment and because they do not involve the academic subjects of college admissions requirements.

The faculty for the summer institute would be drawn from northern and southern colleges and schools, assisted by college students who themselves have shown promise in the fields to be taught and who would be selected by their colleges both in the

North and the South. The curriculum would include mathematics, English composition and English and American literature. Each student would choose one major area in which he would concentrate for the duration of the session, and one minor field in which he was also interested. There would be no examinations or grades, although reports would be made on the progress and ability of each student as shown in his eight weeks of work. Each student would be assigned a tutor from the group of college students. In the case of those high school students who showed particular promise for further education, recommendations would be made to the universities and colleges for admission or for special consideration of seniors, reports would be made to the schools in the case of high school juniors.

A variation of this curriculum could be made by concentrating the six to eight weeks on the two subjects of English and mathematics for the entire time for the whole student body. Or one institute could be of this kind, while a second provided the four -part curriculum.

An Institute for the Above-Average

As a counterpart to the institute for the average student, another institute would be established composed of above-average Negro and white students, and providing advanced work for them at the level of their competence.

In both institutes the newer methods of teaching mathematics, composition and literature, as well as the newer curricular

content in these fields would be used; classes would be small, the tutorial system would be followed. I would assume that some startling results in terms of student progress would be achieved by the institute programs, and that it could be shown decisively (a) that when Negro students are placed in a favorable academic environment their intellectual development increases markedly in quality and scope (b) that the method of intensive study in fewer fields for a sustained period can provide both the stimulus and the achievement which enables the student to handle the "hard subjects" which so often prevent his academic progress into college, and (c) that the summer institute method is one of the most important ways we have for discovering new talent in the Negro population.

TO whom?

Faculty and Tutorial Staff

I can think of half a dozen faculty members and a number of college students who would be interested in doing everything possible to help in a project of this kind. Most college students in the summer months either work at jobs to finance themselves for the subsequent college year or wish to find paid posts which are interesting and which would contribute to their total education. There are at present very few means by which a student can find a post in the summer months in which his latent idealism can be given a chance to work in the service of others. It is this gap between the aims of idealistic young people and the reality in which their ideals have to work which frustrates so many of them.

Yet they must work during the summer in order to earn money for their education. I believe that we would do a great service to the Negro students in an important area by recruiting college students for a project of this kind, and that as a by-product we might very well develop from among their ranks a new crop of interesting young teachers for the colleges and schools. Swarthmore, Vassar, Sarah Lawrence, Oberlin, Antioch and Smith, for example, could be counted on to co-operate in a program designed to enlarge the horizons of Negro students. The National Student Association would certainly join in the project enthusiastically, and, in fact, might serve as an administrative center for carrying it out. The National Service and Scholarship Fund for Negro Students would, I am sure, co-operate, in addition to individuals in a number of schools and colleges. The Institute of International Education would also join with us.

As one aspect of the program, arrangements could be made for white students from the North to live with Negro families near the campuses where the institutes are being held, if the local geography should lend itself to such a plan.

Every effort would be made to build a spirit of community effort within the summer institute with student discussions in politics, international affairs, philosophy, literature or other topics; concerts would be arranged, special talks by faculty members, etc. What we could expect to emerge from the institute would be a marked increase in scholastic ability by the partici-

pants, and a marked increase in their intellectual self-confidence and the quality of their personal relationships. We would thus give a number of Negro students the opportunity to fulfill their talents at a much higher level and to give them a chance to go forward to a variety of future careers.

Research

The research carried out in connection with the institutes would have to do with student development within the particular environment. Records of family situation, including economic, social and psychological factors, would be prepared for each student; records of previous academic achievement and status would be prepared; progress reports would be made at two or three-week intervals, with a follow-up of each student after he returned to school, went on to college or found employment. The research would be designed to show that within the framework of an integrated community, under newer methods of teaching and learning, Negro students can reach a level of achievement equal to that of other, more favored students in more favorable environments.

How? what medium?

Northern Institutes

A second general area of the experiment could be established by forming similar institutes on college campuses in the North to which southern and northern Negro students could be invited along with a selection of white students from both areas. Some of the tutors would be recruited from southern Negro universities and colleges, others from northern institutions.

Participation by Foreign Students

A third element could be added, if not during the first year, then during the second, by bringing a number of African students into the sessions, possibly with a shift in the curriculum to provide work in American literature for them. This would be valuable for everyone concerned, including the college students who were serving as tutors, and who might at some time in the future, go to Africa to teach for a year, or study race relations in that country.

You will notice that in none of these suggestions have I included a program of direct instruction in race relations, or direct studies in the field in connection with research. It seems to me that this would be a relatively simple matter to arrange if this were considered desirable. However, in my experience, the common feelings of unity within a school community which are produced by the emotional tone set by the small group and the educational program at large is a stronger factor in educating individuals in race relations than direct pedagogy. The white college students would learn a very great deal about the Negro problem by coming to know their students well, and from their ranks will come some of those who wish to work directly on race problems, either as teachers, social workers, newspapermen, or simply as interested citizens. The amount of direct material in the race relations field which should be provided to the students would vary with the temperament and the educational ideas of the faculty members teach-

ing in the institute. A talented Negro student, at ease with himself and others, is the best instrument for effecting change in the relations between whites and Negroes.

Summer Institutes for Negro High School Teachers

A fourth aspect of the program could be the formation of summer institutes for Negro high school teachers, both in the South and in the North in the fields of literature, philosophy and mathematics. The purpose of these institutes would be to deepen the knowledge of these teachers in the area of their specialty (the curriculum could be shifted accordingly) and to raise the level of their work as teachers by the experience they would have with their colleagues from the colleges and from the other schools. Here again teachers from Africa and/or from Asia could be invited, and studies of race relations or of educational problems in the countries of origin could be undertaken by the teachers for presentation at the institutes in America. It is possible, too, that Asian and African teachers from universities abroad could be brought to the American campuses to share in the teaching.

Foreign Study Programs for Negro Students

I would also like to suggest co-operative action with the Experiment in International Living which could include scholarships for Negro students to travel abroad for the summer under Experiment auspices, with studies of race relations in the countries visited to be carried out by the participants. These

why?

might be Negro graduate students, college or high school students, who would be given academic credit for the work undertaken. Year fellowships for the study of foreign languages might also be arranged with the Experiment for Negro students who expected to become teachers in a given language. The possibilities here are multiple and suggest themselves in ways other than those I have mentioned. The Experiment people are most imaginative about what can be done, and would, I am sure, have ideas of their own to add.

Experiment in National Living

Practicable in the South?

Finally, it is possible that something like an Experiment in National Living could be arranged as part of the larger problem, by which selected white and Negro northern students spent either a summer or a year with a Negro or white family in the South, and a comparable number came to the North or Midwest on a similar venture, attending the local high schools along with the other children in the family, in the pattern of the Experiment program abroad.

It would not be necessary to place all parts of the above program into operation simultaneously. Two institutes for high school students could be established on an experimental basis for the first year and would provide the experience out of which further development might emerge. I believe that by combining the idea of international exchange with the basic ideas of the student and teacher institutes for an integrated student body we could break new ground in the field of race relations and education. Out of

this might come further ideas for educational work in international race relations, or studies of the problems of racial and minority groups in a number of separate countries.

To sum up:

The establishment of special summer institutes for an integrated student body who would work intensively in basic fields of knowledge - particularly mathematics and English - would provide a center for many different approaches to the problem of race relations.

These approaches would include research in the field of race relations and education; the development of a new group of college students with experience of teaching and learning in an integrated student body and faculty; an opportunity for Negro students to overcome some basic obstacles to their academic achievement; an international exchange program for students and teachers particularly interested in education and the race question.

This in general outlines a program which, in my judgment, would work well and would justify the expenditure of a serious amount of Field Foundation funds. I would be glad to work out details and a more formal statement of the program, including a budget and the administrative and personnel arrangements to be made should this seem useful.

via air mail

October 20, 1959

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

Here is our request for further assistance from the Field Foundation, with various supporting enclosures.

Please let me know if further information or exhibits on any point would be useful, or if you would like us to supply additional copies of the documents.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures:
Report of the Executive Director...
Proposed Budget for 1960
Current Lists of Board and Staff Members
Semi-Annual Audit
(Note: An audited financial statement for the full year 1959 will be sent early in 1960)

APPLICATION TO THE FIELD FOUNDATION FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

October 20, 1959

The past year has been one of the most productive and satisfying in the Southern Regional Council's history. The new opportunities that have begun to appear in the South, and the Council's program efforts to meet them, are summarized in the enclosed report. For the staff skills and financial resources we have been able to supply, we are deeply indebted to the Field Foundation. Without the Foundation's unrestricted grant for 1959, our account of the year's work would be a far less positive one.

On the basis of this performance and the Council's potential contribution to Southern race relations in the period ahead, we ask the Field Foundation to consider a three-year grant of $25,000 per year in general support of the Council's program.

The attached program report and the materials sent during the past year make it unnecessary to review the work of the Council here. We should like to point up briefly, however, our reasons for hoping that the Foundation will find this request justified:

(1) Although our current and recent projects have contributed substantially to program effectiveness, the most important and basic work must depend on the central operating budget. The quality of the Council's performance cannot exceed the skill and experience of its staff. Nor can projects, however useful, yield fruitful results without adequate

supervision and administrative control.

(2) Central activities are still the backbone of the Council's program, and will continue to be. One of the most important is our work with the press, which reached unprecedented proportions in 1959; here is an opportunity, limited only by staff time and initiative, to increase public understanding of racial problems and paths to solution. Other central functions include our services to government agencies, coordination of the Southern efforts of religious and intergroup organizations, program and financial aid to state and local councils on human relations, quiet guidance and assistance to the new citizens' movements concerned with preserving public schools, counsel and aid in a host of community situations.

(3) The requested grant for 1960, 1961, and 1962 would give the Council much of the financial stability it needs in order to plan soundly for the next phase of the transition to a desegregated South. As we have pointed out in our program report, the breaching of the "hard-core" states may well provide the severest test yet of law and order. But, in a way even more critical, there is danger that the bare acceptance of legal desegregation in the rest of the South will lull national leadership into a state of unjustified complacency. If the legal gains are truly to enlarge democracy, a great deal of patient, undramatic work is going to have to be done in areas of "token" integration. The legal breakthrough is

really only the beginning of the process. Assured of basic financial support for a multiple-year period, the Council can address itself with far greater effectiveness to this uncolorful but essential work.

(4) The proposed 1960 budget and financial projections enclosed show the dimensions of the Council's fund-raising task. In order to meet minimum needs for 1960 general operations, we must raise from sources not now committed $56,275. The task for 1961 will be substantially greater, since the terminal grant from the Fund for the Republic will be exhausted during 1960.

As we have had many occasions to remark, the Field Foundation deserves the gratitude of all thoughtful people for its readiness to assist direct programs in the sensitive area of race relations. The Foundation's continued support of the Southern Regional Council will mean not only essential financial aid, but a highly valued vote of confidence as well.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

PROPOSED BUDGETS - GENERAL OPERATIONS AND SPECIAL PROJECTS - 1960

Submitted to Haber Feed Fd.

I. General Operations

Minimum Operating Budget:

Salaries	$ 72,650.00	
Social Security Taxes	1,475.00	
Travel	8,000.00	
Printing & Postage, NEW SOUTH	8,500.00	
Printing, Other	3,000.00	
Rent	3,600.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	4,500.00	
Postage	1,800.00	
Accounting & Other Fees	600.00	
Books & Subscriptions	150.00	
Insurance	1,100.00	
Office Supplies	1,200.00	
Office Repairs & Maintenance	250.00	
Board & Executive Committee Meetings	3,500.00	
Aid to State Councils on Human Relations	33,000.00	
Total:	$145,125.00	$145,125.00

Income Forecast

Foundations:		
Fund for the Republic	$ 50,000.00	
New World Foundation	20,000.00	
Rockefeller Brothers Fund (Overhead)	4,000.00	
	$ 74,000.00	74,000.00
Churches		3,850.00
Organizations		2,500.00
Individuals & Office Related		8,500.00
Total:		$88,850.00

Balance to be raised: $56,275.00

II. Special Projects

Income Forecast:

Southern Leadership Project			
Rockefeller Bros. Fund		$40,000.00	
ResearchDepartment			
Individual Donor		25,000.00	
Fellowship of the Concerned			
Phelps-Stokes Fund	$2,000.00		
John Hay Whitney Fd.	2,000.00	4,000.00	
Consultant Service Prog.		14,000.00	
Contingency Fund		5,000.00	
		$88,000.00	
	Balance to be raised:		$3,500.00

Proposed Expenditures:

Southern Leadership Project	$40,000.00
Research Department	25,000.00
Fellowship of the Concerned	7,500.00
Consultant Service Prog.	14,000.00
Contingency Fund	5,000.00
	$91,500.00

July 31, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

An examination has been made of the books and records of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia, for the period from January 1, 1959 to June 30, 1959.

The following Exhibits and Schedules, together with comments, are submitted herewith:

EXHIBIT A - Balance Sheet, June 30, 1959
EXHIBIT B - Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, General Operations
EXHIBIT C - Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, Research Department
EXHIBIT D - Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, Consultant Service Program
EXHIBIT E - Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, Registration and Voting Survey
EXHIBIT F - Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, Fellowship of the Concerned
EXHIBIT G - Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, Southern Leadership Project
EXHIBIT H - Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, Contingency Fund
EXHIBIT I - Statement of Income and Expenses, General Operations
SCHEDULE 1 - Reconciliation, Citizens Trust Company
SCHEDULE 2 - Reconciliation, First National Bank
SCHEDULE 3 - Schedule of Contributions, General Operations
SCHEDULE 4 - Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, Aid to Independent State Councils on Human Relations
SCHEDULE 5 - Accounts Receivable, Sale of Literature
SCHEDULE 6 - Accounts Payable

COMMENTS

Cash in Banks - Checking - $12,893.20

All recorded receipts were traced to bank deposits, and disbursements were compared with cancelled checks. Schedules 1 and 2 show the reconciliation of the two bank accounts with the books. Bank balances were confirmed by correspondence with the depositories.

Cash in Bank - Savings - $40,810.14

This amount was confirmed by correspondence with the bank holding this account.

Investment in Securities - $59,975.00

These are short term government securities, purchased at cost.

Investment in Securities - William Emerson Estate - $18,832.00

These consist of stocks received from the Estate of William Emerson. The certificates were examined by us at the depository bank. They are valued at the market value on December 31, 1958.

Investment in other Securities - $98,280.00

This account represents stock given by an anonymous donor. The certificates were examined by us, and are valued on the books at market on December 31, 1958.

Due to Special Projects - $108,674.37

Exhibit A indicates the projects to which these amounts are due.

Advance Appropriations - $80,165.00

This represents advance appropriations for general operations in 1959 and 1960.

Operations

Exhibits B, C, D, E, F, G and H, reflect the results of operations for the period from January 1, 1959 to June 30, 1959.

Exhibit I is a Statement of Income and Expenses of the general operations for the period from January 1, 1959 to June 30, 1959.

In our opinion, the attached Balance Sheet and Statements of Receipts and Disbursements present fairly the financial condition at June 30, 1959, and the results of operations for the period then ended.

Respectfully,

Daniel E. Harrison

Daniel E. Harrison
Registered Public Accountant

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Balance Sheet
June 30, 1959

ASSETS

Funds toward future obligations, 1959-1960:		
Cash in Bank - Checking	$ 12,893.20	
Cash in Bank - Savings	40,810.14	
Investment in Securities	177,087.00	$230,790.34
Inventory, Pamphlets	$ 500.00	
Office Equipment	3,633.38	
Accounts Receivable	58.00	4,191.38
Total Assets		$234,981.72

LIABILITIES

Due to Special Projects, 1959-1960:		
Research Department, 1959-60	$ 39,379.35	
Consultant Service Program, 1959	19,502.68	
Registration and Voting Survey, 1959	5,447.88	
Fellowship of the Concerned, 1959	6,528.74	
Southern Leadership Project, 1959-60	30,409.19	
Contingency Fund, 1959	7,406.53	$108,674.37
Due to State Councils on Human Relations:		
Grants-in-aid, 1959	$ 20,800.00	
Advance Appropriations, General Operations:		
1959	9,365.00	
1960	50,000.00	
Reserve Fund	27,507.00	
Obligations Outstanding	4,305.42	111,977.42
Total Liabilities		$220,651.79
Excess of Assets over Liabilities		14,329.93
		$234,981.72

EXHIBIT A

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements - General Operations
January 1, 1959 to June 30, 1959

RECEIPTS

Contributions:			
Foundations	$ 27,500.00		
Organizations	1,500.00		
Churches	2,150.00		
Individuals	370.00	$ 31,520.00	
Associate Members Dues		10.00	
New South Subscriptions		3,153.98	
Sale of Miscellaneous Literature		136.17	
Honoraria		100.00	
Interest Income		1,943.47	
Dividends on Securities		1,435.60	
Sale of Securities		20,000.00	
Individual Contributions for State Councils		730.35	$ 59,029.57
Balance, January 1, 1959			49,259.23
Total Receipts			$108,288.80

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$ 31,776.51
Social Security Taxes	872.10
Consultant Fees for General Operations	525.00
Travel	2,877.49
Telephone and Telegraph	1,542.06
Office Supplies	1,160.31
Postage	829.48
Printing	1,468.38
New South Postage	955.50
New South Printing	3,195.25
Books and Subscriptions	445.72
Executive Committee Meetings	637.12
Office Equipment	112.74
Liability Insurance	37.46
Group Hospitalization Insurance	160.92
Group Term Life Insurance	135.24
Rent	1,800.00
Legal and Accounting	100.00
Miscellaneous Expense	302.82
Grants-in-aid to Independent State Councils	15,750.00
Accounts Payable, 1958	1,753.22
Payroll Taxes, 1958	1,014.16
Georgia Sales Tax	9.25
Purchase of Securities	19,975.00
Individual Contributions to State Councils	730.35
Total Disbursements	$ 88,166.08
Balance, June 30, 1959	20,122.72
Total	$108,288.80

EXHIBIT B

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements - Special Projects
January 1, 1959 to June 30, 1959

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

RECEIPTS

Balance, January 1, 1959 (Individual Donor)		$50,000.00
Travel refund	$ 43.00	
Books and Subscriptions refund	1.00	44.00
Total Receipts		$50,044.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$6,428.13	
Travel and Communication	1,149.94	
Printing and Distribution	1,249.23	
Consultants' Fees	450.00	
Consultants' Travel	73.60	
Equipment and acquisition of materials	1,063.75	
Program Materials	250.00	
Total Disbursements		$10,664.65
Balance, June 30, 1959		$39,379.35

EXHIBIT C

CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

RECEIPTS

Balance, January 1, 1959:		
Carry over - New World Foundation, 1958	$ 7,831.48	
Individual Donor, 1958 for 1959	20,000.00	$27,831.48

DISBURSEMENTS

Consultants' Fees	$ 2,732.50	
Travel and Communication	2,827.05	
Program Materials	769.25	
Overhead	2,000.00	
Total Disbursements		$ 8,328.80
Balance, June 30, 1959		$19,502.68

EXHIBIT D

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements - Special Projects
January 1, 1959 to June 30, 1959

REGISTRATION AND VOTING SURVEY

RECEIPTS

Balance, January 1, 1959 (The Field Foundation)		$ 7,933.21

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$ 790.00	
Consultants' Fees	1,022.50	
Travel and Communication	672.83	
Total Disbursements		$ 2,485.33
Balance, June 30, 1959		$ 5,447.88

EXHIBIT E

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

RECEIPTS

Balance, January 1, 1959		$ 2,594.55
Phelps-Stokes Fund	$ 2,000.00	
John Hay Whitney Foundation	2,000.00	
Winston-Salem Y.W.C.A.	50.00	
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority	57.65	4,107.65
Total Receipts		$ 6,702.20

DISBURSEMENTS

Local Meeting Expense	$ 72.66	
Travel expenses for other meetings	100.80	
Total Disbursements		$ 173.46
Balance, June 30, 1959		$ 6,528.74

EXHIBIT F

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements - Special Projects
January 1, 1959 to June 30, 1959

SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT

RECEIPTS

Balance, January 1, 1959 (Rockefeller Brothers Fund)		$37,240.02

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$ 1,200.00	
Travel and Communication	755.40	
Office Expense	551.53	
Program Materials	198.50	
Consultants' Fees	125.40	
Overhead	4,000.00	
Total Disbursements		$ 6,830.83
Balance, June 30, 1959		$30,409.19

EXHIBIT G

CONTINGENCY FUND

RECEIPTS

Balance, January 1, 1959 (New World Foundation)		$ 9,400.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Georgia Council on Human Relations	$ 340.00	
United Liberal Church	1,000.00	
Delta Foundation	250.00	
Georgia Council of Churches	20.00	
Printing	196.52	
Community Educational Service - Emory University	186.95	
Total Disbursements		$ 1,993.47
Balance, June 30, 1959		$ 7,406.53

EXHIBIT H

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Income and Expenses - General Operations
January 1, 1959 to June 30, 1959

INCOME

Contributions:		
Foundations	$52,615.00	
Organizations	1,500.00	
Churches	2,150.00	
Individuals	370.00	$56,635.00
Dividends on Securities	$ 1,588.60	
Interest Income	1,943.47	
New South Subscriptions	3,153.98	
Honoraria	100.00	
Sale of Miscellaneous Literature	182.67	
Associate Members Dues	10.00	
Individual Contributions for State Councils	730.35	
Overhead from project grants	6,000.00	$13,709.07
Total Income		$70,344.07

EXPENSES

Salaries	$32,924.97	
Social Security Taxes	1,015.67	
Travel	3,021.87	
Telephone and Telegraph	1,580.45	
Executive Committee Meetings	637.12	
Consultant Fees for General Operations	525.00	
Books and Subscriptions	423.68	
Office Supplies	1,123.58	
New South Postage	955.50	
Postage - other	846.40	
New South Printing	3,711.40	
Printing - other	1,626.56	
Liability Insurance	67.46	
Rent	1,800.00	
Legal and Accounting	100.00	
Georgia Sales Tax	11.09	
Miscellaneous	297.42	
Grants-in-aid to State Councils	16,200.00	
Group Hospitalization Insurance	160.92	
Group Term Life Insurance	135.24	
Individual Contributions for State Councils	730.35	
Total Expenses		$67,894.68
Excess of Income over Expenses		$ 2,449.39

EXHIBIT I

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Reconciliation - Citizens Trust Company
June 30, 1959

Balance per bank		$13,276.07
Less checks outstanding:		
Number	Amount	
262	$ 3.61	
266	1.00	
279	100.00	
282	163.10	
283	397.34	
284	239.01	
285	217.30	
286	217.30	
287	222.30	
288	154.31	
289	130.59	
290	135.31	
291	107.64	
292	97.64	
293	104.17	
298	92.25	$ 2,382.87
Balance per books, June 30, 1959		$10,893.20

SCHEDULE 1

Reconciliation - First National Bank
June 30, 1959

Balance per bank	$ 5,000.00
Less check outstanding: Number 2030	3,000.00
Balance per books, June 30, 1959	$ 2,000.00

SCHEDULE 2

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Schedule of Contributions - General Operations
January 1, 1959 to June 30, 1959

CONTRIBUTIONS

Foundations:			
Fund for the Republic (received 1957)		$25,115.00	
The Field Foundation		20,000.00	
The New York Fund for Children		5,000.00	
New York Foundation		2,500.00	$52,615.00
Organizations - Labor:			
United Steelworkers of America		1,000.00	
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union		500.00	1,500.00
Churches:			
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions, Methodist Church		1,200.00	
Board of National Missions of the Methodist Church		500.00	
Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church, USA		250.00	
Board of Education of the Methodist Church		150.00	
Woman's Societies of Christian Service:			
Florida Conference	25.00		
North Carolina Conference	25.00	50.00	2,150.00
Individuals			370.00
Total Contributions			$56,635.00

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements
Aid to Independent State Councils on Human Relations
January 1, 1959 to June 30, 1959

RECEIPTS

Allocation from General Operating Funds	$15,750.00	
Individual Donor (received 1958)	23,000.00	
Rockefeller Brothers Fund (for Arkansas Council)	8,000.00	
New World Foundation (for North Carolina Council)	2,500.00	
Individual Contributions	730.35	
Total Receipts		$47,730.35

DISBURSEMENTS

Grants-in-aid from General Operating Funds to State Councils:		
Alabama Council on Human Relations	$ 1,650.00	
Arkansas Council on Human Relations	1,800.00	
Florida Council on Human Relations	1,750.00	
Georgia Council on Human Relations	1,900.00	
Kentucky Council on Human Relations	1,000.00	
North Carolina Council on Human Relations	2,000.00	
South Carolina Council on Human Relations	1,900.00	
Tennessee Council on Human Relations	1,750.00	
Virginia Council on Human Relations	2,000.00	$15,750.00
Individual Donor:		
Alabama Council on Human Relations	$ 3,500.00	
Arkansas Council on Human Relations	2,500.00	
Florida Council on Human Relations	2,500.00	
Georgia Council on Human Relations	2,500.00	
Kentucky Council on Human Relations	1,000.00	
North Carolina Council on Human Relations	2,500.00	
South Carolina Council on Human Relations	3,000.00	
Tennessee Council on Human Relations	2,500.00	
Virginia Council on Human Relations	3,000.00	23,000.00
Arkansas Council on Human Relations - Rockefeller Brothers Fund		8,000.00
North Carolina Council on Human Relations - New World Foundation		2,500.00
Individual Contributions:		
Alabama Council on Human Relations	$ 367.73	
Florida Council on Human Relations	10.00	
Georgia Council on Human Relations	25.00	
Virginia Council on Human Relations	327.62	730.35
Total Disbursements		$47,730.35

SCHEDULE 4

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Statement of Accounts Receivable, June 30, 1959

Fisk University, Race Relations Department	$ 48.00
Brite College of the Bible	10.00
Total Accounts Receivable	$ 58.00

SCHEDULE 5

Statement of Accounts Payable, June 30, 1959

Southern Railway Company (Travel)		$ 92.35
Eastern Air Lines, Inc. (Travel)		
General Operations	$327.31	
Consultant Service Program	48.62	
Southern Leadership Project	88.55	464.48
Rich's Inc. (Research Dept. - Books)		41.72
Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Co.		
General Operations	312.94	
Southern Leadership Project	6.00	
Research Department	10.01	
Consultant Service Program	6.82	335.77
Cook Typewriter Service (Office Supplies)		29.75
Ivan Allen Company (Research Department)		1.29
Office Supply Company (Office Supplies)		7.58
Industrial Paper Corporation (Office Supplies)		15.91
Harper Printing Company (Printing)		24.62
Higgins-McArthur Company (New South Printing)		968.35
The Stein Printing Company (Printing)		
General Operations	232.05	
Southern Leadership Project	299.40	531.45
Haas & Dodd (Liability Insurance)		30.00
The Western Union Telegraph Co.		6.99
The Turnpike Press, Inc. (Printing)		104.94
Typewriter Service Company (Miscellaneous)		6.70
Railway Express Agency, Inc. (Postage)		16.92
Elliott Addressing Machine Co. (Southern Leadership)		62.88
The Mimeograph Company (Southern Leadership Project)		413.42
Total Accounts Payable		$3,155.12

SCHEDULE 6

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 22, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of October 20th which was received today. I think that you sent everything that I need in looking over the application, but if not I shall be back to you.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

HCF

ROOM ~~2005~~ 2011
TWO FIFTY PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

Noted 11/4/59 mf.

~~November 2, 1959~~

Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N. E. Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

The Report of the Executive Director has been received by Mrs. Field at the above address. It will be brought to her attention at the first opportunity.

I would like to bring to your attention the fact that Mrs. Field no longer lives at 740 Park Avenue, and would like to receive her mail at the ~~above~~ address - 250 Park Avenue, Room 2011, New York 17, N. Y.

Yours very truly,

Jeanne Heller

Secretary to Mrs. Marshall Field

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

November 9, 1959

RECEIVED NOV 12 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I appreciate your views about the Reverend Ben F. Wyland and his Florida Council for Racial Cooperation. The Field Foundation has no intention of helping an organization to compete with the Florida Council on Human Relations.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

via air mail

November 5, 1959

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

I can't give you as complete a run-down as I should like on the Rev. Ben F. Wyland and his Florida Council for Racial Cooperation. Aside from some inconsequential correspondence with him and conversations with several Florida friends who know him, I have had no opportunity to evaluate his efforts first-hand.

Such information as I have indicates that Wyland is sincere, individualistic to the point of eccentricity, heavily paternalistic in his approach, fond of the limelight, and erratic in his organizational methods. He has a remarkable talent for enlisting the verbal support and endorsement of influential people. Despite the letterhead, however, his is pretty much a one-man show.

His lack of interest in the program of the Florida Council on Human Relations can probably be explained on several grounds. He likes to run his own show and tends to be quite critical of other people's efforts. He probably regards the FCHR approach as too subdued and indirect. I doubt that he has any conscious objection to interracialism, but in practice his program follows the pattern of the dedicated white man courageously championing the down-trodden Negro. (His letters are

revealing; he speaks of "the white man's burden" and still lower-cases the n in "Negro.")

Somewhat paradoxically, Wyland is on the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and has worked closely with Jim Dombrowski on one or two efforts.

I don't have intimate enough knowledge of Wyland's activities to estimate how much good he does. It is likely that he has made some useful contributions, particularly in St. Petersburg. But, tax exemption or not, I should think the structure and procedure of his organization should be carefully scrutinized by any foundation considering it.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED NOV 4 1959

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

RECEIVED NOV 4 1959

November 2, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear ~~Mr. Fleming~~ Harold:

I have an airmail letter today from the Reverend Ben F. Wyland of St. Petersburg announcing that the Florida Council of Racial Cooperation has secured tax exemption and suggesting financial support. I am puzzled why Mr. Wyland is not working with the Florida Council on Human Relations; on the surface the goals seem to be similar. I am wondering whether Mr. Wyland is directing his efforts at bi-racial rather than interracial progress. The fact that his wife is treasurer of the organization is not reassuring, despite all the fine endorsements. Can you throw any light on this?

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

copy of Hahn and Fleming ltrs. sent to Dabbs

via air mail

December 16, 1959

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council, I acknowledge with deep appreciation your letter of December 10 informing us of the favorable action on our request by The Field Foundation.

The terms of the grant are, of course, eminently acceptable, and we shall expect payment of the grant in semi-annual instalments throughout the grant period. We shall be sending you periodic reports on the Council's organizational and program activities, as well as the usual audited financial statements.

We are profoundly grateful for the generous view of the Council's efforts held by Governor Stevenson and the Directors. Nothing could give us greater satisfaction than to feel that the Council's work justifies your confidence.

Please call on us at any time the staff or the officers of the Council can be of service to The Field Foundation. Apart from its generous assistance to this organization, we greatly value the Foundation's concern for the broad range of efforts to advance human relations.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 10, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It is my pleasure to announce the favorable response of the Board of Directors of the Field Foundation to your request for a grant of $75,000 to the Southern Regional Council. The resolution of our board reads as follows:

> RESOLVED that the Corporation appropriate and contribute to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia, the sum of $75,000, or as much thereof as shall be needed, for the thirty-six month period beginning January 1, 1960 to be paid as follows: $12,500 payable in January, 1960, $12,500 in July, 1960, $12,500 in January, 1961, $12,500 in July, 1961, $12,500 in January, 1962 and $12,500 in July, 1962.

Governor Stevenson and our Directors view the work of the Southern Regional Council as a valiant effort on the side of justice and good will. We are proud that the Field Foundation may have a small part in it.

If the terms of the grant are acceptable--as I am sure they are--will you please affirm this in your acknowledgment of this letter? The first check in payment of the new grant will be coming along to you in January.

Sincerely yours,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President

Dec. 21, 1959

Mr. Maxwell Hahn, Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Harold Fleming has informed me of the recent generous gift of $75,000 from the Field Foundation to the Southern Regional Council.

This is merely to express my thanks, both personal and official. It makes me happy to know that the Field Foundation holds us in such esteem. I feel sure we shall not disappoint you.

Months ago, as you may remember, Governor Stevenson wrote me expressing the wish that I might meet some of the officers of the Foundation when I was in New York. As a matter of fact, I haven't been to New York since that time; but I will let you know when I plan to be there; and whether we have any official meeting or not, I will try to come by at least to say hello.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs
President

Copy for Harold Fleming.

COPY

VIA AIR MAIL

January 5, 1960

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

The paragraph on the Field Foundation grant in support of our voting survey is by no means too inflammatory. It's not only satisfactory from our viewpoint, but one of the most succinct and direct statements I have seen lately. Judging by this, your biennial report should raise a new standard for foundation reports.

The only question I have is about the use of the future tense, which suggests that most of the activity under the grant lies ahead. The reverse is, of course, true. But this may be in keeping with the style of the whole report; if so, disregard this comment.

The very best to you in 1960.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. -- Several years ago, Frank Loescher (I believe) shared with me a copy of a speech you made on proper dealings with foundations. Since I am occasionally asked for advice on this question, I should like to re-read it. Do you still have a copy you could send me?

HCF

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Atlanta, Georgia

Do Negroes get the right to vote?

The basic issue behind the civil rights debate in the United States Congress is still the denial of Southern Negroes' right to vote. It is strategically important to find out just what is happening, particularly in the eight states where voting discrimination is most serious (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia). This information is hard to get. With the help of a Foundation grant of $10,000, the Southern Regional Council will root it out and keep the public informed.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 4, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing copy which has been prepared for our biennial report which goes to press Thursday, January 14th on the Field Foundation grant to Southern Regional Council for the up-dating of the survey on Negro voting. If the enclosed copy seems needlessly inflammatory will you please redraft it more in line with the foreword of "The Negro and the Ballot in the South". I don't want to make life more difficult for you who are in the front lines.

With best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 6, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your prompt response to our question about the biennial report material. We shall change the future tense.

I am enclosing one of the last surviving copies of the talk on foundation. I am sure it has nothing to offer you.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

January 8, 1960

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear [redacted] Mr Hahn:

This will acknowledge most appreciatively the Field Foundation's check for $12,500 representing the first semi-annual payment to the Council under the grant approved December 9, 1959. The Council's official receipt is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 4, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I enclose a check of the Field Foundation in the amount of $12,500 payable to the Southern Regional Council. This is our first semi-annual payment to the Council under the provisions of our award of December 9, 1959.

CR RHA 1/6/60

Your acknowledgment of receipt of the check will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President

Enclosure

Answered
2/18/60

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

February 9, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I enclose a copy of the appeal I have received from Mrs. Alice N. Spearman. Can you advise me, off the record, whether you see this request as other than a grant to the South Carolina Council's operating budget? I like the idea, of course, of establishing better communication between the militant and the conservative Negro leadership.

I am also wondering whether the new N.A.A.C.P. staff member may feel that Mrs. Spearman is attempting to compete, although I doubt that she would.

If you have any other comments on Mrs. Spearman's request I shall appreciate them.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1400 Main Street - Room 605
Columbia, South Carolina

February 2, 1960

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

It was heartening to have the opportunity of talking with you in November, and of 'covering the water front' as we did. Mrs. Septima Clark, Courtney Siceloff, Mr. Dabbs and others have told me of your very vital and informed interest in conditions in South Carolina, which are common to the hard-core states. Your understanding and concern give us assurance that if possible you will help to provide undergirding for the pioneer efforts of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

For the past several years there has not been a professional worker employed by any Negro organization in South Carolina, which is concerned with the acute situation we face. The Palmetto Education Association is the only possible exception, and you will realize the severe limitations placed upon that organization and its busy executive.

There have been no systematic or continuing efforts made to coordinate the efforts of Negro organizations and individuals concerned with the progress of the race. Those who have held positions of leadership in the past who are teachers and/or preachers feel that they are not able to function actively in the present situation. To add further to the problem of insufficient and uncoordinated leadership, the Supreme Court ruling on segregation in the public schools created a wide chasm between the more aggressive and militant Negroes and conservative and more fearful Negroes. Communication between them was virtually cut off.

Into this leadership vacuum, the South Carolina Council actively stepped over a year ago seeking to find areas of interest around which a united front of Negro effort might be built. The experience has proved that this very necessary work can be done, though it will require much patience, skill, and intelligent effort. The primary need is money.

The South Carolina Conference of NAACP Branches has had a full-time executive secretary put on by the National Association to work in South Carolina, beginning January 1, 1960. Having heard shortly after seeing you in New York that this was to be done, I have delayed writing you until we were able to judge what change, if any, this would make in the program of the S.C. Coordination Council of Negro Organizations, for which the S.C. Council on Human Relations has been asked to act as a secretariat, and to provide consultative and liasion services.

There are excellent potentials in such organizations as the S.C. Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, the S.C. Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, the women's and youth organizations of the various denominations, the S.C. Association of Funeral Directors, the Elks, Masons, and numerous local organizations. Many of these groups have service programs to which they are contributing their limited funds. Organizationally, few have been geared to study and action programs which are needed if they are to meet present-day challenges. Officers have no budgets which make it possible for them to engage in in-service leadership training and coordinated study and action programs.

In order to realize the potential for unity and strength and for timely, effective programs, financial assistance is needed to make possible the participation with frequency and regularity of key persons in mass organizations in the S.C. Coordinating Council of Negro Organizations. Financial assistance will also enable such organizational leaders to resume former contacts and to enlarge the number of persons participating in state-wide organizations with which communication has been cut off since the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954. Information and liasion services will be needed also, which will be provided by the S.C. Council on Human Relations.

The S.C. Council on Human Relations has not been able to raise sufficient funds in any given year since 1957, when the original grant from the Fund for the Republic terminated, to employ an office secretary full time. Being called upon increasingly to assist Negro organizations individually and collectively, and needing also to continue a program of mass distribution to offset the biased, and often negative position of the daily press, creates an important need for full time secretarial services.

Also, increasingly the executive director is being called upon to participate in local, district and state-wide meetings which necessitate travel for which funds are insufficient. The developing program of the S.C. Coordinating Council of Negro Organizations also makes highly desirable an expanded program of field services.

I do not want to draw out into too great detail the problems, needs, short and long ranged goals, with which we are working, but will gladly elaborate at any point if you wish.

For your consideration, I am enclosing a statement of the amount which we are requesting. Also, enclosed is a brief statement about the proposed work of the S.C. Coordinating Council of Negro Organizations.

We sincerely hope that the Field Foundation will act favorably upon our request, and that we may hear from you shortly.

Faithfully yours,

Alice N. Spearman

(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS/br

SOUTH CAROLINA COORDINATING COUNCIL OF NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS

The S.C. Coordinating Council of Negro Organizations, to be referred to hereafter as the Council, was finally organized in January 1959, as an outgrowth of a Negro Leaders' Conference called by the S.C. Council on Human Relations and held at Penn Center in October, 1958. It is composed of interested individuals and key persons from Negro opinion forming organizations

The Council, which met six times in 1958-59, is setting in motion again those forces which were working for democratic advances in South Carolina prior to May 17, 1954. With judicial support, favorable national sentiment, the process of education which has taken place in the state, and a growing determination on the part of Negroes, it is believed that once the process of communication between socially-minded citizens of both races (Negro and Caucasian) is effectively reestablished, the tempo and range of change will be greatly increased. The need for strengthening and uniting the Negro potential is real.

SHORT RANGE GOALS IN 1959

The Council adopted only three short range goals in the spring of 1959, two of which were realized. They were to retain bi-racial participation in the S.C. Conference of Social Work and to secure Negro representation at the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth. The third goal of securing attendance of Negroes at committee hearings of both the House and the Senate in the S.C. General Assembly was not reached; efforts towards this goal pointed up the lack of knowledge of legislative processes and failure to make use of governmental resources by Negroes.

INTERESTS AND NEEDS

The attainment of first-class citizenship by Negroes is a fundamental interest, toward the realization of which they are focusing in 1960 on registration and voting. The Council will help to coordinate the efforts of those organizations already working in this area and involve also in registration and voting programs a number of Negro mass organizations which have not formerly had such timely priorities. It will provide through consultants services more basic understanding of the present transitional period, practice in analyzing those situations and trends most directly affecting them, and opportunity to develop effective strategems.

The need for more trained Negro professionals to assist Negro organizations is evident.

Significant is the interest in strengthening family life, in lessening juvenile delinquency and in working for the reenactment of a compulsory school attendance law in South Carolina.

Interest is keen in securing Negro membership on policy-making boards and commissions.

WHAT FINANCIAL UNDERGIRDING WILL MAKE POSSIBLE

Frequency and regularity of meetings of the Council with a hard core of the same persons is necessary to maximum effectiveness.

As knowledge of resources and skill in using them is increased, the Council can become a clearing house of fact and action.

Coordination of efforts to enlarge the areas of the participation of Negroes in civic and political life will provide motivation for registration and voting and increase the acceptance by Negroes of other citizenship rights and responsibilities.

The Council will initiate an information and program service to Negro organizations and the interested public as rapidly as its resources make possible.

It will promote in every way possible the establishment of a program of functional adult education, citizenship training, and economic self-help in the backward areas of South Carolina. It will seek to interpret these needs and stimulate support from foundations, and from local, state and federal government.

MINIMUM FINANCIAL NEEDS

Travel allowance for Council members, both to Council meetings and to strategic bi-racial meetings concerned with problems of the total community.	$1,000.00
Secretarial services required for the full implementation of this program (to be supplemented by the S.C. Council on Human Relations).	$1,500.00
For development of and distribution of materials, information and program service.	$1,000.00
TOTAL for 1 year	$3,500.00

FINANCIAL REQUEST

In order that the activities of the Council may be developed to their maximum potential, its program will need to be undergirded for a period of from three to five years. It is therefore requested that a minimum grant of $3,500.00 be made for the first year and that the amount granted for succeeding years be based upon the progress being made and the needs which emerge.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Max Hahn
Field Foundation, Inc.

REGARDING:

Alabama Council Proposal from Fr. Foley on "Emergency Project in Education for Democracy"

DATE

February 9, 1960

HCF reply dtd: Feb. 16, 1960

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - "Gen. Corref."

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

February 17, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Your clarification of Father Foley's Alabama Council proposal is helpful.

Please do send a memorandum on the state councils as soon as in a draft form that you approve.

I look forward to seeing you.

Cordially,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

February 23, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Your letter of February 18th makes me realize how much the Foundation is indebted to you for your helpful counsel. Thank you, also, for the data on the state councils.

With best wishes.

Hastily,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

via air mail

February 18, 1960

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
N ew York, New York

Dear Max:

This is in reply to your query about the request submitted by Mrs. Spearman for the South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

I am confident that both of the questions you raise can be answered positively. The amount requested would be used for the coordinating work described, not for general operating expenses of the organization. I base this judgment not only on the request, but also on our knowledge here of the South Carolina Council's budget and expectable income.

I should think it unlikely that the NAACP staff member would view this as competitive activity. The South Carolina Council has had a close and cooperative relationship with the state NAACP and has enjoyed the confidence of its leaders. Moreover, Mrs. Spearman's mention of the new director suggests to me that the matter was discussed and agreement reached.

In general, we feel the function Mrs. Spearman describes is a useful one for this hard-core state -- and at which the South Carolina Council has made a promising start. The proposal doesn't make as clear as it should

the precise relationship of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations to the projected South Carolina Coordinating Council of Negro Organizations. If necessary, no doubt Mrs. Spearman could clear this up with another letter.

I am enclosing some summary background material on the state councils which you may find generally helpful in assessing their roles in the Southern states.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
encs. - 2.

FUNCTIONS AND ACTIVITIES OF STATE
COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

State Councils on Human Relations are inter-racial membership organizations committed to expanding the channels of communications between the races and to educational activities aimed at eliminating segregation and discrimination.

In Deep Southern states the membership of the councils tends to be held down to around 500 each because of the relatively small number of white citizens who are willing to take a position on the principles involved. Since the councils strive for a healthy racial balance, the size of the total membership tends to be limited by the numbers of white members that can be attracted.

Outside the "hard-core" resisting states membership of state councils can be larger, 1100 in Florida and 1600 in Virginia.

Many of the state council groups organize and assist local groups in various communities. There are around 75 such local inter-racial councils throughout the South related to the ten state councils.

The program emphases of the state councils on human relations vary from state to state but tend to follow five major directions.

1. Communication. The state councils provide an important meeting ground for members of both races, a channel for joint discussion and planning. Opportunities for such inter-racial communication have become increasingly rare in the deep South states. In several areas, notably Little Rock, Arkansas, and Virginia, the councils have been able to serve as a means of contact between Negro groups and moderate white organizations.

2. Cooperation. In many instances, the local and state councils have been able to encourage effective activity by other organizations such as ministers groups, Leagues of Women Voters, etc. They have been prominent in stimulating the organization of white groups in support of public schools in Little Rock, in Virginia, and in Atlanta. They have given encouragement to Negro groups and have demonstrated that these groups are working toward goals supported by white as well as by Negro citizens.

3. Support of Principle. In a number of cases the councils on human relations have been the only groups with any white membership to speak

out in support of the broad principles and human concerns involved in the current crisis. It is important to remind communities that the maintenance of public schools and the preservation of economic gains are not the only reasons why there should be compliance with the law.

4. Education. Councils educate their own members to work more effectively as citizens and as leaders within other community groups. They attempt to have some educational effect on the community through the sponsorship of workshops, the dissemination of materials, the issuance of analyses and statements, and the use of mass media. Several of the Virginia groups have sponsored radio programs. The Georgia Council staged a series of television programs featuring school superintendents from Louisville, Baltimore, and Washington.

5. Problem Solving. State and local councils try to improve specific problem situations and to make their good offices available in crises. As Martin Luther King pointed out in his recent book, it was the Alabama Council on Human Relations which arranged the first meeting between city officials and the Montgomery Improvement Association during the bus boycott there. The Virginia Council was able to initiate talks in Front Royal, Virginia between white liberals, city officials, and Negro leadership during the crisis there last year. The Georgia Council was able to assist with the desegregation of the central library and of some airport facilities in Atlanta.

(List of Specific Activities attached)

Feb 18, 1960

file

SELECTED ACTIVITIES OF STATE COUNCILS, 1959

Alabama

1. Organized inter-agency committee concerned with human relations in Birmingham. Involved are AFL-CIO, A.D.L., and others.

2. Arranged community conference between businessmen, ministers and public officials on race relations in Gordo, Alabama.

3. Investigated KKK flogging of Negroes in Pickens County. Contact with and counseling of families involved.

4. Formally protested to the Governor and other officials the raising of KKK signs on highways leading to major cities of the state.

5. Organized and sponsored annual conference of state inter-racial ministerial group concerned with the role of the church in human relations.

6. Organized a state inter-racial group of college students.

7. Plans for 1960. New emphasis on voting rights. The Council will work to develop specific factfinding and complaints concerning voting, in cooperation with the Civil Rights Commission.

Arkansas

1. Helped plan and promote a "summit conference" of Negro leaders of Little Rock and Arkansas to coordinate plans and action. Sixty leaders took part in this effort.

2. Conducted a survey of the impact of the Negro customer on the business of Little Rock. Followed up with meetings with downtown businessman to consider the survey.

3. Helped organize and assist Negro leadership in Pine Bluff during the Dollarway school crisis.

4. Cooperated with a group of classroom teachers in drafting an outline of principles and procedures for opening Little Rock schools in September. The recommendations were presented to the local school board and other civic leaders.

5. Worked to establish more effective contact between the local school board in Little Rock and the Negro community.

6. Officers and members of the Council were involved in organizing and assisting local committees to reopen the public schools. These include the Womens' Emergency Committee to Open the Schools and the Citizens' Committee for Peaceful Operation of Free Public Schools.

Florida

1. Organized inter-agency group concerned with human relations in Dade County (Miami).

2. Convened representatives of youth-serving agencies to discuss the role of these groups.

3. Assisted in the desegregation process in Miami. The director and a leading Negro officer of the group worked directly with the police to ease the tensions of opening day.

4. Assisted Negro girl applying for position as airlines hostess.

5. Co-sponsored workshop on human relations for teachers at the College of Education, University of Florida.

6. Arranged a Women's Conference on Intergroup Relations.

7. Arranged annual conference for new clergymen in Dade County. Emphasis on human relations situation and resources of inter-group agencies.

Kentucky

1. Surveyed employment discrimination in Louisville. An effort was undertaken to place Negro high school graduates in jobs non-traditional for Negroes. Conferences with major employers resulted in some agreements to change policies and extend Negro employment.

2. A similar effort was carried forward in Lexington.

3. A special effort has been undertaken to encourage the advance of teacher integration in Louisville.

North Carolina

1. Carried out an information-education-mail project. This involved special mailings of educational material to educators and public officials throughout the state. Material was mailed out each month.

2. Conducted an intensive merit employment program in Durham. Conferences with employers produced some substantive changes in employment policies. A merit employment effort in Charlotte also achieved some success.

3. Stimulated ministerial groups to discuss human relations in Wilson, Shelby, and Rocky Mount.

4. Waged an extensive campaign, so far unsuccessful, for the desegregation of Charlotte Junior College. The campaign has involved letters to the editor, public statements, and appearances before public authorities.

Georgia

1. Led successful effort to desegregate the main branch of the Atlanta public library.

2. Enabled two students to attend the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University.

3. Organized new local council groups in Marietta and in Augusta.

4. In cooperation with the Southern Regional Council, presented a series of TV programs in an effort to help prepare Atlanta for probable school desegregation order. The superintendents from Baltimore, Washington, and Louisville were interviewed on separate thirty minute programs on the problems of desegregation.

South Carolina

1. Sponsored a series of workshops involving inter-racial representation from various areas of the state.

2. Efforts to locate and develop Negro leadership in rural areas through existing groups and special field efforts.

3. Organized an adult education council to coordinate the efforts of various state-wide Negro groups.

4. Cooperated with the U.S. Department of Agriculture on charges of discrimination on the part of Agriculture agencies operating in Clarendon County. The charges were sustained.

5. Assisted the Civil Rights Commission in efforts to form a South Carolina advisory committee.

Tennessee

1. Transmitted to the Civil Rights Commission charges of refusal of registration rights to Negroes in Haywood County. The charges were heard by the state advisory committee.

2. Completed a state-wide survey on discrimination in the area of recreation.

3. Sponsored throughout the state the drama "Cry the Beloved Country," staged by the Bishop's Company of Santa Barbara, California. The play was staged before integrated audiences in six Tennessee communities.

Virginia

1. The Council director served as the major agent of communication between Negro leadership, white moderates, and public officials in

Front Royal.

2. Worked directly with Negro leadership in Prince Edward County, encouraging morale and assisting in efforts to provide for the education of some of the Negro children out of school.

3. Organized local, inter-racial committees in three Virginia communities.

4. Made survey of employment discrimination in Charlottsville, Virginia.

5. Published a brochure on the Norfolk desegregation experience.

6. Completed a public opinion survey on school desegregation in Prince William County.

7. Sponsored a state workshop on program techniques for officers and board members of local council groups.

March 11, 1960

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

This is to supplement our discussion by telephone this morning regarding the Alabama request.

On receiving your letter of March 7, I inquired into the status of the Alabama proposal. I learned that a committee of the board has been working on it and expects to submit a revised version early next week. This is all to the good; for the Alabama Council, although SRC's progeny, is in fact independent and should make the final decision about its request to the Field Foundation.

This does not mean that we have any lack of interest in the proposal. We have thoroughly reviewed the first version and offered detailed criticisms and suggestions, which I trust the committee has taken into account.

If you wish, I will be glad to give you my independent judgment of the revised request once it has reached you.

I deeply regret that I will miss seeing you in Atlanta next week. When we do get together again, perhaps we can discuss the possibility of SRC presenting the case for the state councils as a group and proposing a formula for assistance to them on the basis of carefully devised criteria.

At any rate, I hope to see you again soon.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

BC to PRilling with interoffice memo regarding Ala. situation

P.R
working on
negro

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

March 7, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The Southern Regional Council has been in the news so much in the past month that it has been clear that you are working 25-hour days. For that reason I should not impose on you. With that apology, I beg your indulgence in writing again concerning the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Last Friday night I read portions of your February 16 letter to members of our special committee. They wondered whether the Southern Regional Council, acting as the parent of the Alabama Council, might wish to submit a revised appeal. This was a question I could not answer.

Parenthetically I should say that Father Foley did not tell us that the Alabama appeal was tentative.

We do have a problem of timing. We have passed the deadline for our mid-April board meeting. To receive consideration, the revised Alabama application would have to reach us promptly.

If you feel that revision of the Alabama appeal would require additional time, so as to permit review by your board or executive committee, we could put the appeal over to the next Field Foundation directors' meeting.

There is no assurance, of course, of favorable action by our people.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President

April 15, 1960

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Max:

Thanks for your letter of April 12 and the chance to furnish some background on proposed aid to state councils.

A minimum (or maximum) figure would be abbitrary, of course, since even a small amount would be helpful and there might be disagreement here on what would be a maximum. Also, it would make a difference whether I talk in terms of this year or 1961.

A moderate figure would be $25,000. Added to other prospective aid, a division of this amount would significantly strengthen the operating budgets of the state councils, but would be far from outright subsidy. The effort to raise local funds would have to continue at no less than the present level.

For 1961 and beyond the same would be true of as much as $40,000. This year we are distributing a total of $58,000 -- $33,000 from SRC's general funds and $25,000 from a special earmarked grant. For several reasons, including liquidation of the Fund for the Republic's terminal grant, our ability to make a similar allocation from general funds next year is extremely doubtful. We do expect a repetition of the $25,000 special grant in 1961.

There are staffed state councils in eight states -- Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Kentucky carries on an active program through consultants, under the direction of its officers. We have also given

modest aid to the local council in Houston, the Texas Council currently being without a staffed program.

In allocating aid, our criteria briefly are: the strategic importance of the state; general conditions in the state; past performance of the state council in program and fund-raising; quality of board and staff; foundation help, if any, received by the state council; the proposed budget and amount of aid requested; SRC's estimate of anticipated performance in the coming year.

On these bases, SRC staff works out proposed allocations, which are then reviewed and acted on by the Executive Committee and, when possible, by the full Council in annual meeting.

We require the state groups to submit quarterly program and financial reports. Our Field Director gives the major part of his time to counselling them through field visits and correspondence. All but two state councils now have tax-exempt status, and it seems likely that the other two -- Florida and Tennessee -- will get theirs soon. Meanwhile, we have established with the IRS that we can make distributions to non-tax-exempt groups so long as the funds are not improperly used.

As a spur to local fund-raising, we have made the allocations from the special fund of $25,000 conditional on each group raising a specified amount. During 1959, the state councils raised from sources other than SRC an aggregate total of slightly more than $50,000.

As I believe you know, the state councils became independent by mutual agreement in 1957. Our only official tie to them is through financial aid, although we work closely with them in program activities as well.

If you should find you need more detailed information on any point, I will gladly pull it together promptly.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

P.S. -- Since this was written, we have talked by telephone. I look forward to seeing you at 10:30 Tuesday morning.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 12, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

As you no doubt know, the Alabama Council withdrew its request. A mass publicity campaign in Alabama, at this time, has the earmarks of "brinkmanship".

Can you give me a rough idea of the minimum grant you think would be useful to be split up among the state councils, and also the proposed formula for assistance, along with suggested criteria. I have deliberately not said maximum grant because I doubt that it is "in the cards", but it would be helpful to have a range of figures. I hope you can write me promptly.

I am sorry that I missed you in Atlanta, although President Mays did do a thorough job of keeping me busy.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

via air mail

April 28, 1960

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

Your query about prospective visits to New York comes at a good time. I do need to get back to New York during the last half of May but haven't yet set any dates; therefore, perhaps I could pick a time most likely to be convenient to some of your people.

I could be available any day, and any time of day, between May 18 and May 31, with the sole exception of Friday May 20.

I realize your problem in assembling these busy people. Don't feel you will inconvenience me if a planned meeting later falls through. In such an event, all I would require is notice a day or two in advance.

Needless to say, I would welcome a chance for such a discussion with you and some of the other members of the Board.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

April 26, 1960

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council and of the independent state councils on human relations, this is to express the most sincere appreciation to the Field Foundation for its grant of $25,000 just approved.

This will also acknowledge the Foundation's check for $12,500, transmitted by your letter of April 22 in payment of half of the grant for the twelve-month period beginning May 1, 1960.

We have taken careful note of the terms of the grant as set forth in your letter of April 22. They are, of course, entirely satisfactory to the Southern Regional Council and will be complied with in every respect. I will keep you informed of the distributions made from this grant, the bases on which they are determined, and the program performance which they make possible,

You will be hearing from me shortly about possible dates of a New York visit. Meanwhile, with gratitude and kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 22, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am pleased to inform you that the Field Foundation has voted to contribute the sum of $25,000 to Southern Regional Council, Inc. to be used during the twelve-month period beginning May 1, 1960, for assistance to state councils on human relations. I believe you should know, when you allocate this fund, that the Field Foundation has voted the sum of $3,500 to the South Carolina Council on Human Relations to make possible better liaison between groups and individuals interested in the development of Negro leadership.

The following resolution covers the terms of the Field Foundation grant:

> RESOLVED that the Corporation appropriate and contribute to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia, the sum of $25,000, or as much thereof as shall be needed, for aid to state councils on human relations in the South in the twelve-month period beginning May 1, 1960, with $12,500 payable in April, 1960, and $12,500 payable in October, 1960.

If you know the dates of your visits to New York later this month and during May, it probably would be well to send them to me in the event that we could get some of our people together to meet you and to hear about your work. Late afternoon or evening would be the preferred time for our people. Weekend meetings are not attractive to most of them.

May I have a letter acknowledging receipt of the enclosed check for $12,500 and accepting the terms of the grant.

4/25/60 RHA

Sincerely yours,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 11, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We are looking forward to your visit to New York on Monday, May 23rd. Dinner will be at 6:30 P.M. at Mrs. Field's apartment at 990 Fifth Avenue (corner of 80th St.)

Will you give me a ring at YUkon 6-6688 upon your arrival in New York just in case there is anything special that I need to discuss with you in advance of the dinner. Gordon Allport of Harvard and Robin Williams of Cornell have also accepted for dinner.

I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

41 E 70 - 20th
Hotel 14 Cent.
14 E 60
12:45

Send Dave 7
clarification
ltr from IRS

Also - ltr re:
Ark CHR

---

4 request for
PBH renewal

~~5 Apr NS to SCF~~

List of N. resource
people.

~~Bd list to JW~~

~~Wed~~ speech to JW
etc (see list)

---

50 cc adjustment repts to Rich
(Local YWS, bus. editors, COTCs:) CORE

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

JUNE 14, 1960

MRS. RUTH FIELD
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

WITH ACUTE REGRET, I MUST DECLINE. CONSENSUS HERE THAT MY SIGNING WOULD BE ORGANIZATIONALLY QUESTIONABLE, AND RELUCTANTLY I AGREE. I DEEPLY APPRECIATE THE INVITATION AND AM SORELY DISAPPOINTED NOT TO ACCEPT. EARNEST WISHES FOR SUCCESS.

HAROLD C. FLEMING

via air mail

June 23, 1960

Mrs. Ruth Field
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Field:

Now that the advertisement in support of Governor Stevenson has appeared, this is to say a word of appreciation for a fine and well presented statement. Let me also reiterate my disappointment at not being able to sign. It was a bitter decision for me, since I greatly admire Governor Stevenson and am convinced that the country needs his leadership desperately.

The Southern Regional Council has scrupulously avoided any involvement, direct or indirect, in political partisanship of every kind. That has been one factor in the organization's acceptance by people of various political persuasions. I felt bound to respect this tradition of public non-partisanship, despite my own very partisan sentiments in this instance.

If there is any way I can be of service to the effort in behalf of Governor Stevenson, in a private and personal capacity, I do hope you will give me that opportunity.

Cordially yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

July 6, 1960

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

This is to acknowledge with appreciation your letter of June 30, transmitting The Field Foundation's check for $12,500. We understand that this represents the second payment on the $75,000 grant awarded the Southern Regional Council on December 9, 1959.

Our official receipt is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

June 30, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

You will find enclosed with this letter the Field Foundation's check in the amount of $12,500, payable to the order of Southern Regional Council, Inc. This check represents the second payment on the $75,000 award voted by our board on December 9, 1959 for the program of the Southern Regional Council and covers the six-month period beginning July 1, 1960.

We will appreciate receiving your acknowledgment of this check.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

CR 12,500.

RHA
7/5/60

September 2, 1960

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

I was glad to have your letter of August 29.

We have sent you separately 15 copies of the Atlantic reprint, and I am enclosing a slightly rough carbon of Les Dunbar's talk on the "sit-ins," as given last week before the Society for the Study of Social Problems in New York. I understand that Oscar Cohen at ADL is mimeographing Dunbar's paper for selective distribution.

The times get more and more harrying. Bob Hughes, of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, was jailed today for refusing to answer a local grand jury's question about his conversations with Harrison Salisbury of the Times. You may well have read about this in the press by the time you see this. Bob has adequate legal counsel, and we are doing what we can to help. With luck, he may come out of this with honor and increased usefulness.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

August 29, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Since writing you I have heard about a paper that your research man, I believe his name is Dunlap, did on the "sit-ins". Have I given you enough information so that you can send me a copy?

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

I think he means Lei SSSP paper

Send & return ltr

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

August 29, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I'd be glad to have fifteen copies of the reprint from the May Atlantic on Mrs. Paschall's article.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Sent 9/13/60 lwx

LWD ✓
MF

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

September 6, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I can see why there is enthusiasm for Mr. Dunbar's "Reflections on the Latest Reform of the South." This is a first-class piece of work.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

October 14, 1960

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council, this is to acknowledge with appreciation receipt of the Foundation's check for $12,500 in final payment of the 1960 commitment to the Council.

Enclosed is our official receipt for that amount.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1960

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

September 30, 1960

RECEIVED

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

You will find enclosed with this letter the Field Foundation's check in the amount of $12,500, payable to the order of the Southern Regional Council. This check represents the second and final payment of the Foundation's award voted by our board on April 20, 1960 for aid to state councils on human relations in the South and covers the six-month period beginning November 1, 1960.

CR
RHA
10/3/60

May we have the Council's formal acknowledgment of the receipt of this check?

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

via air mail

October 27, 1960

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

The copy on SRC is fine. We have touched up the first paragraph, as enclosed, to bring the desegregation developments up to date. A small matter, but worth the change, I think. Of course, the precise wording is for you to decide.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 25, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing the Field Foundation's proposed annual report copy relating to the Foundation's grants for SRC and state council support. I would very much appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience if this statement meets with your approval. Any corrections of error will, of course, be welcomed.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

For its continuing program and for state councils

If you want to know what is going on in the move toward desegregation in the South, ask the Southern Regional Council. It keeps the press and many concerned individuals -- in North and South -- informed. It tells us now that six Southern states have inched forward toward educational equality: Virginia, which dropped "massive resistance" for "freedom of choice"; Florida, which has desegregated in one school district; North Carolina, which has given token desegregation to classrooms in ten communities; Tennessee, where more Negro children are in desegregated classes than in any other Southeastern state; and Arkansas and Texas.

The Council reports its belief that more Southern leaders are accepting the inevitability of social change but need reassurance that desegregation can be constructive and workable. Much of the SRC's program is devoted to such realistic reassurance. It aids -- with information, guidance, program advice on desegregation problems -- government agencies, religious and intergroup organizations, state and local human relations councils, citizen groups.

It produces a series of social science reports for educators and community leaders, gets out "leadership reports" to 1,000 decision makers, publishes the New South magazine.

The Foundation granted $75,000 (over three years) for the Council's support, and an additional $25,000 for financial aid to state councils -- now active in eight Southern states.

Field Foundation

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

For its continuing program and for state councils

If you want to know what is going on in the move toward desegregation in the South, ask the Southern Regional Council. It keeps the press and many concerned individuals -- in North and South -- informed. It tells us now that six ~~five~~ Southern states have inched forward (toward educational equality): Virginia, which dropped "massive resistance" for "freedom of choice"; Florida, which has desegregated in one school district; ~~dropped (and raised again) its color bars at six white swimming pools~~; North Carolina, which has given token desegregation to classrooms in ten ~~seven~~ communities; Tennessee, (where more Negro children are in desegregated classes than in any other Southeastern state;) and Arkansas and Texas.

The Council reports its belief that more Southern leaders are accepting the inevitability of social change but need reassurance that desegregation can be constructive and workable. Much of the SRC's program is devoted to such realistic reassurance. It aids -- with information, guidance, program advice on desegregation problems -- government agencies, religious and intergroup organizations, state and local human relations councils, citizen groups.

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The Foundation granted $75,000 (over three years) for the Council's support, and an additional $25,000 for financial aid to state councils -- now active in eight Southern states.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 31, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you so much for your letter of October 27, commenting on the Foundation's proposed annual report copy in reference to the SRC program. We are glad to be brought up-to-date and are changing our copy accordingly.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 15, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Inasmuch as the Field Foundation has made a contingent grant to the Fowler Commission on Race Relations, I should be glad to have 15 additional copies of report L-22 for distribution to my board members.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

December 16, 1960

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

It was thoughtful of you to give me the sequel to our conversation about the idea of a Lillian Smith piece. I hope your board member was able to deliver the author as promptly as you delivered the publication. It occurs to me belatedly that, if she could not, the idea should not go begging for want of a suitable writer. Lillian Smith would be tops, but others could also do a worthy job.

If I haven't done so before, let me say how pleasing it was from my vantage point that your visiting party found the Georgia trip so satisfying. The people here who were involved in the various activities got a real boost.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 7, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Your suggestion this morning bore fruit promptly. Redbook offered to buy the Lillian Smith piece we talked about, if she could take on the assignment immediately. I am now hoping that my Foundation board member can deliver promptly.

Again, thanks.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 6, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The Field Foundation's annual meeting pressures, like a state highway patrol sirening essential traffic off the concrete, prevented me from writing you previously to express the Foundation's enthusiastic appreciation for our powerful experiences November 18 - 20 in Atlanta and eastward. Although the sirens still scream, we are trying to get back on the road.

We thank you, Mr. Dabbs, Mr. Wright and your other associates wholeheartedly for your key parts in making the expedition so stimulating. The non-touring board members envied us.

Just this morning I received your Report L-21, the H. McKinley Conway speech. Would you please send 20 copies of this for distribution to our board? I wonder if you have considered encouraging Mr. Conway to print and circulate this to key business leaders, e.g., Chamber of Commerce presidents, bankers and others in Georgia, Tennessee and North Carolina.

MF - ✓ Pls send & return 1 for our reply. H.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

To be routed in order numbered)

Date

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

HCF

1 PA ✓

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2 LWD ✓

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FILE

No word from Lt Smith as yet.

H

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 19, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I talked with Lillian Smith last Monday morning on the telephone at length, and there was every indication then that she would do the Redbook piece, but she had not yet talked with William Hart, Jr., who was handling this for Redbook.

I thought that Miss Smith might have discussed with you upon her return from New York the book idea that interests her greatly and for which she is willing to do one of the four or five chapters and also thinks of you as doing one. She is interested in putting the microscope on the people who were the "have-nots" in the Depression years and who now are buying a home and have their own cars. She thinks of these as the key to the situation in the South rather than the Klan, the Citizens' Councils and like groups. Lillian Smith has three books which she has contracted to write, but I think she is willing to put her efforts on this special job ahead although she can't do the whole book. She is going to send me a letter outlining her ideas, presumably after talking with you, as she thinks of the Southern Regional Council as the grant recipient, if one is made.

With best wishes for Christmas.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 29, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

If you have 15 copies of Marion Wright's November 17, 1960, Detroit address, I will be glad to distribute them to our board.

Don't feel that you need to take time to acknowledge this.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Have one phone w/me Wright

file - St. Councils
(copy sent to V. Eagle, Nov. 27, 1961)

The State Councils on Human Relations

A Brief Summary of Present Status and Means of Further Strengthening

I. Functions of State CHR's

In 1953 the Southern Regional Council determined to establish Councils on Human Relations in the southern states to assist in the process of social change anticipated during the years ahead. A grant from the Fund for the Republic was secured for this purpose. It was hoped that the Councils would enable white and Negro citizens to work together at local and state levels to resolve problems indigenous to their areas and to prepare their communities for change. In some instances this policy was implemented through assisting and strengthening existing groups; in Georgia and Texas the state Commissions on Interracial Cooperation were still in being. In other areas new groups were organized; these were established as state divisions of the Southern Regional Council. By 1955 such interracial organizations were active in 12 southern states. They continue to exist in 10. There are no Councils in Mississippi or Louisiana. The Texas Council, moreover, is hardly more than a paper organization.

In original planning each state Council was to have a two man, biracial professional staff. Arkansas is the only one which has been able to maintain this; financial limitations ended the practice in other states.

First established as branches of the Southern Regional Council, the State Councils became independent in 1957. Since that time they have been responsible for their own staff and policies. Since 1957 the Southern Regional Council has regularly contributed, however, to their financial support.

Activities fall into four general categories:

1. Channels of communication. The Councils provide regular channels between like-minded white and Negro citizens within a community or state. In some localities this is a fairly superficial kind of communication. In others it is quite meaningful, leading to sincere friendships and to the kind of mutual trust that can be called upon in time of tension or serious trouble. This function of creating and maintaining communication is important to all the state Councils. In Alabama and South Carolina it is the chief end served. In these states there are few opportunities for contacts between white and Negro citizens as peers. Martin Luther King, Jr., pointed out in his book Stride Toward Freedom that the Montgomery Council on Human Relations was the only such point of contact prior to and during the days of the Montgomery bus boycott. (Dr. King was then serving as vice chairman of the Montgomery Council.) The same statement could be made of a number of communities in these states and in other parts of the South as well.

2. Agencies in support of change. The Councils operate publicly on state levels in all cases; locally, they operate publicly in the Upper South, but in some parts of the Deep South only quietly. The statements and publications of the Councils are constant reminders that there is disagreement in the South on the issues of race relations. They thus contribute importantly to the creation of an indispensable condition of change: the establishment of dialogue and a community climate where the right to differ is tolerated. The Councils witness to the fact that the pressure for change is not simply an effort by Negro Southerners but is also a struggle for principles. In many cases they

provide the only visible evidence of support for change by elements of the white community. The North Carolina Council on Human Relations, for example, was the first group in the state with white membership to take a firm stand in support of sit-in activities. The Councils in Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia publicly supported the sit-ins and attempted to interpret the aims and purposes of these demonstrations to the general public. In Arkansas and in North Carolina the Councils have led in attacking the hypocrisy of token desegregation and in calling for good faith compliance with the Supreme Court's school decisions.

3. Educational Agencies. One of the most valuable functions of the Councils is the education of southern communities in the realities of the current situation. In Charlottesville (Va.), the local Council's survey of job opportunities for Negroes was not only of value in informing the community but helped open additional types of employment to Negroes. In Nashville, the Community Relations Conference (affiliated with the Tennessee Council) sponsors an annual public workshop to evaluate progress in Nashville; this event receives wide-spread notice in the media, and its findings are published. Local groups in Houston, Chattanooga, Atlanta, and Miami, in cooperation with SRC, are currently completing surveys of job opportunities. In Alexandria and in Arlington (Va.), the Councils published surveys of the status of Negro citizens, commenting on restrictions and limitations. These surveys were heavily circulated and had impact on the communities. In Atlanta, the Council sponsored a television series preceding school desegregation featuring the superintendents of desegregated school systems in Washington, Louisville, and Baltimore. In Charlotte, the

Council sponsors a monthly public forum which is generally well attended and receives media coverage. Leading figures in the struggle for progress have been brought by the Councils to many communities as speakers, workshop leaders, or consultants.

4. Agents for change. Biracial groups in the South are not normally the initiators of change, but they do, on occasion, play an important role. In Atlanta, the Council on Human Relations assumed leadership in the desegregation of the public library and of restroom facilities at the Atlanta airport. In Williamsburg (Va.), the local interracial committee directly approached merchants and succeeded in winning agreement on the opening of lunch counter facilities. In Nashville, members of the Council were on hand as observers during the sit-in demonstrations, reported events to the police, and endorsed the actions of the students by statements as customers to store managers. The Nashville Conference also led in the successful campaign for desegregation of public museums and of the symphony concert series.

In several communities, such as Lynchburg (Va.) and Richmond, the Councils have helped persuade authorities to appoint official biracial committees to negotiate problems. In Fairfax County (Va.), a youth group sponsored by the local Council initiated student petitions which resulted in the lifting of all restrictions on participation by Negro students in extra-curricular activities within desegregated high schools.

II. Status of the Councils.

The state Councils operate under elected boards which appoint staff and set policy. All Councils are tax exempt. SRC maintains close liaison through the office of its Director of Field Activities. In addition to financial aid, SRC provides program assistance and consultative services. In turn, SRC looks to the Councils for information and interpretation concerning developments and crises across the South.

During the last two years SRC has attempted to stimulate increased self-support by tying assistance to a matching formula contingent

on certain levels of fund raising by the Councils. There has been considerable improvement. In 1959, the Councils raised $33,324 from membership dues and contributions from within their states and exclusive of foundation grants; SRC gave $58,000. In 1960, the state groups increased their self-support by over 50% to $50,335; SRC contributed $59,000. During 1961 SRC has allocated $50,000 for assistance to the state Councils; indications are that these groups will raise somewhat more toward their own support than a year ago. The 1961 schedule of SRC grants-in-aid is shown on the next page.

State Councils on Human Relations in Mississippi and Louisiana disappeared several years ago under the burdens of legislative investigation and attack, and of weak staff leadership. Councils in Texas and Kentucky no longer have professional staff, although the Kentucky Council continues to carry on a modest program. The Arkansas Council has two professional staff members, made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. A staffed Houston Council on Human Relations was organized in 1960 and has been receiving some assistance from SRC. By an agreement between the Atlanta Council and the Unitarian Service Committee a staff director for the Atlanta Council was jointly selected and her salary is paid by the Unitarian Service Committee. A similar agreement is in prospect for the Jacksonville (Fla.) Council.

Combined membership in the state Councils stood at around 4,500 as of February, 1960. It is somewhat over 6,000 at the present time.

III. Evaluation of the State Councils.

The Councils vary widely in their effectiveness, their strategy, their public postures. These variations reflect local leadership, staff capacities, and the widely differing environments within which the Councils strive to achieve their purposes. The state and local Councils range from discussion groups to hard-working organizations with committees operating in various problem areas; from small, virtually

under-ground groups in some Black Belt communities to large, status organizations in the Upper South. The strength, weaknesses, and potential of each group are roughly evaluated as follows.

1. The Alabama Council. This has been a small, closely knit, and loyal Council through the years. Until early 1961 it was served as director by the Rev. Robert Hughes, a young, courageous, Methodist clergyman and native of Alabama. The Council has approximately 500 members, a number which has been fairly constant during the past two years. There are local Councils in Montgomery, Mobile, and Birmingham, and district organizations covering the rural areas. Although small, the Alabama Council has high morale and a strong sense of mission. It is strongly church-oriented, and probably slightly over half of its membership is Negro. It has the respect and approval of top-level Negro leadership. Some of its leaders and groups have been the target of heavy attack and reprisal. One employee of a social agency in Huntsville, for example, recently lost his position because of his activity in the Alabama Council. Ministers who have been presidents of the Council were publicly attacked. Mr. Hughes himself spent several days in jail and lost his standing in the North Alabama Methodist Conference last year. The Council in Birmingham was, on one occasion, raided by the local police.

The Council has continued to exist in most parts of the state, in itself an achievement. From the standpoint of program, it has been able to do little other than to provide a regular channel of contact, to bolster the morale of its members, to provide symbolic interracial support for Negro protest activity in the state. (On the other hand, within recent months the local Council in the Tri-Cities -- Florence,

Sheffield, Tuscumbia -- vigorously pushed for non-discriminatory employment at the Ford Motor plant in Sheffield; it achieved a small success and opened up a channel for further negotiations with the company.) As director, Hughes was able to establish a network of sympathetic persons who keep the Council informed of developments and enable it to exert indirect influence in a number of situations. Hughes helped bring together the various parties during the Montgomery bus boycott, persuaded the mayor of Mobile to appoint an interracial committee several years ago, worked with white and Negro ministers in Mobile in an effort to desegregate the buses there. The Council has been a sympathetic presence in cases of violence or intimidation, seeking out the victims and offering help. The Council staff has been invaluable in briefing news media, state and national, concerning affairs in Alabama. In August, 1961 the Rev. Norman Jimerson, a Baptist minister, became director. There is every indication that he will be a committed and able one.

The Alabama Council has been surprisingly successful in finding funds. It is always near the top of the list of state Councils in fund-raising and last year, responding to the crisis in which its director was involved and the attendant legal expenses, Alabama passed all other groups, raising a total of $12,577.

2. The Arkansas Council. Arkansas is the smallest of the state Councils in membership. It now has 320 members. The Arkansas Council has not attempted to organize throughout the state; rather, it has tried to serve as a strategy center for influencing other groups and generating constructive activities. Its program activities has been concentrated in the Little Rock-Pine Bluff area, in view of the symbolic importance of Little Rock and the influence of the

state capitol on state affairs. There has also been some Council activity in Hot Springs. Within this limited area of activity the Council has been effective and useful. For the past several years it has received a grant of $8,000 from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund which has enabled the Council to have an associate director, who has been Negro. The Council has spoken out strongly on all issues, has had conferences with public officials and business leadership, has helped expand interracial communication among clergy, has worked to increase Negro registration and voting, has cooperated with student leaders in Little Rock and Pine Bluff, has instituted negotiations between Negro and white leaders concerning the Pine Bluff demonstrations, has worked to develop more unified and responsible leadership in the Negro community. The group is well known and has some respect in the white community. It has been able to involve several white persons of status and prestige. It has won the confidence of Negro leadership. Since its founding the Arkansas Council has been served as director by Mr. Nat Griswold, a former Methodist minister. The associate director is now Mr. Ozell Sutton, a former manager on the Winthrop Rockefeller farms near Little Rock. The major weaknesses of the Arkansas Council are its unwillingness to undertake statewide programing and its inability to raise locally sufficient funds or to attract a larger membership.

3. The Florida Council. The Florida Council has 700 members and operates through eleven local groups. It is perhaps the only human relations resource in a number of Florida communities in the North and central part of the state, although there is a complex of such agencies centered in the Miami area. Director of the Florida Council since its organization has been the Rev. William K. Williams,

a Methodist clergyman.

In Jacksonville, Council leadership played an effective role within the white community, in consultations across racial lines, and published an analysis of the causes and significance of the riots there. In the Cocoa area, the Council initiated negotiations with Negro leaders and public officials of a number of nearby municipalities concerning the use of beach facilities. In Miami, the Council is sponsoring a survey of job opportunities for Negroes. The director of the Council assisted local groups to prepare for school desegregation recently in Daytona Beach. The Council has been able to raise a fairly adequate budget from year to year, although not a large one considering the permissive atmosphere of the state generally. Its principal weaknesses are a lack of firm liaison between the director and officers; its failure to maintain a program and organization in the largest urban area of the state, Miami; and a director who has good program strengths but is weak in matters of fund raising, administration, and organization. Florida was one of two Councils which did not raise sufficient matching money to entitle it to receive the entire SRC allocation during 1961. These are also the only two Councils for which SRC is not scheduling a small increase in funds granted for 1962.

4. The Georgia Council. Until recently, the Georgia Council had been the weakest of all. It suffered from having part-time directors of retirement age. It tended to be rather conservative in its approach, and thus had difficulty attracting the loyalty of Negro members. It was strongly church-oriented and thereby did help reach church lay and ministerial groups.

The Georgia Council recently acquired its first full-time

director, an energetic former president of the state League of Women Voters, Mrs. William Pauley. Mrs. Pauley has connections throughout the state and is a strong organizer. She has been on the job approximately six months and already the image of the Council has substantially changed. Negro leadership is increasingly identifying with the group.

There are local Councils in Atlanta, Augusta, Macon, and Columbus, and a new group with considerable promise has been organized by Mrs. Pauley in Savannah. Organizational work is going forward in Rome and in Athens. The Atlanta Council has a full-time, salaried director, Mrs. Walter Paschall, also a veteran of good causes in Georgia. The state Council now publishes a quarterly magazine, of almost professional competence although the work of volunteers.

The Georgia Council shows considerable promise and potential. Its weaknesses are its history, the hostile environment of much of the state, and some jurisdictional competition between the Georgia and Atlanta Councils.

5. The Kentucky Council. The Kentucky Council has not had professional staff for some years. The last director was recently appointed director of the Kentucky State Commission on Human Rights. The Council is a fairly weak organization. It has made little effort in recent years to attract membership or to raise funds. It has functioned as a small, strategy group to consider problems in the state and to attempt to encourage constructive activity by other groups. The Council can, in fact, claim considerable credit for the action of the Governor and legislature establishing the Kentucky State Commission. There is now overlap between the leadership of

the Commission and of the Kentucky Council.

The Council has commissioned some useful research work in Louisville and Lexington in recent years, assessing the goals of Negro high school students, evaluating the impact of desegregation on high school students, surveying job opportunities for Negro high school graduates. It is a loosely organized Council, lacking any clear sense of purpose. It suffers from the lack of professional staff and from any sense of real need or crisis in the relatively free atmosphere of the state. Kentucky was the other state Council which failed to raise during 1961 sufficient matching funds to receive its entire SRC allocation. No financial aid from SRC is scheduled for 1962.

6. The North Carolina Council. The North Carolina Council numbers 508 members. It has one of the better records from the standpoint of self-support. Last year it raised $6,725, ranking behind only Alabama and Virginia. For several years the Council also received support from the New World Foundation. Director since its organization is Mr. Harry Jones, a former official with the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The method of operation of the North Carolina Council is similar to that of the Arkansas Council. Although representative of the state at large, the board membership is concentrated in Charlotte and the Council operates as a strategy and resource center rather than as a network of local committees. The Council does carry out an extensive program of mailing materials to a number of public officials, school superintendents, and business leaders throughout the state. The materials include some developed by the Council and others selected from periodicals or produced by other agencies. Although it is difficult to weigh the impact of such distribution there has been some encouraging response.

There is a strong local Council in Charlotte, a second Council in Raleigh. The program of the Council is heavily centered in Charlotte where it has been useful and effective and has won the support of Negro leadership. The Charlotte program includes a monthly public forum, analyses of developments, and, recently, a strong campaign against the building of a new Negro municipal college which will give the city two, largely segregated, colleges with the same function. Chief weaknesses of the Council are its unwillingness to attempt statewide programing and the lack of new projects or imaginative planning.

7. The South Carolina Council. The South Carolina Council is one of the smaller groups, numbering 384. Director is Mrs. Alice Spearman, a native South Carolinian with an impeccable social background and wide personal contacts. Mrs. Spearman is a former officer of several statewide womens' groups, a former welfare administrator at the state level, a one-time delegate to the state Democratic convention.

The Council has had problems in attracting and holding white membership while at the same time satisfying the more aggressive requests of Negro membership. Membership has tended to become increasingly Negro in recent years and probably 60% or more is currently Negro. There are local groups affiliated with the Council in Columbia, Beaufort, Greenville, Jasper-Hampton, Rock Hill, and Sumter. The Council has concentrated on the dissemination of educational material, the maintenance of communication in as many communities as possible, the organization of workshops on local leadership, merit employment, educational opportunities. Much of the contribution of the Council is represented by Mrs. Spearman's individual contacts, interviews, etc.

The Council has recently added a part-time, salaried worker for youth activities, Mrs. Theodore Ledeen. Mrs. Ledeen has assisted in the organization of a college council on human relations which represents the first state-wide interracial effort on the college level in some years. Some ten colleges and universities in the state, white and Negro, are involved. During 1961 the South Carolina Council received project assistance totaling $5,000 from the Field Foundation and the Schwarzhaupt Foundation.

The Council is much valued by Negro leadership in South Carolina and provides a necessary haven for liberal whites. Principal weaknesses are a predominantly Negro membership, the repressive climate of the state, a rather loose and casual organizational structure, and the highly personal method of operation of its director.

8. The Tennessee Council. The Tennessee Council did not have professional staff until 1959. It is now served by Miss Katherine Jones, a long-time social work supervisor in Davidson County. During her two years as director Miss Jones has moved with great energy and because of her efforts and the relatively permissive atmosphere of much of the state the Council promises to become one of the most effective. It is second among the state groups in membership, with 781, an increase of 200 in the past six months.

Until recently the Tennessee Council has been Nashville oriented. During the past 18 months a large local Council has been organized in Memphis and effective liaison established with an interracial committee in Chattanooga. The director has been involved in the initial desegregation process in Johnson City and has been able to organize a group reaching into community leadership in Jackson. The Nashville Community Relations Conference, affiliated with the state

Council, is one of the most effective such organizations in the South. It is well-respected, enjoys prestige leadership, and receives considerable notice from the public media. Although the Council has shown growth and progress during the last year it has just begun to realize its potential of membership, financial support, and program effectiveness.

10. The Virginia Council. The Virginia Council is the largest, the best financed, and probably the most effective of the state Councils. There are now over 2,000 members. There have been four directors since 1955 and this repeated infusion of new leadership has probably helped the organization. The current director is the Rev. Heslip Lee, a Southern Baptist minister and a native of Georgia. Before assuming his present duties in August, 1961, Mr. Lee was a pastor in Springfield (Va.), and was active with the Fairfax County Council. Mr. Lee is undertaking his new position with energy and skill.

The Council operates primarily through its 17 local units. The primary role of the director is to organize, service, and strengthen these groups. The local Councils vary considerably, operating as large and established civic groups in Northern Virginia, as smaller, more quiet groups in the conservative areas of the state. The Council benefits greatly from its large membership in Northern Virginia, close to Washington. The Fairfax County Council is larger in membership than several of the state Councils.

Although the Council is represented primarily through its local units, the state staff has worked directly and effectively in some problem situations. The director played an important liaison role in Front Royal during the 1958-59 school crisis. The

Council channeled hundreds of dollars into the difficult Prince Edward County crisis, and its last director spent considerable time there working with the Negroes' organization and with the few white sympathizers.

The weakness of the Council has been its inability to extend into the conservative Southside area. A continuing danger is growing complacency as token school desegregation spreads over the state.

9. The Texas Council. Chairman of the Texas Council is Mrs. James Crate who has made tremendous contributions to the cause of racial justice over the past 50 years. That the Council continues to exist at all is a tribute to her prestige and the loyalty which many people feel to her past work. The Council has been without staff for three years and actually consists only of a board which meets once a year to discuss and evaluate progress in the state. It carries on no program activities.

There are two strong local Councils in Texas, the Austin Council and the more recently organized Council in Houston. The Houston Council has 160 members and has raised sufficient funds to maintain an office and staff. The Southern Regional Council made a modest contribution last year and will consider doing so again in 1962. The Houston Council is conducting a merit employment study, has scheduled a series of Saturday workshops on various problems, has produced several publications which have received notice. It has respected leadership and some strong board membership of both races. The director is inexperienced but receives strong guidance from an official of the local Council of Churches and the director of the Jewish Community Center. This group already represents a constructive and useful force in the community. It shows promise of greater effectiveness in future years.

The Austin Council is not financially aided by SRC and is dependent upon voluntary leadership. This group carried on a regular schedule of meetings throughout the year and played an important part in support of the students and in the negotiations leading to the desegregation of lunch counters. It is now working on the problem of theater desegregation.

IV. Recommendations for Strengthening.

As the state Councils demonstrate greater self-support and program effectiveness, greater resources can be invested in them. As the pattern of events changes in the South, proportionately greater resources should be invested in those groups filling a particularly strategic role or showing relatively greater program potential. In some cases the Councils are now receiving as much support as can be responsibly allocated to them. In other cases additional support would result in disproportionate increase of effectiveness.

The following paragraphs propose lines of action which to SRC seem best designed at present to strengthen the work of the Human Relations Councils.

1. Although the Virginia Council is the most stable and effective of the state Councils, it has not achieved its potential in strength or value. This Council is now at the point where its outreach could be at least doubled with the addition of a second professional staff member. An associate director, who would probably be Negro, would not only free the director of much of the organizational and financial details of the Council but could broaden and deepen the Council's contacts in the Negro communities.

2. There is need for strengthening SRC's field services. The field staff still consists only of one field director and an administrative secretary. They attempt to assist the state and local Councils scattered across the South, represent SRC in its cooperative work with numerous other agencies, and administer some programs directly. They function on the basis of highest priorities; a number of tasks remain undone. The strengthening of SRC's field staff can be an efficient and economical way of strengthening the state Councils, for an enlarged staff here would provide increased coordination, more attentive administrative guidance, and better program assistance. In view of this and of the organizational work in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas - discussed below - the appointment of two additional field workers would be clearly useful. This is especially worthwhile because of the recent discontinuance of SRC's Consultant Service Project.

3. At present there are no state Councils in Mississippi, Louisiana and, in fact, Texas. The Southern Regional Council is not, therefore, effectively fulfilling its obligations in these areas. At the same time, the field director is sometimes called upon to deal directly with local problem situations, as recently in New Orleans, because of the lack of state staff in this area. SRC is now engaged in conversation with other groups and individuals directed toward the creation of some form of biracial organization and communication in Louisiana and Mississippi; especially in the latter state, there are now promising developments. SRC ranks this effort high among its program priorities. Funds to cover the costs of meetings, travel, and other preliminary organizational work would be extremely helpful.

Moreover, if and when state Councils are organized in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas, SRC would expect to support them at roughly the same level of assistance as is now being provided existing staffed state Councils.

4. The two Councils, besides Virginia, of greatest potential growth and usefulness appear now to be those in Georgia and Tennessee. The Field Foundation has recently extended valuable assistance to each, by a two year grant to Georgia to cover the costs of a second staff person, and by a two year grant to Tennessee for general support. This aid should greatly stimulate the development of these two Councils. At the same time, the Councils will be faced with the need for preparing themselves to carry the financial load of expanded operations, when the Field grant ends.

5. The Alabama Council at present probably has few program opportunities which would justify increased funds. This is, however, an admirable organization, and when the program opportunities occur -- i.e., when cracks appear in Alabama's rigid racism -- the Alabama Council will enlarge its program and could make excellent use of additional money.

PROPOSED STATE ASSISTANCE, 1961

State	Regular SRC Grant 1960	Matching Grant 1960	Funds raised locally first 3 quarters 1960	Proposed Basic Grant	Proposed Matching Grant	Total SRC Assistance Possible
Alabama*	$4,200	$3,000	$8,478	$3,900	$2,400	$ 6,300
Arkansas	3,500	2,000	1,785	3,200	2,000	5,200
Florida	3,900	2,500	5,326	3,400	2,000	5,400
Georgia*	3,500	4,500	4,109	3,500	2,000	5,500
Kentucky	1,500	500	550	750	750	1,500
North Carolina	3,900	3,000	6,107	3,600	2,100	5,700
South Carolina	3,900	3,000	4,056	3,700	2,300	6,000
Tennessee	3,500	2,500	3,652	3,500	2,100	5,600
Virginia	3,900	3,000	6,713	3,900	2,400	6,300
Houston					1,500	1,500
State Aid Discretionary Fund	1,200			1,000		1,000
Totals	$33,000	$24,000	$40,376	$30,450	$19,550	$50,000

* Proposed grants contingent upon employment of full time state staff

4 file
VEP

January 4, 1963

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

On March 29, 1962, the Field Foundation granted $75,000 for a one-year period in support of the Voter Education Project. The first year of the Project will end March 31, 1963, and we are accordingly placing before you now this request for additional assistance.

Attachment A is a synoptic financial statement for the Project's operations to date. The Project's receipts and expenditures as of December 31, 1962 will be included in our annual audit, which will be forwarded to you when completed.

Attachment B is the Project's first status report, which was previously submitted to you. Attachment C is a revision, in part, of pages 7-8 of that report, showing results of the Project's first series of field programs (VEP-1). Attachment D is a revision of pages 16-17 of the report, showing data on the Project's second series of programs (VEP-2).

During the first months of operations, highly capable and respected staff has been recruited for

the Project. Mr. Wiley A. Branton, of Pine Bluff, (Ark.), one of the country's leading civil rights attorneys, is Project Director. He is assisted by Jack E. Minnis, who expects shortly to receive his Ph.D. in political science from Tulane University; and - after February 1, 1963 - by Randolph T. Blackwell, now Associate Professor of Political Science at Alabama M. & N. College a law graduate of Howard University, and an experienced registration worker. The need for another staff member to assure adequate field supervision and program planning is being considered. Mrs. Jean Levine is administrative secretary.

We hope that you will find time to review Attachment C carefully. We think that the results, set forth there, are highly encouraging. By the end of the Project year we shall compile the results of the second series of programs (VEP-2), and shall forward them to you. We realize that in an off-year spectacular registration results cannot be expected; nevertheless, we anticipate that the record will again, despite some unevenness, show steady and strong progress.

In planning program, a basic question has been the division of effort between areas of small legal and social resistance, where quantitatively large results can be anticipated; and hard core areas of intense resistance. In the nature of things, there has been and will be a greater investment in the former. We have, nevertheless, believed that where, in hard core areas, there exists a willingness to work and a viable organization, that the Project should assist, not with expectation of quick results but because of the political and psychological gains that may be realized, and because such activity may supply the occasion for federal suits that strengthen voting rights. We intend to continue this general policy. We are, however, carefully studying the feasibility of selecting a couple or more relatively liberal areas for large scale, almost saturation efforts.

In addition to results, these early months have been a period of preparation. The organizations doing the field work are strengthening their procedures and structure, and learning from experience; and, it may as well be noted, with the exception of some veterans such as the NAACP or the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, learning has been required. The Project has

itself brought a few organizations into existence; e.g., the Council of Federated Organizations (Miss.) and the Jefferson County Voter Registration Campaign (Ala.). What we are working toward is sound, south-wide preparation and organization in readiness for 1964, when popular interest in the Presidential election should enhance the chances for large registration increases.

The Project is, as you know, conceived as a research enterprise. This underlying purpose has been pursued to date chiefly by prescribing and collecting field reports, and by extensive statistical collection and analysis. The reporting methods in use are inadequate, and the enlargement of Project staff will now make possible much more attentive observation and reporting. We have also now before the Rockefeller Foundation a proposal which, if granted, would permit the enlistment of academic scholars to contribute to Project field reporting and the other research processes of the Project. (The proposal is for funds which would be paid wholly to universities for the cost of work in conjunction with V. E. P.). We mention this, not from any assurance that the proposal will be approved, but as one aspect of research planning. We are currently engaged in a restatement of research design, and a copy of this will be sent to you when completed, within the next several weeks.

At the Project's inception, with an assured income for the first year of $262,000, we budgeted:

$187,692 -- for grants-in-aid
64,615 -- for Project operations
9,693 -- for S.R.C. overhead

This initial budget was, of course, made without benefit of experience, and allocation of funds will be reconsidered in preparing the second year's budget.

As you can see from Attachment A, however, grants-in-aid during the first months of the Project have been at approximately the budgeted rate. On the whole, we have found that this represents what seems to be a more or less optimum level for the present time, unless Project staff available for supervising field work could be enlarged beyond present budget expectations.

We are, however, convinced that the Project, in order to achieve the hopes and purposes of its sponsors and agents, requires financing that will permit (a) Project continuance into the Fall of 1964; and (b) grants-in-aid during the latter half of 1963 and 1964 at a higher rate than at present.

In considering the renewal of its grant, we hope that the Field Foundation will consider the amount and duration of its grant in light of the above.

We are, as always, grateful to the Foundation for its strong support to the cause of equal opportunity and southern advancement.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

ATTACHMENT A

Grants Received or Committed

Field Foundation	$ 75,000	for a one-year period
Taconic Foundation	250,000	" " two-year period
Stern Family Fund	124,000	" " two-year period
Other	3,649.49	

Grants-in-Aid from the Voter Education Project Committed as of January 5, 1963

VEP-1.:

All-Citizens Registration Committee	$ 3,600	
Durham Committee on Negro Affairs	2,500	
Congress of Racial Equality	8,625	
Southern Christian Leadership Conference	11,500	
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee	6,375	
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	17,250	
National Urban League	5,750	
Davidson County Intependent Political Council	3,000	
National Student Association	1,140	
American Friends Service Committee	2,000	
Federated Organization for the Cause of Unlimited Self-Development	1,000	
Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting	1,500	
Total		$ 64,240

VEP-2.:

Congress of Racial Equality	$12,800
Womanpower Unlimited (Mississippi)	1,000
Albany (Georgia) Movement	4,000
Council of Federated Organizations (Mississippi)	14,000
Greater Little Rock Voter Registration Campaign	2,000
Southern Christian Leadership Conference	15,700
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee	5,254
National Urban League	4,382
Jefferson County Voter Registration Campaign (Birmingham)	9,000
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	22,000
Madison County Coordinating Committee (Ala.)	1,200

Attachment A - continued
Page 2

All Citizens Registration Committee of Northern Virginia	$ 200		
Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters	4,000		
Total		$ 95,536	
Grand Total			$159,776

Expenditures of V.E.P. Office for 1962	$ 41,611.26
Overhead Payment to S.R.C. for 1962	$ 7,269.18

ATTACHMENT C

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
Crash Program Results

Agency	Location	Number of Voters Registered
Alabama Coordinating Association	40 Alabama Counties	1,742
All Citizens Registration Committee	Atlanta, Georgia	5,015
American Friends Service Committee	Jackson, Tennessee	969
CORE	Bishopville, South Carolina	293
	Sumter, South Carolina	1,099
CORE-NAACP	Baton Rouge, La., (1st Ward)	104
	Jackson, Mississippi	61
Durham Committee on Negro Affairs	Durham, North Carolina	3,700
Federated Organization for the Cause of Unlimited Self-Development	Baton Rouge, Louisiana (2nd Ward)	297
NAACP	Beaufort, South Carolina	423
	Columbia, South Carolina	349
	Greenville, South Carolina	150
	Clarksville, Tennessee	1,162
	Memphis, Tennessee	4,154
	Fayette/Haywood Counties, Tennessee	63
NAACP-SCLC	Charleston, South Carolina	1,135
	Chattanooga, Tennessee	1,800
	Knoxville, Tennessee	1,123
National Student Association	Raleigh, North Carolina	1,641
National Urban League	Winston-Salem, North Carolina	147

Attachment C - continued
Page 2

Agency	Location	Number of Voters Registered
SCLC	Ware, Liberty, Noxubee and Wilkes Counties	0
	Shreveport, Louisiana	137
	Chowan and Pasquotank Counties, North Carolina	250
	4th Congressional District, Virginia	3,100
SNCC	Jackson, Mississippi and the Delta	41
	Total Registered in Crash Programs	28,955

ATTACHMENT D

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
List of Grants
As of January 5, 1963
(Grants for Period August 1, 1962 - March 31, 1963)

Agency	Location	Total Amount of Grant
Congress of Racial Equality	Miami and Dade County, Florida $2,800	
	Pointe Coupee, Iberville, W. Baton Rouge, Washington, W. Feliciana, E. Feliciana, St. Helena, Tangipahoa, E. Baton Rouge (1st Ward only) Parishes, Louisiana $4,000	
	6th Congressional District, York, Sumter, Spartanburg, Clarendon, Fairfield Counties, South Carolina $6,000	$12,800
Womanpower Unlimited	Mississippi	1,000
The Albany Movement	Albany, Georgia	4,000
Council of Federated Organizations	Mississippi - primarily the Delta	14,000
Greater Little Rock Voter Registration Campaign	Little Rock, Arkansas	2,000
Southern Christian Leadership Conference	Caddo, Claiborne, DeSoto, Bienville, Webster Parishes, Louisiana $3,400	
	Etowah, Calhoun, Montgomery Counties, Alabama $2,000	

Agency	Location	Total Amount of Grant
	Tallahassee, Florida $ 600	
	Chattanooga, Tennessee $ 700	
	Chowan, Pasquotank, Northhampton, Bertie, Hertford Counties, North Carolina $2,000	
	Amelia, Appomattox, Brunswick, Dinwiddie, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nottoway, Powhatan, Prince George, Southampton Counties and Petersburg and Hopewell, Virginia $3,000	
	Bulloch, Mitchell, Sumter, Spaulding, Dekalb, Rockdale, Telfair, Hall, Greene, Morgan, Wilkes Counties and Columbus, Rome and Waycross, Georgia $4,000	$15,700
SNCC	Terrell, Peach, Marion, Lee, Early, Baker, Worth, Randolph, Calhoun Counties, Georgia $4,554	
	Orangeburg, South Carolina $ 700	5,254
National Urban League	Fort Worth, Texas	4,382
Jefferson County Voter Registration Campaign	Birmingham and Jefferson Counties, Alabama	9,000

Agency	Location	Total Amount of Grant
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	Louisiana - 5th Congressional District $3,000 Florida - Volusia, Broward, Alachua, Polk, Duval, Columbia, Orange, Bay, Escambia, Hillsborough, Pinellas, Polk Counties $6,000 North Carolina - Mecklenburg, Edgecombe-Nash, New Hanover Counties $4,000 South Carolina - Richland County $1,000 Tennessee - Hardeman, Haywood, Montgomery Tipton, Knox, Shelby, Fayette, Lauderdale $5,000 Virginia - Buckingham, Cumberland, Greensville, Prince Edward, Isle of Wight, Nansemond, Surry, Sussex counties, and Fredericksburg, Portsmouth, Roanoke, and Suffolk City $3,000	$22,000
Madison County Coordinating Committee	Huntsville, Alabama	1,200
All Citizens Registration Committee of Northern Virginia	Alexandria, Arlington, Fairfax, Loudoun, Prince William, Warren, Clark, and Fauquier Counties	200

Agency	Location	Total Amount of Grant
Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters	Chatham County $3,000	
	Liberty, McIntosh, Screven, Burke, Tatnall, Emanuel, Bryan, and Long Counties $1,000	4,000.00
		$95,536.00

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

January 7, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Your letter of January 4 and attachments, requesting additional assistance from the Field Foundation, will be brought to Mr. Hahn's attention upon his return from an extended field trip next week.

Sincerely,

Blanche G. Doskow

(Mrs.) Blanche G. Doskow
Assistant to Mr. Hahn

RECEIVED
JAN 8 1963

Web folder 1963

File

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

RECEIVED
JAN 21 1963

January 17, 1963

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

It was very thoughtful of you to send me the article "Viewpoint: James McBride Dabbs" by Reese Cleghorn, which appeared in the January 13th issue of THE ATLANTA JOURNAL. I found it very interesting reading.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President:

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

February 26, 1963

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for sending Mr. Hahn the following documents with your letter of February 22:

1) Approved Budget - 1963
2) Financial Statement - 1962
3) Executive Director's Report for 1962

These documents will have his attention when he returns to the office.

Sincerely,

Blanche G. Doskow

(Mrs.) Blanche G. Doskow
Assistant to Mr. Hahn

799-1358

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

March 6, 1963

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

It would be very helpful if you could supply me with fifteen copies of each of the following documents by March 15:

1) Your four-page letter of January 4, 1963 and attachments A, B and C

2) Your memorandum dated February 5, 1963 to Members of the Executive Committee and the attachment "A Statement Of The Research Aims And Methods Of The Voter Education Project"

Mailed 3/8/63

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

P.S.--In addition to the above, I would like 15 copies of the press release "Voter Education Project" dated March 1, 1963

Cr. Mel
Vel

RECEIVED
APR 10 1963
RECEIVED
APR 10 1963

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 9, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

It is a pleasure to send you written confirmation of Sunday's telephone conversation when I advised you that the directors of the Field Foundation acted affirmatively on the request of the Southern Regional Council for renewed support of the Voter Education Project. The resolution adopted by the board of directors is as follows:

> RESOLVED that the Corporation appropriate and contribute to Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia, the sum of $75,000, or as much thereof as shall be needed, to assist the Voter Education Project, for the twenty-month period beginning April 1, 1963, to be paid in full in April 1963.

CR
4/10/63
RHA

In accordance with the action of the board, I am enclosing with this letter the Foundation's check in the amount of $75,000, payable to the order of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., representing payment in full of the award and covering the twenty-month period beginning April 1, 1963.

You already understand, I know, that in making this grant, the Foundation does not wish to imply commitment for a continuance of support at the expiration of the award period.

The directors read with keen interest the reports on the Project's various field programs and agreed that the results were, on the whole, highly encouraging. They trust that this second Field Foundation grant for the Project will help in attracting additional funds for the financing of the program through the 1964 elections.

We know that you and your associates can be counted on to keep the Foundation well-informed as developments occur.

May we now have your acknowledgment of the enclosed check and your acceptance of the terms of the grant as set forth in this letter.

With every good wish to you, Wiley Branton and the many others who are contributing to the success of the program.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

April 11, 1963

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

The George Mitchell film, "The Face of the South," is distributed by the Anti-Defamation League. I spoke to them this morning, and they will be happy to send it up to you most any time. They suggest that you give me, as soon as you can, the date when you would want it, and they will book it for mailing to you then. This way the film will not be kept out of circulation, and you can have it as soon as you wish. The film is 16mm, and is black and white; it has never been printed in color. The sound track is not good, and to compensate for that ADL supplies a printed text of Mitchell's talk.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Monroe Schlactus, ADL

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 8, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Do ~~you have~~ a copy of the George Mitchell "Map Film" in either 16 mm. or 35 mm. you can send me so that it can be screened for our board? I assume that this is the film in which George was explaining about the Piedmont and the other areas, and I also assume that this is the film in color. If there are two different films and they are not currently in use, perhaps you could send both.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

April 16, 1963

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation
~~250 Park~~ Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

I acknowledge, on behalf of the Council, your letter of April 9, 1963 informing us that the Field Foundation has granted $75,000 for support of the Voter Education Project during the twenty-month period beginning April 1, 1963, and acknowledge also your enclosed check for $75,000. Our official receipt is enclosed.

We are most grateful to you and the Directors of the Foundation, not only for this assistance but for your indicated appreciation of the results to date of the Project.

Unless we have instructions from you to the contrary, we shall schedule disbursement of this grant over a twelve-month period beginning April 1, 1963. To do otherwise would result in a diminution of funds during the next year as compared with the funds which the Project had available and did largely spend during its first year of operation. If additional funds are granted from other sources, however, your authorization to use this grant through the fall of 1964 will be of the very greatest help.

The Project is now preparing a report of its first year's activities. A copy will be sent to you when it is completed.

Wiley Branton joins me in adding our personal note of thanks to you and your associates.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Encl. - 1. (Official receipt)
bc: Mr. Harold Fleming

✓bcc: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

file
cc: Beck
N.S.A.

PA ✓
MJ-file

Fidelity Union Stmt

April 26, 1963

Mr. W. Dennis Shaul, President
Mr. Timothy A. Manring, National Affairs Vice President
United States National Student Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Shaul and Mr. Manring:

I have your request for funds to pay lawyer's fee and expenses incurred in bringing suit against the State of Alabama so that two well-qualified Negroes, Mr. Marvin Carroll and Mr. David McGlathery, can be admitted to the University of Alabama branch at Huntsville for the summer quarter beginning in June, and it is a pleasure to send you herewith the Field Foundation's check in the amount of $5,500 for this purpose.

I note that Mr. Carroll and Mr. McGlathery, both employed as scientists by the Federal government -- Mr. Carroll at the Redstone Arsenal and Mr. McGlathery with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration -- applied for admission to the University of Alabama extension at Huntsville to take courses, which had been agreed to by their foremen and which would further their careers, and that they were denied admission for the 1963 spring quarter on insignificant technicalities. I note further that it is their wish to engage Mr. Charles Morgan, a white lawyer from Birmingham, as their attorney, and that the grant would be divided as follows, $500 for expenses of the case and $5,000 as attorney's fee.

You will understand, of course, that the Foundation in making this grant does not wish to imply that additional funds would be forthcoming for this purpose.

The Foundation has watched with interest the growing involvement of the United States National Student Association in the field of human relations and agrees that this is a special case which may contribute to an improvement in the process of desegregation at the Tuscaloosa campus of the University of Alabama over what happened at the University of Mississippi last Fall. We applaud the action of the Association in following through on its policy regarding equal educational opportunity for all regardless of race, religion or creed and with its interest in the desegregation of public education institutions.

We shall appreciate being kept informed on the Association's handling of this case in so far as member campuses are concerned and any information which becomes available to you which you feel might be of interest to the Foundation's directors.

At this time, may I have your official acknowledgment of the enclosed check?

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

file
Field Fd.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Manring, Mr. Timothy

REGARDING:

Correspondence to LWD and "Proposal for the Renewal of The Southern Student Human Relations Project" submitted to the Field Foundation, Inc.

DATE
June 4, 1963

(SEE)
NAME O&& OR SUBJECT:

U. S. National Student Association

Cc: ref
TSP

June 7, 1963

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

Timothy Manring has requested that I write to you regarding the proposal which the National Student Association has submitted for continuation of the Southern Human Relations Project. He sent me a copy of the prpposal, which I have read admiringly.

I think you already know that we have a good opinion of this Project. I don't really know what to say further, except to note that it seems to us a very good thing for the National Student Association to be actively involved and concerned in this area, and that we think it has gone about the job responsibly and effectively. Hopefully -- and, I believe, probably -- the opportunities for the kind of contribution that the Association can make will be increasing in the next couple of years.

We have had a close relationship with the Project since its inception. Not only is Mr. Dabbs

a member of the Project's advisory committee, but so, also, is our Director of Field Activities, Paul Anthony. Both of them share my high regard.

I do not, of course, have any opinion on the proposed budget, which you are in the better position than anyone to evaluate.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

PA ✓
MJ file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

June 10, 1963

RECEIVED
JUN 12 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I appreciate your writing in endorsement of the U. S. National Student Association's Southern Human Relations Project. Thank you very much.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

June 19, 1963

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Pauley:

It is with considerable pleasure that I advise you of the Field Foundation's affirmative action on your request for renewed support to the Georgia Council on Human Relations. The following resolution was adopted by the board of directors at a recent meeting:

> RESOLVED that the Corporation appropriate and contribute to Georgia Council on Human Relations, Atlanta, Georgia, the sum of $20,000, or as much thereof as shall be needed, to strengthen program, for the twenty-four month period beginning December 1, 1963, to be paid as follows: $10,000 in October 1963 and $10,000 in October 1964.

In accordance with the terms of the above resolution, we will send you the first payment on the award in October. At this time we will appreciate receiving your acceptance of the terms of the grant as set forth in this letter.

You already know that the Foundation, in making a grant, does not wish to imply commitment for renewal at the expiration of an award period. The directors have been heartened by your reports, although they recognize, as do you and Mr. Holmes, the difficulties involved in this sensitive area of human relations. With this grant, we at the Foundation extend our best wishes to you at the Council.

As is our custom, we shall wish to receive regular reports on the activities of the Georgia Council; financial reports should include audited statements of expenditures under the grant.

We shall look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

RECEIVED
OCT 21 1963

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 18, 1963

VJ - for
MJ - file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Your evaluation of the Stuart Woods' Manchester, Georgia project coincides with mine. Thanks for taking the time from a very busy schedule to help me. I am looking forward to seeing you at Tuskegee.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

October 17, 1963

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Max:

I am sorry that I have been so slow in responding regarding Stuart Woods. I have been running pretty fast lately, including a trip to Mississippi for a couple days, from which I have just returned. You come away from that state feeling awfully depressed, so perhaps this is an unfair time for me to be commenting on Mr. Woods' or anybody else's ideas.

I have a hard time seeing how the work which Woods proposes can be carried on by him as an individual without organizational sponsorship. Frances has already declined to be his sponsor, and I don't know off-hand where he could appropriately turn. He seems to have, or is expecting to have, support from people in the University of Georgia; perhaps in the new day dawning in Georgia, the University might take him on.

If, on the other hand, Woods is chiefly interested in getting a book out of this (and there is nothing wrong with that), I think his proposal would have to be considered on his merits as a researcher and writer. I don't

know what writing he has done or is capable of doing; his youth, and his academic and job backgrounds raise some questions about his research qualifications.

The proposal itself is interesting and very ambitious. This is true despite the fact that it is limited to one small county of the South.

I'll see you at Tuskegee.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

✓ J

you got any thought about this?

Yea, it ought to be forgotten. Money for some of the items mentioned here should go to the Georgia Council.

Jan 5-68

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

See

October 15, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Do you have any ideas for me about Stuart Woods' proposal which I believe we touched upon when you were in New York? A copy is enclosed.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enc.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 1, 1963

Rec'd 10/3

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing a prospectus from Stuart C. Woods who has negotiated unsuccessfully with Frances Pauley of the Georgia Council on Human Relations. I have not met Mr. Woods, but I have a hunch that he is more interested in becoming known as an author of an article in a national magazine and a book than he is in missionary work in a Georgia town. I have not seen anything in his prospectus to show that he ever has crusaded when there was no money in it. I am afraid I am prejudiced. I shall be glad to hear from you when you get the opportunity to write or call, and probably we can get a few minutes together down at Tuskegee toward the end of the month if you are working that into your schedule.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

PLEASE RETURN TO FIELD FOUNDATION

PROSPECTUS

For an economic and
social action project
to be conducted in a
small southern town.

NOTE: The details of the project described below are extremely confidential. Please limit distribution of this information to those persons whose consideration is essential for action on the proposal.

For further details contact: Stuart C. Woods
69 West 10th Street
New York, New York
OR 3-7475

CONFIDENTIAL

THE PROJECT

Purpose: The purpose of the project is three-fold:

1. To persuade the residents of a small Georgia town to extend equal economic, educational and social opportunities to all its citizens, regardless of race and without the necessity of boycotts, sit-ins or lawsuits.
2. To solicit new industry for the town, offering prospective employers not only excellent natural and civic resources, but also a community which has moved to solve its own social and economic problems without outside intervention.
3. To document what takes place in the town and offer an example to other small southern communities showing them how they might solve their own local problems.

Place: Manchester Georgia is located in Meriwether County in the west-central part of the state. In the 1960 census its population was 4,115, but since that time it has increased to slightly more than 6,000. This increase was effected by simply extending the city limits, making Manchester, at least on paper, one of the fastest growing towns in the world.

The town's principal employer is Callaway Mills, a textile company, followed by International Latex which operates a small brassiere factory. At present, local leaders are engaged in a rather frantic search for new industry. A search complicated by three conditions:

1. Callaway Mills is jealous of its labor supply and frightened of unions and is thus unreceptive to the idea of new business.
2. Every other small town in Georgia is also conducting a frantic search for industry, creating stiff competition.
3. Top management of prospective business is understandably reluctant to locate in an area which is potentially a racial trouble spot. In addition, many companies and their unions have an established policy of non-discrimination in hiring procedures, and this policy would be an almost certain area of discord with a small southern community.

In brief, Manchester is in deep economic trouble. Meriwether County is listed by the Federal Government as an economically depressed area, and those in a position of leadership do not realize the effect which their policy of racial discrimination is having on the economic situation. And they are either unaware of or prefer to ignore the moral consequences of their position.

Execution: The execution of the project will be divided into four loose phases:

1. An effort will be made to seek out the liberals and moderates in the community and gain their support, With the help of these people an attempt will be made to make business, civic and church leaders aware of their real situation and to solicit their active support in bringing about a change.
2. When enough support from local leaders is assured, a campaign to inform the general public of the situation will be initiated. Meetings with civic clubs, church groups the PTA etc., will be held and these groups will be furnished with accurate economic and sociological information concerning their situation.

   It is believed that when they are fully aware of the reasons for their dilemma they will be enough concerned to take action. At this point the leaders of the Negro and White communities will be brought together to discuss their differences and plan for the institution of needed changes.
3. When concrete steps have been taken to begin institution of the first of these changes and plans exist for the institution of others, the campaign for new industry will begin. During this campaign local leaders will be provided with up-to-date information and professional guidance by an expert in the field of business management.
4. When the project has begun to meet with some measure of final success, steps will be taken to inform the public at large of what has taken place, and advice and assistance will be offered to those communities who express an interest in the project.

People and organizations involved in the project: The project was conceived and will be largely executed by Stuart Woods, a native of Manchester who has been working in New York as an advertising and free-lance writer since October of 1960. Mr. Woods was born in Manchester and attended the public schools there. His family has lived in Meriwether County for more than 100 years and are respected members of the community. He holds a Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology from the University of Georgia, class of 1959. Mr. Woods will return to Manchester in September of this year to begin the project. During the period of the project he will travel in the Southeast to study other projects and incidents which are related to the Manchester project, and to New York periodically for consultation with advisers and other interested persons and groups.

In addition Mr. Woods will invite individuals who can offer advice or information to visit Manchester to observe the situation first hand.

Furnishing Mr. Woods with economic and sociological information is a team of professors at the University of Georgia, headed by Dr. Raymond Payne, Associate Professor of Sociology and acting head of the Sociology Department. Dr. Payne is working closely with the Bureau of Business Research at the University and with the Institute of Community and Area Development, also a part of the University.

Mr. Woods will make frequent trips to Athens, where the University is located, to consult with Dr. Payne and his colleagues.

When Manchester is ready to conduct its new search for industry Dr. Charles E. Summer, a management expert will offer advice and direction. Dr. Summer is Associate Professor of Management in the Graduate Business School of Columbia University, and has many personal contacts among top executives in American business.

Advice and information on the Negro community in Manchester is being provided by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, under the direction of Dr. John Morsell, Assistant to the Executive Secretary and Mr. Leon Cox, Field Secretary for Georgia.

Also offering advice are Mr. Alan Reitman, Associate Director of the American Civil Liberties Union in New York; and Mrs. Frances Pauley, Executive Director of the Georgia Commission on Human Rights, in Atlanta.

In addition to these people, Mr. Ralph McGill, the distinguished publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, has generously offered his advice and moral support to the project.

When the project has been completed a documented account of the project will be written by Mr. Woods and published in book form by Random House, one of America's most prominent publishers. In addition, a leading national magazine has expressed an interest in an article on the subject.

Duration of the project: It is anticipated that the project will require from two to five years for successful completion. Financing is being sought for a period beginning July 1, 1965 and ending December 31, 1965.

At that time the project will be re-evaluated and a decision will be made as to whether to request funds for an additional period of time.

Expense of the project: The project is expected to cost $11,000 for the period July 1 - December 31, 1963, and $18,000 for each twelve month period following. A detailed budget is attached. It is preferred but certainly not essential, that the entire amount come from one source.

Summary: Although the principal target is Manchester, the larger target is the entire South. If a small community such as Manchester can solve its own problems without outside intervention it will be a death blow to southern extremists who maintain that Whites and Negroes cannot share a community on equal terms. It will be a living, working example to other small southern towns that their fears concerning non-discrimination are unfounded, and that they themselves can achieve racial harmony in their own communities in a realistic and honorable way.

Those connected with the project firmly believe that, if even moderately successful this project can be one of the most significant forward steps in the field of Human Rights since the Supreme Court Decision of 1954.

CONFIDENTIAL

NOTE: The following budget has been arrived at after careful consideration of the expenses anticipated and consultation with individuals experienced in this kind of work. It is neither skimpy nor extravagant. Rather, we believe, it is realistic. It is of the greatest importance that the project be amply enough endowed that there will be no chance of curtailment of activity because of lack of funds.

A word of explanation about the anticipated telephone and automobile expenses. The telephone system in Manchester is independently owned and operated. Thus there is no direct dialing system and all long distance calls must be placed through an operator. Since Mr. Woods' activities in Manchester must, at least at first, be kept as quiet as possible, this procedure might well jeopardize the security of the project. Therefore, it will be necessary to have an Atlanta circuit installed in his Manchester home. The circuit will be expensive, costing about $200.00 per month but the expense will be partly compensated for by the elimination of toll charges to Atlanta and the reduction by half of the toll charges to Athens, where the University is located. The circuit is a considerable, but very necessary expense.

Because of periodic trips to the University and other travel in the Southeastern area Mr. Woods will probably drive about two thousand miles per month. This is not an excessive estimate since normal driving in Manchester is about one thousand miles per month, there being no public transportation.

CONFIDENTIAL

BUDGET

1963 (July 1 - December 31)

$5,000.	-	Salary
$1,200.	-	Automobile expenses (computed at 10¢ per mile 2,000 miles per month)
$1,000.	-	Personal travel
$ 400.	-	Travel for other persons
$ 750.	-	Secretarial service
$ 850.	-	Office equipment, postage and supplies, books and other research material
$1,800.	-	Telephone (Atlanta circuit and long distance service)
$11,000.	Total	

Each twelve month period

(beginning January 1, 1964)

$8,000.	-	Salary
$2,400.	-	Automobile expenses
$1,500	-	Personal travel
$1,000.	-	Travel for other persons
$1,500.	-	Secretarial services, office supplies and postage; books and research material
$3,600.	-	Telephone expenses
$18,000.	Total	

✓ I
✓ Copy
PA
MJ - file

October 23, 1963

Mr. Maxwell Hahn, Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Please excuse the delay in answering your letter concerning Mr. Woods. I have been on vacation for ten days.

I talked with Mr. Woods when I was in New York last May. I thought he was familiar with public relations but had doubts about his ability at community organization. I also had the same impression that you expressed - that he wanted freedom to write a book.

He told me in a later telephone conversation that Morris Abram had suggested that he apply for Foundation funds under the supervision of the Georgia Council. Morris thought he had an imaginative approach. After careful consideration I was reluctant to take this responsibility.

Mr. Woods had specifically stated that he did not want the help of our organization, in fact he wanted us to stay out of Manchester. Although I understand he is a native of Manchester I still had grave doubts as to his ability either to desegregate the town or to successfully oppose the Callaway Mills in bringing in new industry to the town.

I really would like to see what the young man might do but I could not conscientously say it was an important way to spend $29,000.00 in Georgia.

The Callaway family is a very conservative, paternalistic, powerful group in this state. I can not imagine them being sympathetic with a project as outlined by Mr. Woods. However, Mr. Hahn, I only had one conference with Mr. Woods and several phone calls so I could be mistaken in my judgement. But these are the reasons that we took no action on his request.

Many thanks for your wonderful help.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Frances Pauley

FP:es

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 6, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have your letter of December 3rd in response to my November 14th letter. I do not think that we should defer this idea for two months. At our last board meeting the directors decided that we should have a "60 day" rule to the effect that applications will not be put on the agenda for discussion and action unless they have been in the office for at least 60 days. We will make an exception for truly emergent needs, but I do not think the particular matter which we discussed could be treated as an exception. This is one of those periods when we do not have a set date for our next board meeting, but I am doing my best to be prepared.

What is Norman Jimerson's denominational affiliation? I mentioned to a friend that Norman needed to get out of Birmingham, and this friend said he knew of a denominational group which might be interested. I take it, though, that the group will not take on anyone who doesn't come from its particular fold.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

File
Foundations: Field
1963

Cy. ref - State Councils on Human Relations
Stern

December 3, 1963

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

Your letter of November 14 raises an interesting point. I think it is sound. I am not sure when I shall next be in New York, but I do expect to come up within the next two months. Could we talk about this when I do?

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

FA
VJ
MJ-file

November 14, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I don't know whether Nat Griswold sent you a copy of his appeal for $28,000 payable over three years for this proposed new "service". My present feeling is if the Foundation wants to put more money into state councils, it should make the additional grant to Southern Regional Council and let you allocate it where it will do the most good. Conceivably there could be special cases where the Foundation would want to make an exception, but I hope this isn't necessary. I would recommend that we not upset the present special project relationships with the South Carolina Council and the Georgia Council. Possibly these, also, should come out of the general pot.

We have sent declinations to 'Happy' Lee in respect to his fund-raiser project and also to North Carolina Council and its special project to add field staff to promote employment.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

November 14, 1963

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

I have read with interest your letter and the memorandum describing the proposed local liaison service. It seems to me that much of what you outline falls within the normal work load of a state council on human relations. I recognize, of course, that there is a limit to how much a small staff can take on.

I feel that you should seek other funds without delay for our board in its meeting November 12th showed a disposition to refrain from taking on any additional special projects for state councils. As you know, we make a grant to Southern Regional Council in aid of state councils.

In view of our board's attitude, and considering also that the date for our next meeting has not been set, we are poor prospects for either a quick answer or favorable action.

Good luck to you in your efforts to find other funds.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

cc: Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council

VIA AIR MAIL February 9, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Hooray! You're coming home!

I've made a reservation for you at the Dinkler Motor Hotel, 98 Forsyth for 3 nights beginning Sunday,-the 13th. (Marked for late arrival.)

Everybody is going to be glad to see you.

Sincerely,

Mildred

File

November 22, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

There are many matters about which I will be writing you soon, but this is of the first importance. Enclosed is a resolution prepared by Pat Watters at the request of the Council, and unanimously passed by the Members on November 16.

I think it expresses the affection, respect, and appreciation of us all.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Resolution)

The Southern Regional Council at its 22nd annual meeting expresses its respect and appreciation for the work and character of Leslie W. Dunbar as its executive director from 1961 to 1965, and as a member of its staff from 1959.

By his qualities of intellect, of eloquence, of practical skills in the guidance of human affairs, and of humane appreciation for people, Dr. Dunbar has made a lasting impression for the good on the present reality of the South, and has strengthened our hope for the attainment of the goals of equality and excellence.

We remember (and will keep trying to justify) the strength of his belief in all the people of the South, and his confidence in the ability of all of us to achieve a people's highest potential.

Leslie Dunbar is a man in a time of "image making" who creates immediately the impression that here is an honest and honorable man, with a great depth of integrity, an integrity tempered by a gentleness of manner and spirit. Much of the success of his work with us is attributable to the mark of his personality, the impact of this "image" of his on the South and the nation.

But more important is the fact known to us who know him that the impression he makes is not merely "an image," but is the very substance of this most remarkable man with whom we worked and with whom we are still associated in mutual concerns and beliefs, and whom we hold in affection and respect.

We have been honored by our association with him.

# #

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

FIELD FOUNDATION

REGARDING

Reese Cleghorn and book on Voter Education asking guidance on what could be said regarding foundation interests, principles, etc.

DATE

12/3/65

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

HARCOURT BRACE VEP BOOK

MS - file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 16, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

The Foundation has reviewed and discussed your proposal of December 7, 1965 for a new program of voter education in the South. As you know, the proposal deals with problems of much concern to the Foundation.

At its meeting this week, the Foundation voted to make another substantial contribution in this area and also expressed readiness to continue its interest during the present period of urgency.

You state in your letter of December 7 that the proposal outlines an approach and that it needs to be refined. We note also that you will have an Advisory Committee. We suggest, therefore, that after your Advisory Committee has met and discussed the plan that you write to us your further decisions about the content and administration of the program.

I can assure you that the Foundation shares your belief that quick action is needed and is prepared, therefore, to act promptly on the advice we receive.

We would be helped also by any further report you can give us as to the full support the proposed program will have from the other principal agencies concerned with voter education.

Currently, the Foundation is supporting voter education programs of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries' Citizenship Education Project and of the Highlander Folk School. We would, of course, trust that any new program would take advantage of whatever resources these ongoing efforts can supply.

With very best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

MS-file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 29, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

As I said to you on the telephone today I did at last receive a copy of Black Belt Schools and read the printed version last night. Being as objective about it as possible I believe it is one of the best publications SRC has put out. This is very solid stuff.

I would be personally interested in knowing about the distribution of it and any plans for program use you may have. Did you get it to schools of teacher education as well as to public education administrators? I don't know whether you could carry it off, but I think the pamphlet would be the basis for an excellent small conference. In fact the proposals in it should be, I think, getting some attention from the U.S. Office of Education. You might ask Art Levin whether he thinks that is a fruitful possibility.

The quality of the content makes all the more regrettable the typos and other printing errors. I guess you have to be philosophical about these things, whatever that means, but I doubt that Ross can be.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

cc: Ross Greene
Art Levin

January 14, 1966

file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Les:

This is to request the Foundation's consideration in increasing the support of the Council's general operations from $25,000 per year to $40,000 per year for the three years 1966 through 1968.

For a number of years the Field Foundation has been one of the few foundations willing to support the Council's general operations; this in addition to the Foundation's generous support of several of our major projects. Most sources of support are, as you know, interested only in funding special projects.

This, also as you know only too well, creates serious problems for us. The "general operations" expenditures of SRC finance the heart of the organization and is, in addition to administration, the on-going and stable program of the Council. It is, too, the source of the development, supervision, and support of the several projects sponsored by SRC. From this operation comes all of our field work and most of our research and information services and publications.

In a sense the Council is currently in a period of affluence. We have received a grant of $324,000 per year for three years from the Ford Foundation for special projects and an additional grant from that foundation of $100,000 per year

for three years in support of the state Councils on Human Relations. Other major projects are being contemplated.

However, as you will see from the enclosed schedule of proposed budgets and income forecasts, we have yet to raise $105,000 to meet our general operations budget. These funds are essential if our needed programs are properly developed and if the special projects are adequately supported.

For these reasons this request is respectfully submitted.

Please know that we are deeply grateful for the support and interest of the Field Foundation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
The Field Foundation

Dear ~~Mr. Dunbar:~~ Les:

This is to request ~~of~~ the Foundation's consideration in increasing the ~~Foundation's~~ support of the Council's general operations from $25,000 per year to $40,000 per year for the three years 1966 through 1968.

For a number of years the Field Foundation has been one of the few ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ foundations willing to support the Council's general operations; this in addition to the Foundations generous support of several major projects. Most sources of support Council's are, as you know, ~~xx~~ government interested only in funding special projects.

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that foundation of $100,000 per year for three years in support of the state Council's on Human Relations. Other major projects are being contemplated.

However, asyou will see from the enclosed schedule of proposed budgets and income forecasts, we have yet to raise $105,000 to meet our general operations budget. These funds are essential if our needed programs are properly developed and if the special projects are adequately supported.

For these resons this request is respectfully submitted.

Please know that we are deeply grateful for the support and interest of the Field Foundation.

Sincerely

PB

fine
Field Fd.
Cr. ref.
S.C. VEP.

PA
SNS-file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 21, 1966

Mr. Richard Miles
South Carolina Voter Education Project
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Miles:

On September 7, 1965 you addressed an application to the Foundation for support of your work. The Foundation has now made a substantial contribution to the Southern Regional Council for a southwide program of voter registration and education. The project will enable Southern Regional Council to assist local groups such as yours, and we are, therefore, suggesting that you enter at once into discussions with SRC.

Very best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

cc: Vernon Jordan ✓

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

Rec'd 1/31/66

MT - file

January 28, 1966

Reverend Will D. Campbell, Director
Committee of Southern Churchmen
1106 Nineteenth Avenue South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Reverend Campbell:

Confirming our discussion, I am pleased to inform you that the Directors of the Foundation have authorized a grant of $2,060 to the Committee, for the purpose of distributing in the state of Mississippi 2,000 paperback copies, more or less, of the 1966 revision of James Silver's book, Mississippi: The Closed Society. Our check in this amount is enclosed.

Our understanding is that you will carry out this distribution in association with the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

Our further understanding is that the publisher will sell these copies to you for this purpose at a discounted price of approximately $0.95 each, and that you estimate a handling cost of approximately $0.08 each.

We are very glad to assist you in this endeavor. May we please have your acknowledgment of this grant and its terms?

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dumbar
Executive Director

LWD/je
Enc.
CC - Professor James Silver
Mr. Frank E. Smith
Mr. Kenneth Dean
Mr. Paul Anthony
Mr. William Goodman

File — Foundations "Field"

January 31, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is to formally acknowledge receipt of the Foundation's contribution of $100,000 in support of the Council's program in voter education. Our receipt is enclosed.

We note the conditions of the grant and shall abide by them. You will also receive periodic reports on the development of this program.

Please know we are deeply grateful for the support of the Foundation and for your own support.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 21, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am very pleased to be able to inform you that the Foundation has granted $100,000, in response to your proposal of December 7, 1965 and other submissions, toward the support of a new southwide program of voter registration and education. The Foundation understands that this project, administered by Southern Regional Council, will draw on the full participation of many agencies and local groups and will unite their efforts. The award is for the calendar year 1966 and our check for $100,000 is enclosed.

The grant is made pursuant to the following resolution:

RESOLVED that the Corporation appropriate and contribute to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. the sum of $100,000, or as much thereof as shall be needed, for the support of a southwide program of voter registration and education in coordination with other concerned agencies and local groups. The award, to be paid in full in January 1966, is made on the basis of the Council's proposal of December 7, 1965 to the Foundation and is a contribution toward the calendar 1966 budget of the project.

Please send us an official acknowledgement of the enclosed check and your acceptance of the terms of the grant as set forth in this letter. If public announcement of the grant is made, we would like to have a copy of the news release or article.

The Foundation is aware that our grant is not sufficient to cover the entire budget you have adopted and which we regard as quite reasonable. We are hopeful, therefore, that you will succeed in raising the balance needed from other sources and would appreciate being kept informed by you regarding this. We understand, also, that the effectiveness of the program probably requires continuation for a period longer than one year. I am, therefore, authorized to inform you that, although no commitment is made for future support, the Foundation is prepared to consider the needs of this project during 1967 and 1968.

May I say in conclusion that we wish you every success in this important endeavor.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc.
LD:la

CR. $100,000
1-24-66 AL

MJ - file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

February 2, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I think you would want to have and to answer this letter.

I also am glad to hear about Paul Green.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je
Enc.

Southern Appalachian Studies

Auspices

Research Committee Representing Berea College,
Council of Southern Mountains, Fifteen Religious Denominations

Assisted by

Representatives of State Universities of the Region

CENTRAL STAFF
DR. W. D. WEATHERFORD
Director of Administration
DR. THOMAS FORD
Director of General Research
DR. EARL BREWER
Director of Religious Research
DR. RUPERT VANCE
Research Consultant

RESEARCH HEADQUARTERS
BEREA, KY.

Black Mt. NC

Jan 27. 1966

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta Ga

Dear Dr. Dunbar: I am very late at reading the minutes of your executive meeting Nov 16 in which I discovered you had elected my very dear friend Paul Green ~~the~~ life fellow. That delights me more than your electing me but you to the same honor, for Paul Green is a very rare man both in ability and spirit. I have just written him.

I read everything you send me for I am deeply interested. I think you are doing a creative job.

Thanks for sending me the minutes

Sorry we are losing you to a foundation

Sincerely
W D Weatherford

February 3, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Les:

I will be at your office at 12:30 p.m. next Wednesday. I will call that morning to confirm that the lunch is still on.

The appointment with Ford begins at lunch on Thursday.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Air Mail

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Field Foundation

REGARDING

United States National Student Association

See ltr. of 3/2/66 to P. A. from James A. Johnson asking for comments

with attached letter to Leslie Dunbar from Philip Sherburne, Pres., U. S. Nat. Student Assoc.

DATE

3/2/66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Filed ~~Nation Affx~~
U. S. National Student Association

Cr. ref Robert Dennis

March 7, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Les:

Paul has asked me to reply to your letter of February 23rd inquiring about Robert Dennis. I have met Dennis in New York, conferred with him at length there and am presently engaged in a continuing correspondence with the young man. Planners for Equal Opportunity with which he is associated seems to me a worthy effort on the part of a group which has been slow to use its professional training, position and influence to ameliorate the demoralizing and hopeless conditions endured by many in our society. The PEO is a spur and example to other planners and could result in a new crop of planners with social conscience emerging from our university graduate schools. For these reasons I support and am a member of PEO.

The proposal Dennis included for possible funding seems reasonable and worth-while. I would be interested in knowing the training and positions of the supervisors listed. Dennis made a pilot study last summer in Knoxville for PEO. I believe you have seen it; if not, I would be happy to send my copy to you for review. Studies like Knoxville need to be done with the meticulous attention to detail and obvious professional training Dennis' paper indicated. I must add that the paper was not very well organized. I would like to have a hand in determining which cities in the South are chosen for study; I believe I could be constructive in this.

Perhaps my recommendation for funding seems hestitant. The reason is my assessment of Dennis. The young man is a zealot, righteously indignant and uncompromising. The conclusions of the Knoxville study are written in such a way that they alienate local citizens of good will besides antagonizing politicians and vested interests.

His way of approaching a situation and mine are entirely different; I believe in the "soft sell" while he demands "confrontation." With Dennis in an influential position with PEO's summer program I have an idea that the ten studies proposed would be carried out and written up much as was that on Knoxville. And for the sake of SRC's work, I prefer that he not antagonize those cities where it seems I have made headway with officials and planners.

On the other hand, the desperate housing situation for non-whites needs zealots like Dennis, and it would be a great waste if he were lost to the civil rights movement. If the PEO summer project cannot be funded then I would like to see Dennis supported in some way, perhaps connected to an activist group like CORE or SNCC. After his agitating prepared the way, I could step in, contact city officials and help them put the pieces back together. In cities where I have no entree or which refuse to acknowledge their problems I can do much more with planners and the "city hall" type after he softens them up with a bit of shock treatment.

To put it bluntly, I am in favor of the PEO project, and I support Dennis -- but at arm's length; our programs can be complementary even if our methods are antithical.

Sincerely yours,

Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA
Director
Urban Planning Project

MGS/jdg

Rec'd 2/24/66

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

MS

Februarh 23, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Could you and Moreland Smith give me some thoughts on the attached? Is this something that could tie into Moreland's program? Would it be in the way?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je
Enc.

PLANNERS FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

76 Reade Street • Room 202 New York, N. Y. 10007

TEMPORARY
POLICY COMMITTEE

Donald Benjamin
Carla Cohen
Paul Davidoff
Herbert Gans
Justin Gray
Chester Hartman
Robert Heifetz
Henry Hightower
Peggy Latimer
Pedro Lopez
W. Roy Newsome
Mark Taylor
William Toole
Walter Thabit,
Chairman

TEMPORARY
STEERING COMMITTEE

Peter Abeles
Michael Abeloff
Arnold Albert
Rita Barrish
Robert Dennis
Charles Kaswan
Robert Heifetz
Frances Piven
Harry Schwartz
Walter Thabit,
Chairman

February 21, 1966

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The enclosed proposal has been developed by Planners For Equal Opportunity to continue studies of the impact of public plans and programs on minority groups. As you will note it is quite similar in scope to the voluntary work I did last year in Knoxville, Tennessee which was submitted to you last fall.

There are several elaborations of the central idea, also. Among these the educational opportunities for planning students who will work on the project should be significant. Many members of our group think that the social impact of planning programs is not sufficiently emphasized in planning curricula and that the experience gained in this project will significantly broaden students' understanding of this factor.

Moreover, by working in several cities we hope to develop systematic knowledge (assembled in report form) of actual practices which will be presented to appropriate people in government and the profession.

Another important element of the proposal is the provision of a staff person who can provide continuing assistance to community groups after summer workers have completed their tasks. My Knoxville experience suggests that some technical assistance after preparation of the report could be very useful while absence of it leaves laymen s omewhat unsure of themselves.

Perhaps after you have reviewed the proposal, you will suggest a time to discuss it in detail? I will look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Robert B. Dennis

Robert B. Dennis

A PROGRAM FOR CITY PLANNERS & PLANNING STUDENTS TO SPEND THE SUMMER OF 1966 IN MAJOR URBAN AREAS UNDERTAKING EVALUATORY STUDIES OF THE IMPACT OF GOVERNMENT PLANNING, HOUSING AND RENEWAL PROGRAMS ON NONWHITES AND THE POOR

A. GOALS

The raison d'etre for this proposal is the assumption held by many planners, based on personal observation and sporadically collected data from several cities, that present government efforts in the field of housing, planning and renewal are at best failing to meet the true needs of the disadvantaged groups in our society and at worst are actually exacerbating their problems. The goals of the summer project are first to demonstrate through systematic, empirical study the validity or invalidity of this assumption, and second to provide resources and information to local groups involved with these issues.

Assuming the validity of this assumption, the results of the summer project have a fivefold purpose:

1) To confront the Federal Government (and state and local governments, where appropriate) with concrete evidence of the impact of its major housing and renewal programs, evidence which may demonstrate the failure to meet stated goals of the Great Society and may serve to document violation of Federal statutes and executive orders.

2) To confront the planning profession with a clear picture of the role which planners are playing in the development and implementation of programs which may have a deleterious effect on nonwhites and the poor. Such a confrontation will hopefully provoke a reassessment of the planner's role and the role of the American Institute of Planners, either through clarification of whether present activities violate the stated goals of the profession or its rules of professional conduct, or through possible restatement of the profession's purposes and responsibilities.

3) To confront the planning schools with the issue of how the tools of urban planning are being used and to pose the issue of the relevance of what is being taught in planning programs to the real problems that exist in our cities.

4) To provide individual planning students with an independent (although closely supervised) project which will require use of their best analytic and interpretive skills and which will teach them the maximum amount about urban problems and programs in the shortest amount of time.

5) To develop contact with local action groups, both as a source for information and ideas, and with a view to establishing future ties of a more directly helpful nature, whereby planners can assist local groups in the preparation of plans and and perform other advocate-planner activities. (These contacts will necessarily be limited by the extent to which they do or do not interfere with the primary research goals of the project).

B. RECRUITMENT

Both professional planners and planning students will be recruited following a program to publicize the project widely. For students an effort will be made to secure official credit for the summer project. Recruitment will be made under one of two alternate plans:

a) commitment of the entire summer (10 - 12 weeks);
b) commitment of a shorter time(probably 3 - 4 weeks), preceding or following the student's regular summer employment or during a working planner's vacation time.

Pay will be modest (ca. $75 - 100 per week, plus travel expenses).

C. STUDY AREAS

Planners will be sent to approximately 8 - 10 major cities to be selected at a future date, depending in part on the preferences and talents of the planners and their supervisors. Disproportionate emphasis will be placed on the South, although cities from all parts of the country will be included. An effort will be made to study a representative range of cities by size, geographical area, population composition, extent of program activity, etc. Planners and students will work in teams of 2 - 4 persons, with the possibility of a single team studying more than one city.

D. SUPERVISION

The key element of this project is close, continuous supervision by a senior person in the planning profession. This is done in order to insure competent work and to avoid the possibility that the results of the summer project will be dismissed as unprofessional and irresponsible. Supervision will have the following elements:

1. initial review of the study outline with the team (a general study outline for the project will be prepared, applicable to all cities);

2. supervision of pre-arrival study of the city from existing data and reports and attempts to identify and contact relevant individuals and organizations in advance (in particular, it is hoped that planners will have access to other professional planners through introduction by the supervisor and assistance of AIP);

3. at least one trip of several days duration to the study by the supervisor;

4. ongoing written and telephonic contact to assess progress and deal with immediate problems;

5. close review (and possibly joint writing) of the final report.

E. MODE OF STUDY

The planning team's dominant role will be that of independent researchers, seeking out all sources of information, on the scene for the stated purpose of evaluating the impact of government housing and planning programs on the disadvantaged. The major concentration of the evaluation study will be on existing and proposed Federal (and state) programs in the field of housing, planning and renewal. Emphasis will be primarily on public housing, urban renewal and highways. Other areas which may be studied (but which will receive less emphasis) are: code enforcement, zoning, capital budget, master plan, municipal services, assessment practices, annexation and the workings of the private real estate market.

F. STAFF

The core group of planners who have developed this proposal and who will be carrying out the project are all members of Planners for Equal Opportunity, an organization of city planners and related professionals established in 1964 to bring to bear planning skills and concepts to the struggle for equal economic and social opportunity in American society. The principal participants are:

Paul Davidoff, Chairman, Department of City Planning, Hunter College
Robert Dennis, Pratt Institute
Herbert Gans, Center for Urban Education, New York City
Justin Gray, Institute for Public Administration, New York City
Chester Hartman, MIT-Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies
Robert Heifetz, Department of City Planning, Columbia University
Frances Piven, Columbia University School of Social Work
Thomas Reiner, Janet Reiner, University of Pennsylvania
Walter Thabit, Planning Consultant, New York City

This group is presently approaching the major city planning schools to request their aid and support and is currently contacting senior people in the planning professions to ask their participation in the summer project, either as sponsors or supervisors.

In addition to individual team supervisors, there will be an overall project coordinator, whose task it will be:

1. to coordinate all plans for study design, recruitment and financing;

2. to act as full-time general supervisor during the summer months;

3. to prepare the final project report from the series of individual city reports, and develop a set of recommendations.

Following the summer months, a full-time staff person will be required to oversee the continuing functions of the summer project:

1. to press for implementation of the report's recommendations at the government level and within the profession;

2. to develop further contacts with local actions groups. This latter function involves seeing the maximum use is made of the report locally and developing further projects and forms of assistance which members of PEO can offer to local groups.

G. BUDGET

1. Study teams. It is estimated that the average unit would be a team of three studying a city for four weeks.

3 planners @ $90 (ca.) per week for 4 weeks	$ 1,080
Travel: $150 average round trip per person	450
Supervisor: $250 supervisory fee + $200 travel expenses	450
	$ 1,980
TEN CITIES	$19,800

2. Project Coordinator: 12 weeks full-time + 12 weeks half time @ $250/week	4,500
3. Post-summer full-time staff person @ $10,000 year + $5,000 travel and expenses - 1 year	15,000
4. Office, phone, secretarial, etc.	10,000
	$49,300

February, 1966

12:

via air mail

March 8, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Thought you would be interested in the enclosed.

For several purposes I will be in New York on Thursday and Friday, the 10th and 11th. At this point most of Thursday is free, though I hope to see David Hunter and Oscar Cohen during the day. First thing Thursday morning I will call your office to determine if you are available, and if we need to get together.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

file

Cy. rec'd from Ford for advance copy of Ed. "Paperbacks Proj"

ES
MJ

March 14, 1966

Dr. Eli Ginzberg
Conservation of Human Resources
Columbia University
New York, New York 10027

Dear Eli:

I am delighted that your book is coming out in paperback. The only suggestion I have, right now at least, as to how you might get it into Southern schools and libraries is that you be in touch with Paul Anthony. I don't really know much about it, but I do know that Southern Regional Council is about to embark on a program financed by the Ford Foundation for heavy distribution of paperbacks around the South.

If I get any other thoughts, I shall let you know.

Good luck!

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je

CC - Mr. Paul Anthony

March 14, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Thanks for the time and the good visit on Thursday.

The Gaston report is being sent separately.

I was able to see Stephen Currier briefly on Thursday and again on Friday. Presumably our request for renewal of general operations support will be approved, though I was dismayed that Jane Lee brought up the question of "Ford riches" and the matter of seeking such support in new places.

New World will probably grant $8,000 to allow SRC to suppliment the programs and costs of school desegregation conferences in eight states, sponsored by the Civil Rights Commission.

There seems to be no end to anything other than rent money -- though I remember clearly your warning and concern!

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Enclosure - 1. (Zeroxed copy of Ltr. from Arthur Singer - Carnegie Corp. - dtd. March 11, 1966)

File - Foundations
1964
$75,000 recorded in money book 4/4/64
Refile accordingly
Cr. ref. VEP

April 24, 1964

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

On behalf of the Council I acknowledge with deep appreciation your letter of April 4, 1964 informing us of the Foundation's grant of $75,000 as terminal assistance for the Voter Education Project for the 9-month period beginning April 1, 1964. Our official receipt is enclosed for the check in the full amount which accompanied your letter.

We are in full agreement with the other terms of the grant as specified by you.

You state your belief that we shall "carry forward this project in this critical year with all the competence and spirit which you have displayed earlier in your pace-setting endeavor." I cannot tell you how sincerely gratified we are to have this expression of your confidence. We shall in every way we possibly can fulfill it.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

cc: Mr. Wiley A. Branton

Rec'd 4/6/64 Acknowledge
File
Cr. Mg. D.E.P.

WBC
V
JH
LD

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 4, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am pleased to send you official confirmation of the Field Foundation's award which has been voted for the Voter Education Project. In renewing support for this project, the directors adopted the following resolution:

#75,000 CK
4/6/64
RHA

> RESOLVED that the Corporation appropriate and contribute to Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia, the sum of $75,000, or as much thereof ~~as shall be needed,~~ as terminal assistance for ~~the~~ Voter Education Project, for the nine-month period beginning ~~April 1, 1964~~, to be paid in full in April 1964.

In accordance with the terms of the above resolution, I am enclosing the Foundation's check in the amount of $75,000 to the order of Southern Regional Council, Inc., representing payment in full of the award and covering the nine-month period beginning April 1, 1964. As noted above, the board views this grant as terminal for this purpose; it is their hope that other funds will be attracted to the project so that assistance will be sufficient to carry the project through the writing of the final report for publication by mid-1965.

The directors agree with the Council that this project is of "unsurpassed importance for the strengthening of American democracy" --, that, for the Negro, the ballot presents a sure way for the advancement of his cause. As you well know, the pressures for funds in the race relations field are great; the Field Foundation cannot, as a result, supply all that may be requested. You and your associates will, we know, carry forward this project in this critical year with all the competence and spirit which you have displayed earlier in your pace-setting endeavor.

The customary reports, including an audited financial statement, will be welcomed as they become available. We shall be especially interested to see the final research results upon completion.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council

April 4, 1964

We would appreciate receiving a copy of any public announcement which may be made concerning the Foundation's grant.

At this time, may we have your official acceptance of the terms of the grant as set forth above, and your acknowledgment of the enclosed check?

With every good wish to you, to Mr. Branton and to all who are contributing to the success of this project.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

May 3, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

file

Dear Les:

I shall be in New York on Wednesday, May 11, to attend a meeting of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty. I will call your office that morning to determine if we have any business to conduct.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File
Field Foundation
1966

May 3, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

The enclosed note from Stanfield reflecting a phone conversation with Ulmer is the third-hand information I am able to get about the New Orleans Community Action Project. Clearly it is more subjective than a sound reaction should be.

I think the proposal reads well but have some doubt of its implementation given the setting (of New Orleans), the likely staffing, and the proposed budget.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

letter signed by KM

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

Paul:

Ulmer says that he has never met Lon Hill, has only talked to him on the telephone, and got an unfavorable impression from the conversation. He received a handwritten proposal for $15,000 from him. Ulmer says he was "not too keen" on the proposal and that it seemed "too subjective" to him.

Al relays another person's comment (Rick Stevens) that Hill is "a wild man."

Hill worked for CORE in New Orleans, but got kicked out. He claims that it was because ~~hi~~ he is white.

Ed S.

PA

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 2, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Can you, or can you have Al, Vernon or Ed, give me a reading on this fairly soon?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

Rec'd 5/9/66

File Feed 7a

cy. ref. Ark. Council re: rejection of M.J. A.C.H.R. Proposal for financial support

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 6, 1966

Reverend Walter B. Clancy, Chairman
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Walter:

This acknowledges, at long last, your letter and proposal of March 29. I have not been altogether inactive on this even though I have not written sooner. I must report, however, that I think there is no chance of Field Foundation support.

This does not mean that I do not agree with you that Nat Griswold in particular and the Arkansas Council in general have a valuable research job to do. We simply regrettably cannot be of help with this one.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je

Field Fd- 1966

May 19, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Sorry to have missed you last week in New York. I did learn you were interested in certain information on state-supported Negro colleges. I hope the enclosed will be of help. If it is not sufficient, let us know and we will attempt to get more information.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Enclosures: Memo from Glenda Bartley dtd. May 18, 1966 on sources of information for appropriations to institutions by state; chart showing enrollment and appropriations for Negro state colleges from 1962 - 1965, and total state appropriations for higher education in thousands of dollars; article
April 22 1966 --- from SCIENCE, "Integration: Negro College Hires and Impatient Briton"; notes on a conversation with Dr. James L. Miller, Assoc. Dir. for Research, SREB.; article of 5/10/66 from JDN, "Negro Colleges in South Receive $5 Million Grant."

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

Rec'd 5/23/66

File
Cr. ref Opie Shelton + Cecil Alexander

MJ - file

May 20, 1966

Cecil Alexander,
Finch, Alexander, Barnes, Rothchild and Paschal
70 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Cecil:

I have just read Opie Shelton's piece in the Atlanta Magazine for May: "Patience, Punks and Pinks". I can't recall anything recently that has made me feel more distressed and discouraged.

My heart bleeds for Opie and all those other "awful lot of white moderates" who stood up and were counted and were bombarded with "epithets". My heart bleeds, however, not because this may in a very few cases have been true but because there <u>were</u> so few cases and because people like Opie now line up for hero medals.

What right has he or anyone else in Atlanta white leadership to write a piece like this? I am just back from Denver where I attended the annual meeting of the Council on Foundations. That meeting was supposed to be in Atlanta. It was not, because as recently as December 1965 the Metropolitan Foundation of Atlanta, which would have been the local host, vetoed the participation of a Negro on the program: specifically, Rufus Clement! What right has Opie Shelton got to talk about patience when the business committee of which he is a spokesman gives almost no financial aid to the Atlanta University Center, while boasting about it all over the country and in its flashy ads in all the country's magazines? What of importance has any of the Georgia foundations ever contributed to the Atlanta University Center? For that matter, what contribution has Georgia money, including Georgia foundation money, made to the greatest social and political advance in the South in 300 years; while Opie Shelton talks about "patience" some northern based foundations may lose their patience in continuing to have to support southern progress without Georgia money being willing to underwrite a share of it. As a matter of fact, not only here but I believe elsewhere among New York foundations, proposals from southern states that are not for the benefit of Negroes have very little chance, and will not have until southern money begins to pick up its share of the price of racial and human relations progress. With what kind of patience does Opie want the Negro of Atlanta to view the worldwide fame of the "liberal" Atlanta Newspapers, neither one of which will hire a Negro in any decent job?

The plain truth is that Atlanta is fast throwing away the opportunity which it had to avoid going through the kind of problems northern cities are entangled in. Atlanta is more segregated today than ten years ago in its housing and in its schools. I told you two years back that the coalition politics of Atlanta was at stake in the Hollowell election and everything that has happened since persuades me that when the Northside whites refused in that election to allow Negroes to have an equal role, and when a few months later they voted for Goldwater and against Weltner, Atlanta moved toward real trouble, and Opie Shelton's column is just a symptom of how deep the ditch is being dug. I doubt that Opie is well informed about present leadership in the Atlanta Negro community, but if there were an influx of more militant or more radical leaders, Northside Atlanta invited it in 1964.

Finally, where is the "equal opportunity" Opie glorifies and says is here? I see Atwood among his officers; I don't see Mays, Clement, Henderson, or etc? I see Gene Patterson; I don't see Scott. In fact, on his Board or his staff, I don't see a single equalized opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je

CC - Morris B. Abram, Esq.
Paul Anthony
Charles Wittenstein
Helen Bullard
Frances Pauley
Phoebe Franklin

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

File

MS - file

May 27, 1966

cr. ref.
re: financial support from Field Fd. to Appalachian Volunteers through Tenn. Council

Robert Coles, M. D.
Harvard University
University Health Services
75 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Bob:

We sent off yesterday the check to the Appalachian Volunteers. They do not yet have their tax exemption and after some quick consultation, we made the grant through the Tennessee Council on Human Relations. This seemed to be the most appropriate place because of the imminent, if not already accomplished, move of the Volunteers from Kentucky to Bristol, Tennessee. We were not able to reach Ogle or Fox by phone yesterday but did talk with Clay and told him that he should be in touch with Baxton Bryant of the Tennessee Council regarding the money.

While all these arrangements were going on, and after our initial conversation with Clay, we received a phone call from Loyal Jones. George Loft was out of the office and I was on the phone with someone else and so Mr. Jones, who was calling I suspect station to station, talked with Miss Ermisch. He said that he had heard a rumor that we thought that Dr. Fox was no longer connected with the Council. He said this was not so. I did not know whether to call back after this mysterious information but decided not to having already by this time set up the Tennessee Council and having also in front of me the newspaper reports that you had left which said the contrary.

Over the beers Wednesday (which I trust are included in your expense report), I suggested that we take up Erik Erikson in September. Do you still agree or would you prefer that it be brought up in June? I don't anticipate any problems with this one.

Are you going to write us something about Gateway?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je

BCC - Mr. Paul Anthony

Paul, I hope you approve. If not, let me know & I'll check with you

File Field Fd.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

June 9, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I am enclosing a vita on Marilyn Linda Shapiro. I believe she will be writing to you.

Miss Shapiro is writing a Ph. D. dissertation on the effects of foundations on the formation of political policies in this country. In connection with the dissertation, she wants to look closely at three examples and, even before calling me, had decided on the Southern Regional Council and particularly on VEP as one of her examples; in other words, she wants to look at VEP as an instance of foundations making an impact on the politics of this country.

Miss Shapiro has been in to see me and I find her a very intelligent and responsible person. I believe she wants to come down to Atlanta and I would believe that she deserves full confidence and attention.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je
Enc.

P.S. - One of the things I have not yet received is the Gaston Report - a correct copy.

NAME: Marilyn Linda Shapiro DATE OF BIRTH: September 10, 1941

ADDRESS: 385 East 18 Street, Brooklyn, New York 11226 TELEPHONE: BU. 4-7787
BU. 4-7788

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

HIGH SCHOOL: Packer Collegiate Institute 1955-1958
170 Joralemon Street
Brooklyn, New York

COLLEGE: Wellesley College 1958-1962
Wellesley 81, Massachusetts B.A. June 1962

Major Subject: Political Science
Minor Subjects: History, Sociology, Music

GRADUATE SCHOOL: Columbia University September 1962--
New York, New York M.A. February 1964
M.A. essay advisor:
Major Field: American Politics Vice President Lawrence Chamberlain
Minor Fields: British Government and French Government Dissertation advisor: Dean David B. Truman

ACADEMIC HONORS

HIGH SCHOOL: Valedictorian (J.H.S.), graduated first in class, various character and scholarship awards

COLLEGE: Freshman Honors
Durant Scholar (awarded to students who attain over a B+ average)
Phi Beta Kappa (elected junior year)
Graduated with Special Honors in Political Science
Wellesley Collge Trustee Scholar 1962-63
Woodrow Wilson Fellow (Honorary) 1962-63
National Defense Education Act Fellow September 1962-June 1965

RELEVANT WORK EXPERIENCE

Summer 1961: Staff member, U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor (Frederick R. Blackwell, Chief Counsel, U.S. Senate, New Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.)

Summer 1962: Research Assistant, Brookings Institution New York Manpower Study (David T. Stanley, Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.)

Summers '63 and '64: Research Assistant, Rockefeller Brothers Fund Special Studies Project (Miss Nancy Hanks, 1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10019)

Author: "Foundation Support for the Performing Arts," (107pp.) This paper was prepared for the 30-member Rockefeller Panel as background for its 18-month study of the performing arts. The study was based on interviews and correspondence with more than 70 foundation executives and representatives of performing arts organizations.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

FIELD FOUNDATION

REGARDING

2 year Grant to Tennessee for $25,000

DATE

6/17/66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

STATE COUNCILS: TENNESSEE Letter to Baxton Bryant from Leslie W. Dunbar 6/17/66 Field Foundation

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

FIELD FOUNDATION

REGARDING

1 year $17,000 Grant toSouth Carolina

DATE

6-17-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

STATE COUNCILS: SOUTH CAROLINA Letter to Alice Spearman from Leslie W. Dunbar, Field Foundation 6/17/66

Jim Lewis - Field Fd.

via air mail

June 29, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Got your ad over yesterday to run from July 1 - 10. Total cost for 10 days as shown on SRC Check #1105 (had to pay cash since you're no longer an Atlanta resident). The rate is computed thus: $10.00 for the first day and reduces to a minimum of $4.57 on the 10th day. You may cancel anytime during the 10-day period, at which time charges will be recomputed. (Abbreviated words made no difference in the cost.)

When the ad appears, I'll send you a copy.

Sincerely,

Lewis [redacted]

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

FOR CLASSIFIED SECTION (Sale of House)
TO RUN FROM FRIDAY, JULY 1 THROUGH SUNDAY, July 10, 1966

Owner transferred. Assume 5¼ FHA Loan. Second mortgage possible. Sagamore-Briarcliff schools. Living room, Dining room, family room, built-in-kitchen, 1 bath, 2 bedrooms and den or 3 bedrooms. Basement crawl space. Fully enclosed backyard. No hidden defects, some other virtues. $21,000. Write Room 2015, 250 Park Avenue, New York. Give phone number.

File Field Fd.

MS
LK
7/11/66

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

July 8, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Here is the check. Mr. Dunbar will be sending you a proper transmittal letter the first of next week.

Sincerely,

Lillian Alcock

(Mrs.) Lillian Alcock
Secretary to Mr. Dunbar

Enc.
cc: Mr. Kenneth Dean
Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith

Note

Refile
Feed Fd.
1966

Paul,

Whatever happened on the joint ~~study~~ for Miss R.-Sec study of predominant [illegible] (H. Branon Smith) Fund gave us $6,050 in July 1966. ~~[illegible]~~ See Lord Caring to Dean attached. It would appear that Sec has some responsibility in reporting on this.

MJ

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

File
~~Miss. Council on Human Rels~~ -
~~Cr. ref.~~
~~Field Fd.~~
Field Fd.
Cr. ref.
Miss. Council on H.R.
re: Grant for support of
A study of tax supported
predominantly Negro colleges
in Miss. - Joint proj. - SRC, Miss. Council

July 15, 1966

Mr. Kenneth Dean, Executive Director
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
306 First Federal Building
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Ken:

Confirming our several phone calls, and in response to your request, I am very glad to be able to inform you that the Foundation has granted $6,050 for the support of a study of tax supported predominantly Negro colleges in Mississippi.

It is our understanding that you will be joined in this study by the Southern Regional Council, and that Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith will serve the study as principal researcher and writer. Our check for the full amount has been sent to the Southern Regional Council, and further disbursements will be from there.

Our further understanding is that $5,000 of the grant will go into direct support of Mrs. Smith's work, that $500 is to be available to supporr the travel and other expenses of student research volunteers, and that $550 is needed for the administrative expenses of the Mississippi Council in connection with the study.

We regard this as a very important undertaking, both for its intrinsic merits and because it will help determine whether South-wide studies in this area are needed.

There is astonishingly little collected or interpretive information on the subject, despite the fact that these colleges in Mississippi and in other southern states educate a very large proportion of all Negro college matriculants. We think that a study which not only assembles the pertinent data about these schools and reflects their history, but which also assesses their place in Mississippi's race relations, its economy, and its future will be of true value.

Please keep us informed as to progress, and let us know what plans Mrs. Smith will propose for publication.

Sincerely yours,

LWD/je

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

CC - Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith
Mr. Paul Anthony

Did you see this?

Yes! E.S

Ed S:

Please note attached & have remainder of money sent to MCH&R with covering ltr from you.

Return to MS for filing -

PA

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

FIELD FOUNDATION

REGARDING

Ltr. to Ken Dean 7/15/66 from Les Dunbar
RE: support of study on predominantly Negro colleges in Mississippi

DATE

7/15/66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

WS

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

July 29, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Could I trouble you with making an inquiry? Could any of our friends in Tennessee or Louisiana give me a brief line on Charles S. Prigmore presently the executive director of the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training. Prigmore from 1956 to 1959 was superintendent of the Tennessee Vocational School for Boys in Nashville. From 1959 to 1962 he was associate professor in the School of Social Welfare, Louisiana State University.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je

Don't come in applying for money. I simply want to know a lot about him, where he was during all this career

file
Field Fd. 1966

August 4, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Enclosed is information we have gotten from Martha Ragland and Ralph Dreger about Charles Prigmore. Hope it is sufficient.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures

August 3, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

Ralph Dreger says that he talked to a professor in the School of Social Welfare, L.S.U. about Charles Prigmore.

Prigmore is described as having "a good reputation as a social worker and a good character." His direct manner of speaking occasionally rubs someone the wrong way -- but not often. He is regarded by this professor as "a sound, reliable man."

ES/km

August 3, 1966

PA from ES:

Ralph Dreger says that he talked to a professor in the School of Social Welfare, L.S.U. about Charles Prigmore.

Prigmore is described as having "a good reputation as a social worker and a good character." His direct manner of speaking occasionally rubs someone the wrong way -- but not often. He is regarded by this professor as "a sound, reliable man."

August 2, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

Martha Ragland called a friend of hers who is on the Tennessee Youth Commission to inquire about Charles Prigmore. This woman was on the Youth Commission when Prigmore was hired and throughout his tenure as superintendent of the Tennessee Vocational School for Boys.

Her report is highly favorable. She confirmed -- what Martha had vaguely remembered -- that Prigmore had some problems with factions on his staff, but added that they were problems which he inherited. He accomplished much despite these difficulties. She says he found the bickering distressing and that it "probably" had much to do with his resigning after a short time.

Martha's source seemed to think Prigmore had a bent toward study and research more than administration. (It is certainly possible, however, that this would apply primarily to administration of a boys vocational school!)

I haven't been able to reach Dreger yet. He is supposed to return my call this afternoon.

ES/km

August 2, 1966

P. A. from E.S.

Martha Ragland called a friend of hers who is on the Tennessee Youth Commission to inquire about Charles Prigmore. This woman was on the Youth Commission when Prigmore was hired and throughout his tenure as superintendent of the Tennessee Vocational School for Boys.

Her report is highly favorable. She confirmed -- what Martha had vaguely remembered -- that Prigmore had some problems with factions on his staff, but added that they were problems which he inherited. He accomplished much despite these difficulties. She says he found the bickering distressing and that it "probably" had much to do with his resigning after a short time

Martha's source seemed to think Prigmore had a bent toward study and research more than administration. (It is certainly possible, however, that this would apply primarily to administration of a boys vocational school!)

I haven't been able to reach Dreger yet. He is supposed to return my call this afternoon.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

file

Rect to DB
Sept 15

August 24, 1966

Morris B. Abram, Esq.
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Morris:

An idea has been presented to us - in very tentative, undeveloped form - which I would like for you to know about. Any thoughts you may have about the idea, which is a plan for a demonstration program in Baker County (Ga.), would be greatly valued.

There is a widespread belief that both our racial and our poverty problems fall into two grand divisions: those contained within the big city ghettos and those of the rural, economically depressed, South. Much of the contemporary drama has been staged in this rural South, but in truth few seem to think it can be basically improved (except for the minimal observance of minimal civil rights); perhaps they are right.

The unplanned solution we have adopted for the rural South is the migration of its people to the cities. The poor success we have made of handling our urban social problems suggests that we ought at least to look for ways of meeting successfully the rural problems where they are.

The past few years have taught us also how much of both initiative and momentum for constructive social change depends on private groups.

The past few months have taught us how uncertain the civil rights movement has become as to its next directions. The Baker County idea would, hopefully, draw on the leadership of private groups and help restore direction to the civil rights movement.

The idea is that a number of the civil rights and human relations groups would concentrate their efforts in Baker County in a coordinated campaign to put one rural county in gear with the Great Society. For example:

- the Voter Education Project would undertake sizeable registration, citizenship education, and leadership training work; (The Citizenship Education Project of SCLC could join in this.)

- the Inc. Fund could be readied for necessary defense work and, more important, could, e.g., use some of its research into welfare practices in Georgia as a basis for bringing affirmative suits;

- the American Friends Service Committee's school desegregation project, already active in Baker County, could greatly step up its activity there and, more important, could adopt a positive program such as the Southern Regional Council's radical Black Belt Schools (written by Emory University professors) and focus the attention not only of Baker County but of Atlanta and Washington on that program as the way of making rural schools fruitful and useful;

- the Southern Regional Council, which has before published research on Baker County voting, could direct to the county some of its new Ford Foundation programs, such as its technical assistance for co-ops and other community groups and its prison reform project;

- the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, which has just opened an Atlanta office, could direct special attention to the county;

- Charles Sherrod and his co-workers (the core of whom are Union Theological students) could be supported;

- so too for the work of the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

The above are simply examples of the range and depth of a cohesive, systematic attack that the private agencies could jointly mount, and which would operate at the level of the county itself, of Washington offices, and of national opinion.

I am informed that Vernon Jordan (one of the persons sponsoring the idea) has discussed it already at length with C. B. King, southwest Georgia and Inc Fund cooperating attorneys; Frances Pauley; Connie Curry, head of the AFSC school project; and Carl Holman. All have expressed enthusiasm.

I am sure you do not need a recital of the reasons why Baker County would be a target of both real and symbolic substance:

- Screws V. U.S.;

- Screws in the Georgia Senate as late as 1960;

- no Negro voters until 1962 or 1963, despite Negro majority;

- a record of brutality continuing to the present; (in fact, the motivating factor behind the proposal at this time is another killing and acquittal)

- Baker was the county in which Justice exerted its greatest effort, under Burke Marshall, at persuasion. At the request of Justice, SNCC stayed out of the county until, I think, 1965. The result was about 300 registrants;

- the ugly events of last September surrounding school desegregation, and Baker's subsequent defiance of the guidelines;

- the refusal of Justice to send federal examiners into any Georgia county;

- and more.

I gather from Jordan that some thinking still needs to go on as to the effects such a campaign might have on Arnall's election, whether it would be a factor, if so whether positive or negative, and whether it should be times with an eye to the gubernatorial race.

(Baker County is, as you probably know, not isolated from the Atlanta financial community. Robert Woodruff is, I believe, the largest single land owner.)

This sort of thing was tried once before, in Leflore County (Miss.). The objective, there, however, was limited to registration and the groups were only SNCC, NAACP, SCLC, and CORE, together with VEP.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

CC: Justine W. Polier
Carl Holman

BCC: Paul Anthony ✓
Vernon Jordan

File
~~#~~ Field Fd.

September 19, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Enclosed is a response to our latest attempt to determine from Viking Press the number of copies sold of Ben's book. Is there any way that we can get more specific information on just what has and has not happened with "TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE". Surely somebody there must know and must be willing to share this with us.

It was good seeing you over the weekend.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

cc: Mr. Ben Muse

Enclosure

(6)

THE VIKING PRESS INC · PUBLISHERS
625 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022
Cable: VIKPRESS *Telephone:* (212) PLAZA 5-4330

September 9, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Since Mr. Bolté is no longer at The Viking Press, your letter of September 2nd concerning Benjamin Muse's TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE has come to my attention.

There are now two arrangements for foreign language distribution made through the USIA: exclusive Portugese language rights sold to Edicoes G.R.D., Brazil; and non-exclusive French language rights for distribution in Africa and former Associated States of Indochina, publisher not yet known.

The sales information could best be obtained by contacting the Brazilian publisher.

Sincerely yours,

Jane Goldstone

Jane Goldstone
Secretary to
Charles G. Bolté

jg

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

FIELD FOUNDATION

REGARDING

George Muse - Ten Years of Prelude

DATE

9-22-66
letr. from Les W. Dunbar

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

MUSE - TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Field Foundation

REGARDING

Leslie Dunbar's book - A REPUBLIC OF EQUALS

P.A.letter to University of Michigan Press
ordering 200 copies

DATE

10/3/66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Miss Helen L. MacDonald
The University of Michigan Press
Ann Arbor, Michigan

File
Files Fd.

October 10, 1966

Mr. and Mrs. Leslie W. Dunbar
56 Benedict
Pelham, New York

Dear Peggy and Les:

It was good to be with you last week.

Under separate cover we are sending you the three quarterly issues of New South. Needless to say, I am more than a little disturbed that you haven't gotten these and without going overboard in the commitment I will make every effort to see that you get them in the future.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Mailed the 3 issues

Jice
Field Fd.
1966

October 19, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Les:

Your letter of October 14 about the change of names on the book puzzles me somewhat. You indicate that it might be awkward for Goodman to initiate a change and that I or someone should ask them to do so. Yet it seems to me in his note to you Goodman says "I am perfectly willing to do what he asks" and that the purpose of my letter was to ask him to consider doing so.

Neither Pat nor Reese have brought the matter up with me, and I am reluctant to bring it up with them at this point. Although, if the change in names is made, I would like to have the opportunity to tell Reese that I was responsible and to give my reasons for it.

Enclosed are a couple of pages of corrections from

a late 1963 interview which Reese had with Lester Maddox that you might be really interested in his comments about the Southern Regional Council.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 14, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Bill Goodman sent over to me a copy of your letter to him together with the attached note. I suspect it might be a little awkward for Bill at this point to initiate a change. It would more or less seem to me that somebody in a position to do so would need to ask them to change the names. That could be you, or it could be Pat and Reese. Has either Pat or Reese mentioned the matter?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc.
LD:la

CC: Bill Goodman

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 14, 1966

Mr. Reese Cleghorn
Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Reese and Pat:

I am returning herewith Chapter IX, marked up, I am afraid, pretty heavily. This marking is of two kinds, principally. I am suggesting cuts which I estimate total from 14 to 15 pages of text out of your 80. Secondly, I have indicated quite a few substantive comments. Nevertheless, I am not sending copies of the latter to Bill Goodman because he is prompter than I ahd has already got his Chapter IX back to you.

As usual, the heavy markings indicate only that I think the quality of this book is so good that it deserves to be very carefully, very seriously paid attention to by everyone - including me - who has anything to do with it. I believe very much in this book.

I have not said that only to build up to something, because it is a true statement about how I think. But, in fact, there is something else; that is I doubt that this manuscript is ready for publication. I still have to read Chapter X, but I don't see how that will change my views.

So I address this letter to both of you instead of just to Reese, whose good copy I am returning bleeding from my inked ice pick. This is too good a book to be forced onto a schedule that doesn't permit its full achievement. The material you are using is too precious not to have the absolutely best treatment you can give it. I think what we now have is, at last, a manuscript that you and Goodman can work on. The manuscript we went over last July was a draft and had to be rewritten. What we are involved with now is something that doesn't demand rewriting; it does require fixing. Goodman has a great interest in this book; he should have time to do his job. You both need some more time to do without pressure or rush the best perfecting you can give to this book.

Reese Cleghorn
Pat Watters

October 14, 1966

So I think everybody concerned should forget about October and November deadlines and if that means, as I assume it does, forgetting about Spring publication, so be it. I think you have a chance here to publish a distinguished book, and we ought not to throw that chance away for six months earlier publication.

I would suggest, therefore, that you both sit back and take a breath, but while you are breathing reread the whole manuscript each one of you beginning at Chapter I and never, never allowing yourselves to skip ahead; each of you read the whole thing through, and see it, and endeavor to see it as a unified book.

Shoot me, if you will, for this minority report, but I still predict you have got here one of the good ones.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc.
LD:la

CC: Bill Goodman
Paul Anthony

Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.

757 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y. 572-5000 CABLE: HARBRACE

October 13, 1966

Leslie W. Dunbar, Esq.
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

Dear Les:

I have no view on the subject Paul Anthony raises in the enclosed, and I am perfectly willing to do what he asks.

What do you advise?

Best.

Faithfully,

William B. Goodman

WBG:ac
Enc.

See Field Fd. 1966

Cr. ref. V.E.P.

re: Proposal to Field Fd in support of V.E.P in the amount of $150,000 during 1967

October 26, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is to request the Foundation's consideration of a renewal and increase of its support to the Voter Education Project during 1967.

Enclosed is a report reflecting a summary of the program of this project to date with an indication of developing programs for this year and during 1967.

To date, the Project has received $257,806.07 for operation during 1966. An additional sum of $65,000 is committed from the Taconic Foundation. Through September 30 the Project had made grants to cooperating agencies totalling $134,786.53. An additional expenditure of $63,648.07 was made through September 30 for central office program and administrative costs, the use of consultants, and local meeting expenses. With exception of

having in reserve an adequate amount of funds to insure stable operation into early 1967, we anticipate that those funds now on hand will be needed and expended by the Project during the remainder of 1966.

We would like to anticipate an operation during 1967 comparable to that of 1966, with a substantial increase in support to cooperating local programs, if at all possible. We respectfully request the Foundation's consideration of support in the amount of $150,000 for the Voter Education Project during 1967.

If additional information is needed we will be happy to provide it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures- 1xx

3 copies: "Voter Education Project, Southern Regional Council, Inc., January - October 1966"

3 copies "Statistical Summary, Jan - Oct, 1966"

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

FIELD FOUNDATION 1966

REGARDING

Joint proposal to Field Foundation in support of a joint SRC-AJC Study: "The Shaping of Southern Public Opinion"

DATE

10-26-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
New York

File Feed 7d 1964

October 28, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Mr. Leslie Dunbar

FROM: Glenda Bartley, Research Department

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. BIBLIOGRAPHIES

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III. NEGRO THOUGHT

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III. NEGRO THOUGHT (Continued)

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GB/km

See Field Fd. 1964

November 1, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Les:

I have received a copy of the proposal submitted to The Field Foundation from the American Jewish Committee regarding our joint project on the shaping of southern public opinions. Sometime ago I was told that Morris Abram was particularly interested in this and asked if I had any objection to the proposal being submitted to you. In light of Morris' interest I did not, of course, though here again we are in the situation where another agency has agreed to raise funds for a joint project and it is back at the same place.

We are very interested in this project and committed to it though I have some reservations about the budget which AJC has prepared. For instance, I think the entire fourth part of the estimated budget is to be questioned. More importantly, however, I have serious reservation about asking The Field Foundation for additional support to SRC for any purpose.

Should the Foundation be particularly disposed to

to support this project we would, of course, be grateful, but I wanted you to have the above thoughts.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File
File & Fd. 1966
Cr. ref.
V.E.P.
re: Further financial Support from Field for V.E.P.
See: proposal 7 Oct. 26

November 2, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Les:

Enclosed is a memorandum from Thad Olive which will, I hope, answer questions 1 and 3 of your letter of October 31 concerning VEP.

As to question number 2, my letter stated that $134,787 had been paid in grants through September 30, while the statistical summary figure of $170,787 indicated this as the total amount committed during the same period, January-October, 1966. The difference between the two indicates the amount committed but not yet paid.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

MEMORANDUM

TO: P.A.

FROM: T.O.

SUBJECT: EXPLANATION FOR QUESTIONS RAISED IN LETTER OF OCTOBER 31, 1966 FROM THE FIELD FOUNDATION

Question #1

Income Statement

Balance, January 1, 1966	$21,806.07
Field Foundation	100,000.00
Taconic Foundation	85,000.00
Rockefeller Brothers Fund	50,000.00
Marion Ascoli Fund	1,000.00
Total Income, September 30, 1966	$257,806.07

Question #3

Disbursements

Salaries	$32,071.32	
FICA Tax Expense	1,085.48	
Travel	7,844.30	
Telephone & Telegraph	1,910.59	
Office Supplies & Equip.	4,256.07	
Consultant Fees & Travel	782.44	
Local Meetings	2,409.22	
Overhead	12,000.00	
Accounting	750.00	
Staff Benefits	538.65	
Total Disbursements		$63,649.07

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 31, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter and proposal of October 26 for the Voter Education Project. We have a couple of quick questions (I won't promise there won't be others later); if we could have a prompt response we would be grateful.

1. Could we have a breakdown, by source and amount, of the 1966 income?

2. Your letter reports grants through September 30 of $134,787; the "statistical summary" reports, January - October grants of $170,787: is the difference accounted for by the difference of dates?

3. Could we have a summary financial statement supplementing the statistical summary, which will show use of the $63,648 for central office programs, etc.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

File Field Fd, 1966

November 3, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Enclosed are several thoughts about the Baker County proposal. Hope they are of some help.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

MEMORANDUM November 3, 1966

To: Leslie W. Dunbar
Field Foundation, Inc.

From: Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council

- : -

The proposal, which has much to be said for it, seems nevertheless strained and artificial. All of us are in agreement that concentrated work needs to be done in south Georgia, including Baker County, but I wonder if better program ideas could not have been developed if the planning group had begun with broader ground rules, namely, what can best be done in all of that area taking into consideration the needs, possibilities, and developments in all of that area?

I believe there is somewhat less single-minded commitment on the part of the several agencies than is reflected in the proposal. This may especially be true of AFSC and ACLU. In both instances, as in ours, the agencies are interested but there are demands and priorities which may limit the time and resources that they can commit. In the instance of the VEP, Vernon has suggested some hesitation about a commitment for a project there. We are a little uneasy about changing the procedure of evaluating proposals as they come to us and this seems to stem in part from the Project staff's question of the potential for a good program in Baker.

The proposal does not make clear in several instances what funds will go to other agencies. Generally, I doubt the wisdom of paying agencies to do what they are already committed to doing, if such programs fit into their priorities. We would not need the $500 for the Baker County study, although we will attempt to provide this if possible. Staff time or securing a qualified consultant is the SRC problem, not funds. I would especially question any payments to the National Sharecroppers Fund office for work in the county for for the preparation of requests for federal programs. This is their program, as I understand it.

$3,500 seems high for the preparation of requests for federal assistance, though I agree that considerable work would have to be done and perhaps this amount is required. To the extent we could be of help, Al Ulmer or one of our consultants might be made available to assist in this.

The large expenditure for a community center is very questionable as a precedent and as a priority. I would want further indication of the feelings of need on the part of the people in that area and thought on what other programs could be supported with these funds before this commitment was made. If the experience of church congregations and student-work agencies is any guide in this case, a physical plant can become a white elephant that distracts from the purposeful functioning of the organization. Erection of a building would also imply a long-range commitment which Charles Sherrod demanded in the original meeting. I do not argue against a long-range commitment, but seriously doubt that the agencies involved are prepared to make such a commitment.

Having raised these doubts I am very much in favor of seeing the Georgia Council receive as much support as possible for work in Baker and, if possible, the larger area. While I am not in a position to judge the quality of Sherrod's work, I gather it is good and that he too should receive adequate support. (If the Georgia Council is the instrument for Sherrod's support, great care should be given to the structure of that project in light of our difficulties with tax matters in the state and the coming state administration.)

Perhaps you would consider asking the Georgia Council for another proposal centered around a grant to that agency -- including such factors as support for Sherrod -- with the understanding the Georgia Council will make every effort to involve the other appropriate agencies to the extent possible, and might even have a small contingency fund to supplement their budgets where necessary.

It might be worth considering too that, if Baker County is to be concentrated upon, the way to

do it is to invest the money in personnel -- one or more Sherrods, perhaps -- for community organization and to lay claim to whatever resources the several agencies are prepared to provide. Isn't that what the proposal boils down to anyway?

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

FIELD FOUNDATION

REGARDING

Proposal for support of project in Baker County by Georgia Cou ncil

DATE

11/3/66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Rec'd 11/22/66
file

-212-
YU6-6688
file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

November 21, 1966

Personal & Confidential

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I'll be sending you soon a letter and a check for $100,000 for VEP. The full amount requested was not voted this time, because the Foundation felt that VEP was not likely to need more in 1967 than it is spending in 1966.

The board would, I believe, be inclined to vote a larger sum in 1968, when there should be the expanded opportunities generated by an election year.

Is it all right to send down the Joan Titus grant? Unless I hear to the contrary I shall. This is an outright grant ($8,000), and not the partial support you and I discussed once. You and Joan can figure out how it should be paid out.

We gave Baxton the $6,000 for west Tennessee, but if he accepts it will have to be on the understanding that the grant will not be repeated.

I did not bring up the SRC general support case, on the understanding I believe you and I had over the phone that it was to be considered as withdrawn, because you had raised your full budget for 1966.

The SRC-AJC proposal was rejected and we gave $5,000 to Frances for Baker County. It seems to me, Paul, that our communication broke down on these two. On SRC-AJC, I recommended it, though for $30,000, not $48,000. Once it came in here, there was not much I could do with it except put it before the board: I can't really discuss an AJC proposal with Morris before framing my own recommendation. Morris had not, incidentally, suggested that it be sent in here, according to information both from him and the AJC staffer whom Dr. Slawson told me was in charge of their end of the project; the staffer said only that Morris knew of the project. I think a phone call in advance on something like this would give you and me a chance to keep wires uncrossed.

Once I got your letter about Baker County we could not, against your advice, approve a project which, up to that time, I had thought SRC was sharing in the planning of. On the other hand, we were not going to disappoint altogether the expectations that had been aroused in Baker County. We gave Frances, therefore, $5,000 for a six-month project in cooperation with Dorothy Cotten and Charles Sherrod. If in six months they can have something in prospect as solid as we talked about, we are willing to think about it again.

If you wish the rest of our southern news, we are putting a sizeable hunk of money into law programs, if we can ever figure out who is who after all the Ford money is put out. We are giving Vivian some money to develop a public policy center; I think he'll be in touch with you about it. If we can figure out how, we shall - tell Al Ulmer - give the Poor People's $5,000.

We gave SSOC $10,000 a year for two years and Father Foley $10,000. Both of these, however, are among a large group of grants made conditioned on whether we ever get off the hook on CDGM; for at this meeting we voted to keep it alive and kicking, if OEO won't; so let Sargent Shriver contemplate that.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

file

file

November 22, 1966

Mr. John Slawson, Executive Vice President
The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

Dear John:

At a recent meeting the Foundation considered carefully and discussed the joint proposal of November 3 of American Jewish Committee and Southern Regional Council. I think the respect and admiration here for the Committee and the Council are boundless, but the board did not feel, due to other commitments, it could undertake this project at this time. I am sure you will not have difficulty finding the needed funds elsewhere.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

CC: Paul Anthony

Esleeck
Fidelity Onion Skin
100% CELLULOSE

File
Field Fd.
Cr. ref.
Tenn. Council to add
re: $6,000 grant to add
from Field Fdn. in
staff worker in
west Tenn. - note: one-time grant

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

November 28, 1966

Mr. Baxton Bryant, Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
1106 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Baxton:

I am pleased to be able to inform you that the Foundation, at a recent meeting and in response to your proposal of September 29, has granted $6,000 as a one-time contribution for the purpose of adding a staff worker in west Tennessee. Our understanding is that local sources will contribute $3,000 for this same purpose. Our check is enclosed and we would be very glad to have your acknowledgment.

In taking this action the Board adopted the following resolution:

RESOLVED that the Corporation appropriate and contribute to the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, Inc., Nashville, Tenn., the sum of $6,000, or as much thereof as shall be needed, as a one-time grant to add a staff worker in west Tennessee to be paid in full on or about December 1, 1966.

If you choose to make any public announcement of this grant, would you please also send us a copy of your release. And we shall, of course, look forward to your reports from time to time.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc.
LD:la

cc: Paul Anthony

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

file
Field Fd.
1966
Ga. Council to G.C.H.R.
re: Special Grant for demonstration Project in Baker County, Ga — a Joint Agency Project.

November 28, 1966

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Frances:

I am very glad to be able to inform you that the Foundation, at a recent meeting and in response to your proposal of October 21, has granted $5,000 for a demonstration project in Baker County (Georgia). We understand that the Baker County Movement, the Citizenship Education Project, and possibly other groups will join with you in this project.

Your proposal contemplated a much larger program, and we have an interest in it. We thought, however, that there should first be proven evidence that the people of Baker County want such a program, and that one could be planned that would give realistic promise of the goals you and we have in mind.

Those goals, as we understand them, are

-to test whether a rural, impoverished, Black Belt county can, without further displacement of people, be made a viable cultural and economic unit,

-to do this by bringing to bear on the county the united talents, skills, and resources of human relations and civil rights agencies,

-to take all steps necessary to channel into the county the federal aids and protections enacted since 1964; i.e., the anti-poverty acts, the aid to education acts, and the civil rights acts.

As you know, we think this is an exciting project. If it can work in Baker County, some realistic hopes for the Black Belt could be entertained.

Accordingly, the Foundation is prepared to consider this again at its Spring meeting. We can do so, however, only if the project is broadly and firmly supported by the key private agencies.

Mrs. Frances Pauley November 28, 1966

In taking this action the Board adopted the following resolution:

RESOLVED that the Corporation appropriate and contribute to the Georgia Council on Human Relations, Atlanta, Georgia, the sum of $5,000, or as much thereof as shall be needed, for a demonstration project in Baker County (Georgia), in cooperation with other agencies, including the Citizenship Education Project and the Baker County Movement, to be paid in full on or about December 1, 1966.

We are, therefore, sending you our check for $5,000 and we would be very glad to have your acknowledgment of it. If you choose to make any public announcement of this grant, would you please also send us a copy of your release. And we shall, of course, look forward to reports from time to time.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc.
LD:la

cc: Paul Anthony

post in money book
file Field Fd.
1966

Cr. ref
Voter Ed. Project
re: Project Support in the
Amount of $100,000 for one
year, ~~1967~~ beginning
Jan. 1, 1967

December 9, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

This will acknowledge with grateful appreciation the Foundation's contribution of $100,000 toward support of the Voter Education Project in 1967.

We are also happy to administer the grant to Joan Titus. I have written her to that effect, and we will shortly make arrangements on how the grant will be handled from here.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

Rec'd 11/29/66. wj

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

November 28, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am pleased to be able to inform you that the Foundation, at a recent meeting and in response to your proposal of October 26, has granted $100,000 toward the Voter Education Project for the calendar year 1967. Our check for this amount is enclosed, and we would be pleased to have your acknowledgment of it.

In taking this action the Board adopted the following resolution:

RESOLVED that the Corporation appropriate and contribute to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Ga., the sum of $100,000, or as much thereof as shall be needed, for the Voter Education Project during 1967, to be paid in full on or January 1, 1967.

11/29/66 C.F.

If you choose to make any public announcement of this grant, would you please also send us a copy of your release. And we shall, of course, look forward to your reports from time to time.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc.
LD:la

File
Field Fd., 1966
Corr. etc.
Titus, Joan
re: funds for research &
writing of Lillian Smith
biography

December 14, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

This will acknowledge the Foundation's check for $8,000 to assist with the biography of Lillian Smith, to be done by Joan Titus.

You could not be more correct in assessing the satisfaction we take in being a part of this undertaking. Thank you for making it possible.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 12, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

12/13/66 C.L.

I am very glad to enclose now our check for $8,000 to assist with the biography of Lillian Smith by Joan Titus. I think the Foundation must have something like the satisfaction which I know the Southern Regional Council has in undertaking this work. We are all very much in the shadow of Lillian Smith.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc.
LD:la

cc: Joan Titus

Field Fd.
1967

February 13, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

Knowing of your interest in the Tennessee Council I thought you would be very interested to read the enclosed memo from Ed Stanfield analyzing the situation there. I have since had a letter from Martha Ragland which indicates that Ed was indeed right in this analysis.

The old dilemma of quality program versus people involvement and basic strength continues!

Vernon and I look forward to having dinner with you on Wednesday.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

Files
Field Fd. 1967

February 16, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

Well, it's nice to inform you of Alabama also! Sorry.

Thanks again for lunch yesterday and as soon as I know something more about the prospects for the Voter Project I'll let you know.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Tennessee memorandum)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

February 14, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Re your letter of February 13 regarding Tennessee, I return enclosed the Alabama memorandum. I am intrigued enough by your letter to hope you will send the Tennessee memo.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc.
LD:la

(5)

M E M O R A N D U M

February 6, 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Trip to Alabama--February 2, 3, 4, 1967

I traveled to Auburn on Thursday in order to have lengthy conferences with Bob Valder and Jerry Roden prior to the annual meeting in Birmingham on Firday evening and Saturday. You will recall, I am sure, my telling you that Jerry had decided to withdraw from consideration for the position of Executive Director.

I found both Bob and Jerry handling themselves and the situation with considerable grace. It was clear to me, however, that Jerry was deeply hurt. Italked to the two of them separately and as I reviewed the situation and the possible alternatives with each of them, pointing out the difficulties in all of the various options, I found that Jerry, although without any bitterness-- and I think he was sincere in that--had very serious reservations about the possibility of Bob's becoming Executive Director at this time and under these circumstances. Bob, for his part, seems to have changed his mind about resigning as Associate Director and at this point would disposed to remain in Alabama and to work for the Alabama Council. I became convinced, incidentally, that there was no deliberate effort on Bob's part to bring about this development. It is incidental, but perhaps significant, that both Bob and Jan are very unhappy with their location in Auburn. They dislike this small town very much and they feel like outsiders in an academic community.

As a result of all these conversations, all concerned agreed that it would be inadvisable to have the issue brought up at the board meeting on Friday night because the matter was too fresh to be dealt with constructively by a meeting involving the entire board. We therefore recommended to Dr. Gomillion that he call a meeting of the executive committee within a month, and Jerry and Bob agreed simply to postpone communicating any decisions officially. This plan was carried out and the executive committee meeting is scheduled for March 4, 1967. I am planning to attend at their invitation.

The annual meeting at the Tutwiler was disappointing in many respects. I felt sorry for Bob because he had worked very hard to plan it. Both Herman Long and Frank Smith made thoughtful speeches and in my judgment both of them had something important to say, but unfortunately they said it on a rather abstract level and with poor delivery. There were only about 90 to 100 people present at best. And, of course a lot of them were program resource persons. Bob told me that they sold only 75 luncheon tickets at $3.75 a piece and I was dismayed to hear him say that he had guaranteed the hotel 200 for lunch. This attendance at the annual meeting is especially disappointing in view of the fact that the challenge meetings in all of the local chapters which have been held during the month of January were successful, by and large.

Huntsville, Birmingham, Montgomery, and Mobile all had record attendance at these meetings and the response to appeal for funds was good although not phenomenal. None of us were able to come up with any explanation for the small attendance except for the fact that the main speaker was not a very well-known figure.

At the business meeting on Saturday afternoon, a resolution was passed to set up a committee of the Alabama Council to consider the possibility of a libel suit against the Birmingham Independent or to take other suitable action to refute their charges. The resolution also requests that the Southern Regional Council give serious consideration to a libel suit against the Birmingham Independent. The motion was made and passed because the Independent had run again this year the same old story alleging communist domination of the SRC and therefore the Alabama Council. I have passed to you a copy of the current issue including the story.

This motion was made by Evelyn Falkawski. As you know Evelyn sometimes has some wild ideas. In this case, however, I think she has a valid point. At any rate, Jerry Roden agrees with her and cites examples of people whose reputations have been somewhat tarnished, and damagingly so, because of charges of this sort. The motion did pass unanimously and there was evidence of some considerable feeling that we have had enough of this stuff and that SRC and/or the Alabama Council should take definite and firm action.

I am, of course, aware of all of the problems involved with any legal action, but I would recommend and urge that Mr. Haas be asked to give careful consideration and that the executive committee at their meeting on the 13th be asked to give very serious thought to the possibility of legal action in this instance. As I said in the case of the Knoxville Journal story and J. R. Rutter, I think we owe something to the people whose necks are already stuck out enough just by virtue of the fact that they have joined the Council.

file

MJ file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

February 16, 1967

Al — Please return to my files MJ

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

I sent you in an earlier mail a copy of my letter to Dave Emmons.

Show this to Paul (he has already scanned it), but otherwise, I would prefer that you all not show it around.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:cpm

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

February 15, 1967

Mr. David Emmons
Friends of the Children of Mississippi
507½ North Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Dave:

Milton Senn and I are very grateful to all the people who met with us and guided us January 29 - 31. This will be a long letter, and so I shall not take your time to recount what you already know, and that is our deep respect for the achievement of you and your associates. Instead, I want here to make a beginning at discovering the terms of Field Foundation support, for the programs in which we are mutually interested, during 1967 and for the immediately ensuing future.

It would be wise for me to emphasize right away that when you (and that is a very generic "you") and I have reached some understandings, they will then have to be submitted to my Board. I believe there is no doubt of the Board's great interest in the set of ideas and methods and people related to and derivative from CDGM. But nothing adequately specific is before it as yet.

It seems to me that CDGM's program for pre-school children has, so far, succeeded as had no previous Mississippi effort of the last five or six years in giving people deeply treasured outlets for self-help and self-direction and for expressing their self-respect. OEO's failure has been that it did not recognize this, at least not sufficiently. I think this pre-school program can be and should be perfected, and the OEO grant will facilitate that in 14 counties.

What of the other counties that have been at issue recently? I think - and you will agree - that all pre-school programs should be publicly financed. I think the former CDGM centers which are now cut off should, with open minds, find out the terms for support through MAP or other public sponsors. But their essential rights in their programs - and the fine quality of their work - should be ungrudgingly recognized. The specific situations are, as I understand them:

Mr. David Emmons February 15, 1967

Clarke, Greene, Humphreys, Neshoba, and Wayne Counties operated under CDGM through last Summer. Since then, centers have continued and are still operating, sustained by volunteers. The new grant does not permit CDGM to work in these five counties. MAP is authorized to operate centers, and has now begun to do so, according to information given us by OEO.

LeFlore County is in the same situation as the above five, except that no centers are now being operated, either by MAP or by volunteers.

Sunflower County has not had until lately any authorized centers: yet several CDGM-type centers have operated for a year and longer, three of which we visited last month. There is also an authorized Head Start program of short duration, sponsored (I am not sure of this) by the local CAP; we visited one such center in Indianola, and I was told of another one: whether there are more I don't know.

If these facts are correct, the priorities would appear to be as follows:

1. Sunflower County is critical. The one official center we visited seemed all right and apparently suits a number of parents. It couldn't handle any more children than it had, however, and, unless more spaces are or will be available in the official program, the volunteer centers have to go on. Moreover, given the fact that this is Sunflower County, it is not hard to sympathize with those numerous Negro families who want nothing to do with a locally directed and controlled program. What the Field Foundation might conceivably offer will be indicated further on.

2. Clarke, Greene, Humphreys, Neshoba and Wayne can be taken up together. The pre-school program in those counties belongs to the people who formed and carried it and have suffered for it. They have moral, if not legal, rights in the work, and they ought not to be dispossessed. They have already been treated roughly by OEO, first by the long denial of refunding to CDGM and then by the shock of being cut out of the refunding when it was finally granted. I think the old CDGM centers should now, within each county, decide on terms by which they could accept sponsorship and funds from MAP and immediately enter into discussions, keeping Washington OEO informed at all times. If MAP cannot work with them, on reasonable and honorable terms, I shall discuss with my Board extending to them the same assistance we may give Sunflower.

3. It would seem that the local committees responsible for last year's LeFlore County program should also decide on terms by which they could accept sponsorship and funds from MAP and immediately enter into discussions, also keeping Washington informed. As there are no centers currently operating in LeFlore, no question of private assistance seems to arise there, at this time.

To my mind, the critical area of need in Mississippi are these unfunded but open and operating programs in Clarke, Greene, Humphreys, Neshoba, Sunflower, Wayne, and possibly other counties. From figures we have been given, it appears that over 2,000 children are enrolled and in regular attendance here. Very clearly, there is an urgent national and humane interest in what happens to these children. The Field Foundation does not have the resources to finance the centers as they should be financed. Any assistance we can give, therefore, will have to be contingent on the continued willingness and - I am afraid - ability of the local communities, assisted by other friends if possible, to supply facilities, teaching services, transportation, equipment, food, and consumable materials. The local communities cannot supply some necessary things, however, and it would be in this area that the Field Foundation might be of prime aid: we could possibly contribute to such things as medical and other professional health services, resource teachers and counsellors, teaching materials, and teacher training.

Of course, funds can be sought from other private sources, as well as Field. Indeed, I think this should be done at once, and a suggestion for doing so comes later in this letter.

There are a considerable number of Mississippi counties in which no pre-school program - under any auspices - currently goes on. Who could take the initiative in convening a meeting of OEO officials, CDGM, MAP, Friends of the Children of Mississippi, interested church bodies, interested foundations, and perhaps others to discuss this void? The Mississippi Council on Human Relations? Mississippians for Public Education? Tougaloo College? I think somebody should.

The CDGM centers of 14 counties are now refunded - for 1967. They need no private assistance for program, but they well may need some for public representation. OEO has put many tedious restrictions on CDGM, but I do not believe it can rightfully deny it the prerogative which other educational institutions have, and that is the interest and active promotional assistance of friends. In CDGM's case, the organized expression of that interest and assistance might best come from a panel of experts, a suggestion which Barrie, George, and Ramage of the Presbyterian Church propounded to me some time ago. As I understand this, there would be recruited a panel of specialists in early childhood education and development, pediatricians, and other

appropriate experts. These would function presumably under the sponsorship of the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church, (a) to strengthen the CDGM program through evaluation and consultation; and (b) to provide authoritative champions of CDGM work against critics, especially in connection with 1968 and subsequent refundings. Provided the panel did not require a too great overlay of administrative expense, it seems a highly useful plan. Indeed, something like it seems necessary in the non-CDGM counties, and, so long as the sponsor is the church and the funds are private, I can conceive no reason why the same panel could not serve both CDGM and non-CDGM programs: non-CDGM, of course, could include MAP and other federally financed centers if they wished.

I referred above to teacher training. It would seem that there would be an awful lot to be said for creating a facility to provide training for all pre-school teachers in Mississippi, a center that would be divorced from the politics and the controversy of OEO grants. If this cannot now be done, let's move ahead in ways that would not erect barriers to doing so later.

Perhaps the same panel which Barrie et al have proposed could help some in planning such a facility. The panel could also be the base for building on the resource teachers, counsellors, and - perhaps first of all - a kind of circuit-riding health squad to serve the non-funded centers. I have reason to think that the latter might have professional cooperation from within Mississippi; at least that would be worth a good try.

Now let's discuss MACE. As noted above, the pre-school centers join the Field Foundations' two interests, their needs outside the 14 CDGM counties are critical, and they would very likely have, therefore, priority in any Field Foundation consideration, as long as their needs are un-met from other sources. Furthermore, I rather think that the MACE work we could best support would be any projects that similarly have direct reference to children. At the meeting January 30 in Cleveland, we discussed briefly a possible schools project for MACE. One of the keenest struggles in the metropolitan areas today is over the question of community involvement in the running of schools; here in New York, e.g., we have had this year two bitter battles between Harlem parents et al and the school system, neither of which is yet resolved. CDGM has been a pioneer in pre-school work; why could not MACE be a pioneer in proposing solutions to this problem and gaining those solutions through organized voting power? At any rate, I would guess that MACE programs which build on the achievement with early childhood education would be the most attractive ones here.

Parenthetically, I confess also that I am still not clear about the general concept of MACE. You may find that the budget estimates are unrealistically high for private financing. The more urgent question, however, is whether the program concepts are well defined

and valid. Do you intend to build a quasi-political group, a successor to NAACP, a private ombudsman, a parallel system of social institutions? It would seem that MACE could become any one or even a combination of these, and they are all legitimate ambitions, though not all are self-evidently of a tax-exempt kind. Or do you really intend, as you say you do, that this be leadership training, community education, and worker training? Those are notions that are very widely discussed now, but I still wonder if the best leadership training and community education are not done as by-products of attacks on concrete objectives, such as schools, voting, jobs, etc.? When people talk about leadership training or community education, I want to know for what or whose purpose, and if the answer is that the purpose is in the interests of the poor I have doubts about the stability of that as an ideology. Moreover, the training ideas set out in the proposal resemble somewhat those being developed by the North Carolina Fund, and others which are being followed by Penn Community Services down in Beaufort and Jasper Counties (S.C.) I happen to believe Penn has had good success, but that may be because it has been (up to now) determinedly small scale. I don't happen to know that the evidence supports any other leadership or community worker training programs.

You may disagree with these remarks, and Dick Boone may also. I have a great deal of respect for you two, and almost hope you prove right and I wrong; but in the meantime, I am glad that MACE or something like it will more than likely also have problem-area projects for us to consider. (In nothing I have read about MACE has there been emphasized what Gene Roberts reported in the February 7 Times, that MACE is to be a voter registration and political action outfit.)

My comment above about MACE training plans not seeming unique is not meant to imply that one has to be different in order to get support. It does mean that support goes for the organization, and not primarily for the proposed methods. I am sure that some of my doubts about MACE have to do with its organizational independence, and a feeling that I don't understand how MACE, CDGM, Friends of the Children of Mississippi, and Mary Holmes Junior College will all relate to and cooperate with each other. Very frankly, I felt some shadowy concern last month when the MACE and Friends boards met separately with us. When some of us first talked of the kinds of outreach MACE seems to be intended to have, we talked - rather dreamily, perhaps - of such activities being extensions of a community college.

Barrie, George, and Ramage talked to me of their interest in converting Mary Holmes into a community college, and that does seem to me an exciting idea. I doubt, however, that first-rate community extension program could be grafted on to a mediocre or worse academic program, and the Presbyterian Church quite understandably would be reluctant to abandon Mary Holmes' academic program. If my doubts are valid, perhaps you do have to consider creating new organizations.

Whatever the answer to this basic question, there is a less basic but very troublesome question, which is the need for tax-exempt status for an organization related to all these programs: or does the Presbyterian Church intend to accept sponsorship of your new undertakings?

The final suggestion I have is one which, if you agree, implies prompt and vigorous action. The childhood education story needs to be more effectively told. For at least two reasons: to get a running start on next year's funding of CDGM (whether the grant making agency at that time is still OEO or may have become the Office of Education); and to get more support for Clarke, Greene, Humphreys, Neshoba, Sunflower, Wayne, and other counties where volunteer centers are or will be operating. In part, these needs can be fulfilled by good reporting and interpreting; Polly's book will undoubtedly help and we all should hit such licks as we can to get other good pieces written and published.

Another approach, and one with particular reference to non-funded counties, is to put the case before other foundations as well as Field. It should be presented as, in truth, it is: a program that is serving a great many of our children and must not, therefore, be neglected. A good way to do this would be to invite a half dozen or so experts (perhaps some of the same persons on the Barrie et al panel?) to observe and evaluate the work now going on in those centers and to record their views in two or three pages. These statements, plus some facts and figures, become your proposal to the foundations. It wouldn't even matter so much if some of the statements were adversely critical: the appeal of these centers is not only that they are doing a good job, but precisely that they are doing a job that no one else is doing and that a lot of the future rides on whether they are enabled to do it well.

My guess, incidentally, is that you will find it desirable to make separate presentations to foundations.

If the suggestions above have any usefulness, it will be because they give us a basis for discussion. The Field Foundation will be meeting in April, and proposals ought to be put together during February and March. You realize that the Foundation is not likely to grant the kind of sum it was prepared to put into a non-refunded CDGM, but there could well be a substantial grant.

This does not preclude further interim, before April, assistance for the centers in the non-CDGM counties, if necessary.

I have addressed all this, Dave, to you for want of knowing an alternative. You will know how to put it before your associates. As you can see below, copies of it are going to some of them. MACE and Friends copies are going to Mrs. Blackwell and the Rev. J. T. Killingworth, because she was the MACE representative sent to New York

and because he is the only Friends board member I know; I am sending a copy also to Marv Hoffman. I am also sending a copy to Marian Wright, as counsel for CDGM, so that she can advise us whether anything in these suggestions would adversely affect the interests of CDGM.

With all good wishes, to you and to a truly grand program. As Christopher Jencks and David Riesman write in the current Harvard Educational Review, it has been a "pre-school program of extraordinary distinction".

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:cpm

cc: Uneeta Blackwell
Marian Wright
Rev. J.T. Killingworth
Marvin Hoffman
Kenneth Neigh
Richard Boone

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

xRex Field Foundation 1967

REGARDING

Georgia Council on Human Relations

Ltr. to Les Dunbar 2/23/67 from Frances Pauley

regarding program

DATE

2/23/67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Georgia Council on Human Relations

File
Field Fd.
1967

March 6, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

I would very much appreciate the opportunity of our next meeting to talk about continued support for the State Councils. Ed and I, Ed particularly, are giving considerable thought to this and to our future relationships, and I would like to share this with you.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

(4)

ES
LPA

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

February 20, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I have read with great interest Ed Stanfield's memo about Tennessee. Assuming that Ed's concerns are well founded, I do not know what the answer is. My own conclusions about the state councils lead me to believe their effectiveness is to a very large extent dependent on the presence of a strong director and that when he leaves there is nearly always disorganization; on the other hand, except while a council is lucky enough to have a strong director I am not sure any of them have been notably effective. I said above I was assuming the correctness of Ed's concern; I really do not have anything to go on. The people I know best in Tennessee - Will, Elbert, George Barrett - all say enthusiastic things about Baxton even though they rage at him.

On another but related matter, if our records are correct, this is the year that our grant for the state councils runs out. I suppose you may want to take it up with us again. Perhaps next time you come to New York we can talk about it. When SRC in 1964 applied for the latest renewal it presented some new ideas. The new ideas were turned down and the Foundation simply made a three-year extension of the old plan. I have looked at what came up in 1964 and have some views as to its present applicability, but you and Ed might want to rethink the whole project.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

file
Field Fd.
1967

March 6, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Enclosed is a brief memorandum from Al on the organizational meeting of the Federation of Cooperatives meeting held on March 2, and a copy of a letter from Chuck Ihlenfeldt, which I thought you might find of interest. I do think something very important is taking place.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File - Field Fd. 1967

March 13, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

Ed Stanfield will be in New York for a meeting beginning Friday evening, March 17th. Since his way is being paid, I have urged him to go up a day earlier in the hope that he can meet a few of the people and visit some of the offices. He is arriving mid-day on Thursday, the 15th, and will call your office after lunch to determine if you are available for a brief visit either Thursday afternoon or Friday.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Field Foundation
1967

March 15, 1967

Dear Les,

There was only one file copy of "Civil Disobedience" in the office. I've xeroxed several copies and am sending you three. If you need more, let me know. I've just read this one -- it was done when I was in Washington -- and I think it's one of your best.

All the Johnsons are fine. Regards to all the Dunbars.

Sincerely,

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

March 13, 1967

Mrs. Mildred Johnson
Souther Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mildred:

Back in 1961 I made a talk at Earlham College titled "Civil Disobedience". There were mimeographed copies around and I wonder if there might still be a copy or two available to send to me.

Give my best to Zeke and the children.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:cpm

Bring up April 12
See Tues & Fri.
1967

March 23, 1967

Mrs. Lillian Alcock
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mrs. Alcock:

I shall attend the meeting on Sunday, April 16th.

Would you be good enough to make a reservation for me at the Drake for Sunday evening and inform them that I shall be arriving at Kennedy Airport at 8:05 a.m., Sunday, and at the hotel an hour later?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

March 20, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

We were sometime ago approached by a small group of federal government officials and civil rights figures, with a suggestion that we have felt privileged to carry out. There needs to be, they proposed, more sustained and regular interchange of insights and plans between those public and private leaderships who are concerned with and responsible for breaking down the large city racial ghettos.

As a start toward this goal, and with the encouragement of these persons who spoke to us and others whom we consulted, we are inviting a selected group to meet on April 16. The government people who will be present have consented to introduce the issues, but there will be no set speeches. We look forward to free, frank, and - let us say at this point - completely unpublicized and off-the-record discussion.

The sole structuring of the agenda will be to keep it on the broad subjects of the meeting, which are (1) the view of the ghetto from Washington; (2) the scope and adequacy of existing federal legislation; and (3) the necessity that federal administration and private actions complement and stimulate each other.

A Sunday meeting is an abomination, and we won't even bother to apologize: no other date would work. We shall begin at 10:00 A.M. at the Drake Hotel, the Devon B Room, Park Avenue and 56 Street, and shall adjourn by 5:30 P.M. or 6:00 P.M. Lunch will be served.

We are hopeful that you can join us. Would you please phone or write Mrs. Lillian Alcock in our office whether we can expect you. I shall, of course, be glad to hear from you if you have any questions.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

P.S. If you would like for us to make a room reservation for you please let us know.

V-2

See — Free Fd.
cc: Mr. P
V.E.P.
re: Supplementary Grant $50,000 for 1967

~~MJ Jane~~

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 20, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am very glad to be able to tell you that the Foundation at its recent meeting voted to make available an additional $50,000 to the support of the Voter Education Project during the calendar year 1967. This would bring our contribution for 1967 up to $150,000.

The Field Foundation has taken this action because of our conviction that the Voter Education Project should not suffer this year any loss of momentum and our awareness that the harsh difficulties encountered by Taconic, the largest single supporter of VEP, make unlikely any support from there this year. The Taconic grant for 1966 had been $150,000, and we are hopeful that you can obtain funds from other sources to replace the loss of that entire amount during 1967. We are consequently very hopeful that our conditional pledge of this $50,000 will encourage other gifts. We shall be glad to send you our check for that amount when you can inform us about your prospects for obtaining the other $100,000.

With all good wishes to you and Vernon Jordan and your other associates.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la
cc: Lloyd K. Garrison
Jane Lee Eddy

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

FIELD FOUNDATION

REGARDING

$25,000 GRANT FOR JOINT INTERAGENCY PROJECT ON TEXTILE EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION

Memo to Randolph Blackwell, Clarence Coleman, Jean Fairfax, Al Kehrer and Courtney Siceloff from Evmory Via and Letter from Field Foundation Les Dunbar

DATE

4-21-67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

LABOR PROJECT SRC PROJECTS SECTION

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 21, 1967

File
Field Fd. 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Coleman:

I am glad to hear about your welfare survey in eastern Arkansas. I think one of the excellent developments in the state councils on human relations in the last two years has been their turn toward this kind of hard problem.

There is nothing right now that I can say about Field Foundation assistance. Before we consider any further queries from individual state councils we are having a broad review of the whole state council situation.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

LD:la
cc: Paul Anthony

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

E.S. - let's discuss
AB
file

Eaton
Fidelity Onion Skin

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 21, 1967

Miss Patricia B. Miller, Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
First Federal Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Dear Miss Miller:

Thank you for your letter of April 18. I am glad to have it, and it is entirely adequate for the present. As I said to you over the phone, however, before we act on any further proposals from independent state councils on human relations, we shall be having a general study of the whole state council picture.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la
cc: Paul Anthony

Esleeck
Fidelity Onion Skin

Gallerck

Fidelity Onion Skin

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 21, 1967

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman, Executive Director
The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Alice:

A letter from you addressed to "Dr. Dunbar"! A confession that you felt a "dilemma as to how to approach the Foundation"!

What is all this? We shall take this up at our next meeting, but that probably will not be until late Summer. Can you stand that, or would you want me to seek interim action on this?

In the meantime, we are undertaking to consider anew the whole question of Field Foundation support for the state councils and are consulting with Paul Anthony about that.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

LD:la
cc: Paul Anthony

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Gallerck

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 21, 1967

Mr. Kenneth L. Dean, Executive Director
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
306 First Federal Building
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Ken:

I was delighted to get your letter of April 13 with the enclosed copy of your tax-exemption letter. This will make life, I am sure, much easier for you.

In addition to meaning that the Field Foundation, if it is ever so foolish as to make another grant to you, can do it directly, this letter of tax exemption is also your hunting license to offer other foundations the opportunity of associating themselves with you.

I am glad to read your remarks about Hodding Carter III. I have a good bit of respect for him and his ability; as a matter of fact, I seem to recall writing him a letter just before I left the South of appreciation for the work of his newspaper. I do not propose to seek his opinion of matters related to Mississippi, but I shall be delighted to hear from him.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la
cc: Paul Anthony

File / Field Fd. (1968) Martin Luther King, Jr. Special grant from Field Fd. in Memory of M. L. King, Jr., to further Voter Ed. efforts in South.
Cr. ref re:

April 23, 1968

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

This will simply acknowledge receipt of the special grant in the amount of $225,000 in support of the Voter Education Project.

We understand, I believe, the conditions of the grant, and the spirit in which this special grant was made. In this regard, Vernon and I have done some preliminary planning and as these plans are further developed we will, of course, keep you informed.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 11, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Confirming our wire of April 5, I enclose herewith our check for $225,000. 4-15-68 K.M
This represents a one-time grant for the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, in memory of the work and achievement of Martin Luther King, Jr.

It is part of a larger grant made by the Foundation to this end. We thought the Southern Regional Council should share in it because it has always embodied and expressed convictions similar to those of Dr. King. We remember too his strong personal commitment to the cause of voter registration and political participation.

In making this grant, it is the hope and wish of the Foundation that it can be put immediately to use, that it will enable you over the next few critical months to enlarge significantly your efforts. We do not, of course, ask that you act hastily: only that we hope these funds can be thrown as rapidly as good judgment allows into Dr. King's cause.

With our very best regards.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la
Enc.

cc: Vernon Jordan

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

STATEMENT ON THE DEATH OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Seven years ago, the Field Foundation began its working association with Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Even before then we had come to believe in this gentle yet powerful man.

As at other times of national shame and self-despair, what is at issue now is how well we as a nation shall respond morally and politically. On the day of Dr. King's assassination, Congress was once again voting against the poor, whose lives and hopes he implored us to see and do justice toward. In words he, himself, once used on another terrible occasion, "this must never happen again".

We know how pitifully inadequate on this occasion is a gift of money, yet what each person or organization should do is what can most constructively be done with his or its distinctive resources. The Field Foundation has long supported, to the best of its wisdom, the cause of civil rights and the cause of the disadvantaged. We pledge now that we shall continue to do that as long as these dreadful conditions or our resources last. As an earnest of that renewed resolve, we will contribute within the next few days $1 million toward the civil rights struggle in the South. These funds are being distributed among a few organizations which in purpose and method represent Dr. King's own constant and beautiful loyalty to the ideal of a beloved community, united in and by justice, non-violence, and love.

These funds, which shall come from capital, will be in addition to the Foundation's planned level of giving for this year. Notifications have gone out and been received by the grantees, and any further announcement there may be will come, in accordance with our usual practice, from them.

We hope and pray that there shall be many who by service and by money will want to renew their dedication to the cause of a humane and Godly society, for which our friend Martin gave his life.

The ugly scars of racism and poverty will not be eliminated in this country until the people through Congress wills this be done. Concerned citizens and voluntary groups can, however, tax themselves, and we urge that they do so until Congress can be persuaded to do its duty in the name of us all. We shall do that as individuals as well as a foundation. We urge that others join in this demonstration that private America is awake, if Congress is not.

Ruth P. Field
Chairman

Morris B. Abram
President

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

April 5, 1968

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

File
Cx. ref. Highlander Research & Educ. Center

LES
VJV
MJ-16

April 25, 1967

Mr. C. Conrad Browne, Executive Vice President
Highlander Research and Education Center
1625 Riverside Drive
Knoxville, Tennessee 37915

Dear Mr. Browne:

At a recent meeting the Foundation carefully considered your proposal of December 28, 1966. Since 1963 the Foundation has supported your southwide voter education internship program and your voter education workshops, and in your current proposal you suggest a two-year renewal of each project with a total grant of $80,000.

In addition to the support of these projects, the Foundation has contributed substantially to Highlander for a number of years.

Because of this long and valued association, we are extremely reluctant to pull away abruptly. It is, however, our usual policy not to stay indefinitely with the same projects or grantees, and it is, therefore, the wish of the Board that a terminal grant be made at this time. We hope in this way that your program can be sustained while you are securing other sources of support.

The Foundation has therefore awarded $25,000 to Highlander for 1967 support and $15,000 for 1968 support, as a terminal grant. Our check for $25,000 is enclosed. There are no restrictions on the projects to which you may apply this grant.

I am also asked by the Directors to tell you that if you prefer to have the $15,000 earlier than next year you may so request. Otherwise, you will receive that amount on or about April 1, 1968.

Mr. C. Conrad Browne, Executive Vice President
Highlander Research and Education Center

If any public announcement is made of the grant we would appreciate receiving a copy.

May we have your acknowledgement and acceptance of the grant and the terms of this letter.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:cpm
Enc. 1

bcc: Mr. Paul Anthony

File

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 2, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Returned to PA 5/3/67

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a copy of Bob Coles' letter about which we spoke this morning.

Les and I will look forward to your further thoughts in connection with the proposed May 28-31 trip to Mississippi of Drs. Wheeler, Coles, and Mermann. We should have mentioned that the out of pocket costs of this trip will be covered by the Foundation.

Sincerely yours,

George Loft
Associate

GL:cpm

File → THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

File

May 8, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

You and Vernon may find of interest John Lewis' report on the meeting he and some others had with John Doar.

Sincerely,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

JL:la

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.

Memorandum

To: Leslie W. Dunbar

Re: Justice Department Meeting on Sunflower County Elections

From: John Lewis

Date: May 5, 1967

On Wednesday April 26 from 4:30 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. a delegation of legislators, ministers, attorneys, and civil rights people met with the Assistant Attorney General John Doar. We had also planned to meet with the Attorney General Ramsey Clark, but he was called to the White House. The meeting was arranged by Representative William F. Ryan to seek some federal presence or observers for the May 2 elections in the towns of Morehead and Sunflower, and federal registrars for the upcoming elections in July and November.

You will recall that special elections were ordered by the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in an opinion of last Spring setting aside the June 8, 1965 municipal elections because Negroes had been denied the right to register in time to vote. In Sunflower County only 24 per cent of the eligible Negroes are registered, while 85 per cent of the eligible whites are registered. There is only one place in the county where the people can register - with the Circuit Clerk in Indianola, which is 50 miles away from the town of Drew, where there is a heavy concentration of Negroes.

The point was made to Mr. Doar that it is doubtful and quite unlikely that poor Negroes, or poor whites (with just enough funds for food and clothing), are going to take a bus or pay someone to drive 50 miles one way to register.

Members of the delegation continued to review some of the problems and needs of Sunflower County. There was really no need for this review. It was only good for the record, and maybe good for members of the delegation to raise certain questions and problems with government officials (I will probably be accused of being a little subjective here). Out of all the people in the room John Doar was probably the best informed, and at the same time just as committed as any of us to the idea of all of the people in Sunflower County participating in the democratic process. At this point probably I can be accused of being a little subjective - John Doar is one of the few remaining "good guys" in Washington. I have seen this guy in action in Montgomery during the Freedom Ride in 1961, in Birmingham, and in Selma. He is trying to do right the things.

To: Leslie Dunbar

From: John Lewis

Mr. Doar assured us from the outset that there would be some Federal presence if it were only one of the Department's attorneys who was working in the two towns on the elections. On the question of Federal observers he said that it hws been the policy of the Department to send Federal observers only to those counties where they had sent Federal examiners or registrars in keeping with their powers under the '65 Voting Rights Act. On the other hand, he said the Department has deliberately sent examiners to certain counties in order to send in Federal examiners during the elections where they felt some irregularities might take place.

He made it clear that it was left up to him to make recomendations to the Attorney General on whether a county should be designated for examination; but the final decision is left to the Attorney General as to whether a county is actually designated. Some members of the delegation felt that in the case of Sunflower it was up to Senator James O. Eastland.

John Doar informed the group that about two weeks ago he spent a few days in Sunflower County talking with local Negroe leaders, including Mrs. Fannie Lou Hammer, and local election officials. He cited the number of Negroes and whites that were in both towns: Morehead - whites, 418; Negroes, 412; Sunflower - Negroes, 180; whites, 160.

He observed that many people are saying that the civil rights movement is dead. He felt that this was not the case in Mississippi for the movement had left something. He spoke of the "political sophistication" of the Negroes in the two towns - - the political education that is taking place -- the use of sample ballots, how to single shot votes - getting their people recognized as election officials.

On the question of Federal registrars or examiners, he stated that he had asked the officials of the County Board of Elections of Sunflower County to make registration available and convenient to all citizens of the County before the elections in Mississippi this year. In reply to a question, Mr. Doar admitted that officials have not met his request and the Attorney General would have to take this into consideration in deciding whether to designate Sunflower County for federal examiners.

A member of the delegation made the point that at the end of 1965, after the Voting Rights Act was passed, 43 per cent of eligible Negroes in counties having federal registrars were registered. By contrast only 15 per cent were registered in counties without federal registrars.

To: Leslie Dunbar

From: John Lewis

One must conclude that it is strange that the Department of Justice has sent federal examiners to several counties near Sunflower, but not one to Sunflower.

Members of the delegation included Rep. John Conyers; Rep. William F. Ryan; Grover C. Bagby, Chairman, Methodist Board of Social Concern; Dr. David M. French, Chairman, Medical Committee for Human Rights, and Howard Medical School; Eugene Groves, President, National Student Association; James Hamilton, Director, Washington office of National Council of Churches; David Isbell, Vice Chairman, ACLU; Clarence Mitchell of NAACP; Eleanor Holmes Norton, Asst. Legal Director of ACLU; Bayard Rustin; Nathan Schwerner; Horace Sheffield of UAW (representing Walter Reuther); John P. Sisson, Director, Southern Field Services of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

/cpm

See Field Fd. cr. ref. Ed Randall re: No more financial support from Field Fd.

May 9, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

I understand and am in complete agreement with your latest communication with Ed Randall. I still wish he had support, but it is certainly someone else's time.

Best,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 5, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

It is someone else's turn next.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la
Enc.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 5, 1967

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pa.

Dear Ed:

As usual your letters are both welcome and unwelcome, as they come bearing both good and ill tidings. You have as always progress and victories to report and also your long hard struggle but enough funds to do the job in a way that is fair to you and Clara. On the latter, I don't want to mislead you at all so I have to tell you quickly that we cannot help with your present problems. We are a long way off for a board meeting and, more important, the Foundation has a practice of making what it calls "one-time grants", and means that term seriously. Your case was a grant of that sort. I hate to be this bluntly discouraging, but I think you would want to know what the facts are.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

bcc: Paul Anthony

EDWIN T. RANDALL
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
WALLINGFORD, PA.
LOwell 6-2578

MAY 4 1967

May 2, 1967

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Les;

As I indicated to you previously we expected to run out of gas about the middle of the year. We have, as I indicated previously, had more expense for help, larger costs for increased numbers of tapes, and greater travel costs.

I think we have also had a measurable increase in pointedness of broadcasts. Within the last couple of months we had eight new stations ask for the program. Very shortly two of them cancelled. I feel strongly that this was because of the increased pointedness of programs so that it is definitely not so easy now as at the beginning of our program for a station to pick it up without protest.

We have now had definite word from Montgomery that the three stations which cancelled there did so because of protests from the Klan. From this I judge that other stations which have cancelled, with the illogical explanation that they have "run out of time," have probably also yielded to protest. This gives us some satisfaction in the assurance that there is a "cutting edge" to our broadcasts, and it gives the aspect of a minor miracle to the fact that we are still on 76 stations in the two states.

It's a fact we haven't had the money from Mississippi I had very strongly hoped for. There are at least three reasons for this. First of all we can't generally go about proclaiming our major purpose for what it is. Francis Stevens says people in Mississippi don't have as much money as people elsewhere and must be even more careful about how they distribute what they use for good works. Second, there are a lot of people who, as you expressed it, don't think that three Negro pupils in a county high school is much integration and they question the value of speaking with approval of achievements so far inside our hopes and expectations. Third, I think there are a lot of people who want things to change fast enough so they can see them move. To them we appear to be doing nothing worthy of support - good, maybe, but something we can get along without as we really push the business on.

Maybe it is pure rationalization but I am intrigued with the idea that there are things that ought to be done and somehow leave the consequences to God. The opportunity, for example, to give people in Mississippi and Alabama who have even mild protests to make against the order of things as they are a wider audience seems to me a good thing. To bring to the people to whom presently nobody who wants things to change is speaking in any way except with a kind of pressureseems to me of very great importance. But, of course, I could be wrong.

Clara and I are determined to keep going as long as we can, and are presently borrowing a thousand dollars on her salary for another trip south. But we would be able to do a much better and fresher job with more money for travel and some promotion and, of course, we'd like to expand. To cover Georgia, for instance, would require only a few weeks of special attention.

So, if you can help us more, and soon, it will enable us to increase the effectiveness of whatever it is we are able to accomplish.

Sincerely,

Ed

A YANKEE IN THE HEART OF DIXIE

Recently a radio friend who knows what's been going on said, "A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie represents a new dimension in broadcasting." And he asked, "What is it that gives it this compelling power over listeners?" And I said, "I don't know, but I wish I did." And he said, "But the simple facts of the history of the show make it clear there is something very special about it."

So -- here's what's been happening!

We began broadcasting a 15 minute once-a-week show on 25 Alabama stations May 15, 1962.
We began broadcasting a 15 minute daily show in Alabama February 3, 1964.

We began broadcasting weekly in Mississippi May 27, 1966.
We began broadcasting daily in Mississippi on September 25, 1966.

We are now on 69 stations in Mississippi and Alabama.
"Yankee" has been broadcast more than 48,000 times in Mississippi and Alabama.

In ten communities of the two states we are on two stations.
In one of these, one of the two stations airs the program twice every day, so we are heard in that city for 45 minutes, six days a week.

There <u>must</u> be something very special about a program to make this kind of history.

THERE IS!

I still don't know how to explain it, but notice what some of the happy broadcasters say about it!

"This program certainly has generated much audience response." WLPR

"'Yankee' is truly one of the best programs we carry and we definitely feel that it has been a valuable asset to our programming." WHMA

"One of the best things that happened to WAML Radio in 1966 was our scheduling 'Yankee in the Heart of Dixie.'"

"... and we want you to know that we are just as proud to have 'Yankee' on our 'Dixie' air ... we're happy, too." WMPA

"As you know, we were one of the first to start your programs, and we are still carrying them, six days a week. We are well pleased with the public response. I have had people tell me they never miss listening to you each day. We think you are doing a fine job." WMSL

"This Yankee is different.... In traveling throughout the state he interviews Mississippians of all walks of life, of all backgrounds and interests. What emerges is the portrait of a vibrant Mississippi, a thoughtful Mississippi, or an optimistic Mississippi." "Of Other Things" column, "The Mississippi Register."

(over - Please!)

All of this adds up to something that just can't be explained - at least I am sure I don't understand it. If you think you do I wish you'd help me to an understanding. But I would like to suggest some factors that I think help.

FIRST OF ALL, I think it makes people properly proud of the state and area they live in. This growing and wholesome pride is not the result of propaganda but rather of the opportunity to get acquainted with all kinds of people and take pride in knowing their fellow-citizens.

THEN I think the simple fact of getting acquainted with more and more people - all kinds of people - is one of the most fascinating experiences people can have. There is all too little of this opportunity in the busy world we live in now and radio is so well qualified to satisfy this basic yearning of the human heart. Nobody knows exactly why, but more and more people are recognizing that there is a strange power in radio which gives the listener a definite feeling of participation in the program. This makes him feel that he is making friends.

EVEN MORE, I think the very fact that we don't tell people what to say, what they talk about is entirely up to them, contributes to the warmth of the relationship between the listener and people on the program. Especially when it is clear that people aren't just trying to say what everybody wants to hear or can most easily believe I think the atmosphere of sincerity is developed to a very high degree. All of us would rather have a few friends we can trust than a lot of acquaintances who always talk as if they agreed with us about everything. This is a very large and exceedingly important part of what makes this country America!

BEYOND ALL OF THIS there is an exceedingly powerful attraction in the very simple opportunity just to get acquainted with all kinds of people, to be able to consider people of all kinds as personal friends, and to think of nearly all of them as people you are proud to live with in the same state, the same country, the same world. IN OTHER WORDS, in this world which so often seems to all of us to be falling apart, with more and more lines and prejudices and misunderstandings dividing us from each other, Radio has a very special function to perform of binding us together in community by better understanding. This is created by sincere exchanges of what is really and truly in our hearts. I think we are just beginning to get to the edge of an understanding of some of these important facts about Radio. I hope we can go on together to a deeper understanding of, and stronger attachment to each other by deepening trust and faith in each other as human beings. This may sound pretty corny, but it's as close as I can come to explaining why we're in this business at all. I just happen to be a guy who loves his country and who would like very much to do something in line with what so many wonderful people in the past have done to make it so great for you and me.

SO MAYBE THE MAGIC MIGHT WORK for you and the people who expect you to bring them all the best in broadcasting. You can never be sure without giving it a try - a GOOD try - some good beating of the drum for it and all that. And you know you are free to sell it, if you want to, and can still report it as "educational" or "public service" time. The only cost to you is the postage to return tapes. Just fill out and mail the enclosed post card and we'll do the rest.

Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting Co., Inc.
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pa.

MMJ

Rec'd 5/19/67
File

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 16, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

All of us here are very pleased at the good news of SWAFCA's funding.

We want you to know that we have not forgotten that we expressed interest in funding a medical program for SWAFCA if they want it.

Because of commitments already made of current funds, this would have to be in our next fiscal year, which begins October 1, 1967. However, if there is any interest on SWAFCA's part, it might be a good idea to start thinking about it before too long.

Best to you.

Sincerely,

George Loft
Associate

GL:cpm

Rec'd 5/17/67

File

PW

MJ-file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 16, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I have read with great interest though not thorough care the Kytle-Apter report you sent me with your letter of May 9. Pat had already told me about it and filled me with horror over its perfidy. About all I can say now is it doesn't seem to be nearly as bad as Pat said. Whether you could construct this kind of program, however, without getting the rest of your program out of balance I don't know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

5.77
1234

file →

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 16, 1967

Mrs. Mildred Johnson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mildred:

Thank you very, very much. My check for $15 is enclosed. After I get to Atlanta I will ascertain when (if ever) the Southern Regional Council office will be open on Memorial Day weekend and will come by and pick it up. About all I can tell you as to the looks of a Cornell hood is that there ought to be a lot of red in it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la
Enc.

Field Fd.

VIA AIR MAIL

May 9, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

Send me your check for $15.00. Ty Stokes here has everything you need -- size 7½ cap, gown in your size, and the Cornell Ph.D. hood. I set it up so that I could pick it up for you on May 25th -- it's right on my way home.

Sincerely,

Mildred

Rec'd 5/15/67 TM

Yale Assistant Dean and Professor Alan at Yale

Guilford Carmichael

Joe Field Fd.

BA - pls reply
PA

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 27, 1967

XU 6-6688

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Les and I were glad to learn from your May 3rd letter to Bob Coles that Bob Anderson is interested in joining the Mississippi visit by the team of doctors. Since you put it up to Bob to react, please let us know when you hear from him.

Meanwhile, you might want to show Mr. Anderson the enclosed outline for the visit, prepared earlier this week when I was in Jackson, in consultation with FCM staff and others.

Since my return, I have learned that a fourth doctor will join the team. He is Dr. Joseph Brenner, of the medical department of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He is a good friend of Dr. Coles, with whom he worked in Mississippi, Appalachia and elsewhere. Dr. Brenner is an internist who originally comes from England, but has worked in Africa and Asia as well.

The enclosed schedule was prepared before we learned of Dr. Brenner's addition to the team; it now will have to be modified a little, and I will send you the final plan shortly.

Enclosed is a map showing the Mississippi counties where FCM operates. Also enclosed is a brief history of FCM and their statement on Community Programs, which gives their present thinking about health services.

I look forward to keeping in touch with you on this project.

Sincerely,

George Loft
Associate

GL:cpm
Encs.

File
Field Fd.

June 2, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

I suppose our phone call of this morning took care of the matter of the Emmerich proposal, and I haven't discussed it with Vivian. However, as a matter of record Emmerich's idea sounds fine for EOA or the Chamber of Commerce, or someone. In fact, they ought to do it for their own self-interest and I hope they will. However, I don't see the rationale for outside money to make it possible.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Rec'd 5/17/67

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 16, 1967

Mr. Paul B. Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I would be very grateful for any comments you can give me on the enclosed proposal from Charles Emmerich.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc.
LD:la

Perhaps Liv H. would have some thoughts on it.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ATLANTA, INC.
101 MARIETTA STREET BLDG.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
525-4262

C. O. EMMERICH
ADMINISTRATOR

May 5, 1967

MAY 10 1967

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Your letter has been received and we appreciate the consideration given to our original proposal. Because of our concern in this area we have drafted a planning grant proposal which we would like to have you consider.

The proposal we are making is a request for a planning grant to enable us to undertake the development of a well-designed program to bring about the integration of top level management in Atlanta businesses. There are many intern programs sponsored by colleges. It is important to keep in mind that this program is designed for college graduates to make a significant impact in management positions in this city.

We believe that a planning grant will enable us to develop a much better program than our present staff capability will allow and at the same time provide the supervision and program development if and when the program is implemented.

Your attention is respectfully invited.

Sincerely yours,

C. O. Emmerich

C. O. Emmerich

COE/lmt

ATLANTA INTERNSHIP IN INDUSTRY PROGRAM

Request for Planning Grant

I. The Purpose of the Planning Grant

Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., (EOA) requests a planning grant for a period of three months in order to develop a program to place sixty Negro college graduates of the Atlanta University complex into management training positions with firms in the Atlanta metropolitan area for one year. This program will be called the Atlanta Internship in Industry Program.

During the three-month period, a planning director, aided by an assistant and a secretary, will make the following preparations for the program:

A. He will identify unmet needs for professional personnel in the Atlanta area.

B. He will transmit this information to officials of the colleges comprising the Atlanta University complex* and, with their assistance, develop a method for selecting graduates for the program.

C. He will confer with executives of selected Atlanta firms in order to inform them of the availability of graduates of the Atlanta University complex who are qualified by their training to work in these firms.

---

*The predominately Negro Atlanta University complex includes Morehouse, Spelman, Clark and Morris Brown Colleges, and the Atlanta University Graduate School.

D. He will arrange for a series of meetings in which he will develop the program in greater detail with representatives of the firms wishing to participate and representatives of the colleges. The kinds of subjects which will be covered are the following:

1. The point in time before graduation when students will be notified that they have been selected for the program.

2. The desirability of an orientation period and the content of such orientation.

3. The type of training and supervision which the firms will provide.

4. The portion of an intern's salary to be paid by the firm.

5. Methods of reporting the performance of an intern and the performance of other personnel in the firm who work with the intern.

6. A firm's plans for an intern after the year-long program is over.

7. A procedure to provide information on the pattern of employment of an intern for a specified period of time following the year of the program.

E. He will determine the staff needed to operate the internship program and will develop a budget.

F. He will prepare the program proposal to be submitted for funding.

II. The need for the Atlanta Internship in Industry Program

Very few Negro graduates from the Atlanta University complex remain in the city environs. Only a small percentage of the industrial recruiters who annually visit this complex come from the local business community. It seem that many Negro graduates have to leave Atlanta in order to finds jobs in their fields.

At the same time, the number of business firms in Atlanta and the size of many of these firms continue to increase. As a result, businesses are continually faced with manpower shortages at the professional level.

A more fundamental paradox is the fact that Negroes with colleges degrees are departing from Atlanta at a time when it is growing into a more complex metropolis in need of talented persons of both races to help it plan its future.

The Atlanta Internship in Industry Program is an attempt to demonstrate the kinds of steps that need to be taken to end this inefficient use of talent. It will inteoduce Atlanta management to a valuable human resource located at its front door. It will show businesses how they can take positive steps toward eliminating the barriers of race and economic disadvantage. It will increase the possibility

that Negroes who are capable of making contributions to the development of Atlanta will remain in the city and do so.

EOA, as the Community Action Agency for metropolitan Atlanta, has come to recognize that the degree to which opportunities at the upper end of our society are available for Negroes has a profound effect on the kind of effort Negro poor persons will make to change their attitudes of hopelessness and acquire the skills they need. EOA also recognizes that the War Against Poverty and the fight for social justice cannot be won without competent persons of both races working daily to make their own specialities more sensitive to the needs of the disadvantaged. Persons who fill key positions in business, as well as in the legal profession, government, and private social action agencies, determine in large part the kinds of tools available for the poor to use as they strive to join the rest of America.

As a result of these considerations, EOA worked during the past two years to encourage the Emory University School of Law to undertake a pre-start program for prospective Negro law students. This program was designed to open an avenue for interested Negro students, having undergraduate baccalaureate degrees from accredited institutions, to undertake the study of law without having to take the

standard Law School Admission Test. The program is now in its first year.

The Atlanta Internship in Industry Program is a similar attempt in the field of business. It is designed to facilitate and expand the participation of Negroes in the business professions and in the development of business practices which will more solidly promote equality of economic opportunity.

May 5, 1967

III. Planning Budget

Personnel	3 Months
Planning Director @ $12,000 annually	$3,000
Planning Assistant @ $9,000 annually	$2,250
Secretary @ $7,500 annually	$1,875
Fringe Benefits	
Workman's Compensation	18
FICA 4.4%	314
Retirement 6%	428
Group Insurance	170
TOTAL	$8,055
Travel	
In-Town, 2 staff x 100 mi. a week @ 15¢ a mi. x 12 weeks	540
Consumable Supplies	
Office Supplies	150
Postage	100
TOTAL	$ 250
Space Costs and Rentals	
Office Space - $300 a mo. x 3 staff	900
Office Equipment	375
TOTAL	$1,275

Miscellaneous Expenses

Conferences and Luncheon Meetings ($2.00 person x 100 persons)	250
Printing and/or Xeroxing	$1,000
Telephone and Long Distance Calls @ $25 a month	75
TOTAL	$1,325

Other Costs

Administrative Cost 3% of total budget	343
GRAND TOTAL	$11,788

LES
MJ - file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

file

June 2, 1967

Mr. Jule Sugarman
Director Head Start
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Jule:

I phoned today to say that we would not be able to pay the Trans-Century fee for its services to CDGM. This is a decision we have come to after a considerable amount of discussion, both here and with other persons. I think it comes down to the fact that, in the spectrum of things that face us in Mississippi, the payment of a $20,000 - $25,000 fee for recruiting services does not seem to be of high priority. If this arrangement with Trans-Century is in your opinion a sound staffing arrangement for CDGM, your grantee, to undertake, we would hope that OEO would decide that it can, for the success of the program, approve the contract.

The needs that we are now chiefly mindful of in Mississippi are those of the Friends of the Children of Mississippi. As long as its children, perhaps as many as 2,000, are in unfunded centers there is little else we can do but respond as well as we can to their needs. In this connection, we brought all the influence we could on the Friends of the Children of Mississippi to encourage them to negotiate their interests with MAP, and on March 31 they did initiate correspondence and discussions with MAP. The MAP board at its public meeting on April 20 discussed this and affirmed its desire and willingness to have discussions; only the chairman was reluctant. Not until May 27 did MAP phone the Friends of the Children of Mississippi and inform it that it had selected a committee to sit down with the FCM committee for discussion and, we hope, negotiations.

Anything that you can do from your end (as we shall from ours) to encourage the parties to reach an agreement that is in the best interest of the children will be deeply appreciated.

Failing a mutually acceptable agreement between FCM and MAP, it will become necessary to seek other means of public funding, for it is very clear that FCM cannot continue to meet its serious human needs on the uncertain basis of private contributions.

I can assure you that, in the interim, we shall do all we can from here.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:cpm
cc: Morris Abram

File
Field Fd.
1968

mmj.

June 12, 1968

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Les:

Enclosed is a letter requesting a renewal of general support for the Council. I assume from your conversation last week that a letter is sufficient. Needless to say, if you would prefer a more formal request, I shall get to work on it promptly.

It was good to visit with you last week, and I very much appreciated your hospitality .

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

June 12, 1968

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Les:

This is to request the consideration of the Field Foundation for a renewal of its support to the general operations of the Southern Regional Council in the amount of $25,000 per year for three years, 1969-1971.

As you are well aware, general operations of the Council is the heart of all our programs covering, especially, our basic work in research and information and our field operation as well as administrative costs for all the Council's work. As you know, too, funds for general operations are the hardest to come by.

For a number of years the Field Foundation has been one of the few foundations that understood

the value of this support and has been willing to provide it. This support and the multiple year commitments have been invaluable to us.

During the course of the year we have provided you with financial and program reports. If, however, you wish additional information before this request can be considered, we shall be pleased to provide it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See Field File

June 13, 1967

Dear Les,

You're the greatest! Thanks loads to you for being so helpful in getting Lauren the necessary materials down here for the Encampment, and for whatever good word you might have passed on in her behalf. She got her letter of acceptance yesterday, and she's thrilled to death.

The Encampment gave her a $400 scholarship. We're happy enough to pay the remaining $100 plus her travel costs. She'll go to the Jackson, Kentucky Summer Project beginning July 2.

You will be hearing from Lauren soon.

Again, thanks.

Mildred

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

See — 7
Cr. ref.
Southern Consumers
Co-op

ES
MJ - file

June 13, 1967

Rev. A. J. McKnight
Southern Consumers' Education Foundation
P. O. Box 3005
Lafayette, Louisiana 70501

Dear Father McKnight:

We have your letter of June 5 and have read it and the accompanying report with interest and admiration.

It is true, as you note, that our two-year grant made in April 1965 was intended to be a one-time grant. I think, however, that your progress since then has been notable, and situations have also developed a greater role for you to play. We would have, therefore, no objection to your applying for another grant.

A convenient time for us to act on such an application would be late this year. If you specially needed earlier action that might be possible.

You will understand that our willingness to review an application in no way indicates what the outcome of that review will be.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la
bcc: Paul Anthony

file
field Fd.

June 26, 1968

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Les:

One comment in your letter of June 24th to Pat Miller confuses me. That is, "I assume there may be some applications for renewal, though as yet we have heard from neither S.R.C. nor any of the individual Councils."

I was under the impression that several of the Councils whom Field is currently supporting had applied for renewals. Does this statement indicate that you wish Councils to apply this year for continued support next year as you indicated during our last visit? Is this also your wish for SRC's general support?

More importantly, it was my understanding from a conversation of some months ago that you concluded you would rather Field give any and all support directly to the several state Councils, and that you did not wish to provide

SRC with a grant for that purpose for 1969. Do I understand this correctly?

Incidentally, Taconic was unable to provide the expected $25,000 for our 1968 grant-in-aid program. There is a slight possibility that they will be in a position to review this decision later in the year, but this does not look encouraging. We will meet our full commitment to the state Councils for the year, but unless Taconic comes through or unless there is some other unforeseen support, this will represent a $25,000 deficit on our part. We feel, however, it was important to end the year with the full level of support which had been earlier anticipated.

Sorry you were unable to be at Capahosic. We had, I think, an excellent meeting.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See Field Fd. Cr. re: Friends of the Children of Miss

LES
MJ-file

f.y.i.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

June 28, 1967

Mr. Frederick R. Mangrum, Jr., Director
Friends of Children of Mississippi
507½ North Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Fred:

Upon notification from you that your application for federal funding has been forwarded to the United States Office of Economic Opportunity, we shall send to the Board of National Missions of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, $45,000 toward the June and July 1967 expenses of the Friends of Children of Mississippi.

Of this amount $10,000 will be to complete our contribution toward the June expenses of FCM and $35,000 will be our contribution toward the July expenses.

Subject to all the conditions set forth in this letter, we shall furthermore forward to the United Presbyterian Church, on approximately the first of August and the first of September 1967, checks each month for $35,000 toward the expenses of FCM.

Again subject to all the terms and conditions of this letter, we shall forward to the United Presbyterian Church on approximately the first of October 1967 and shall continue to forward through the first of May 1968 $20,000 each month for FCM.

These contributions, added to our grant of $25,000 in June, represent a total pledge of $300,000 for the 12-month period June 1, 1967 to May 31, 1968.

In addition to requiring that you make and vigorously pursue application for public funding by the U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity, the monthly payments on this grant are each conditional on the following:

1. That FCM continue to operate in Clarke, Wayne, Neshoba, Humphreys, Greene, and Leflore counties and provide pre-schools in those counties at approximately the same level of activity as of June 1, 1967.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.

June 28, 1967

Mr. Frederick R. Mangrum, Jr.

2. That FCM loyally adhere to the plans and purposes outlined in your letter of May 31, 1967 to us.

3. The monthly payments of the grant are terminable whenever you receive public financing, either directly or indirectly as a delegate agency.

As you know, we have been at all times as interested in the program and needs of the Associated Communities of Sunflower County. It is our understanding that ACSC is probably to receive substantial federal funds. If that expectation is disappointed, we shall wish to talk with you regarding the inclusion of Sunflower County in the above listing of counties to which our grant applies.

Furthermore, on June 7, 1967 Mr. David Emmons wrote to us in behalf of ACSC, proposing a modest -though unspecified- grant for a demonstration center in Sunflower County for Head Start teacher training. We refer this application to you. We can appreciate the worth of a demonstration center, and of building quality into Head Start programs even while they must continue to struggle for survival. If your Board wishes to enter into discussions with ACSC as to mutually beneficial processes for the use of a demonstration center in Sunflower County, we would have no objection to your using some of our grant for that purpose. We would, in fact, be willing in such a case to entertain an application from you to draw such funds away from the tail-end of this grant.

In addition to the above, the Foundation is prepared to contribute up to $50,000 toward the cost of a minimum medical and health education program, if one is submitted by you. The Foundation, and certain of its members acting individually, are also prepared to do all they can, on your request, to assist in organizing such a program.

We should note that this pledge toward a medical and health education program is also terminable or reducible when public funding may be secured. At such time, any Foundation money not already paid out or obligated from this pledge will be retained by the Foundation or should be returned by you to the Foundation.

With our very best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

cc: William Garfield Goff
Bryant George
Robert Barrie
Cyril Walwyn
Marian Wright
Richard Boone
David Emmons

bcc: Joseph Brenner
Robert Coles
Alan Hermann
Milton J. E. Senn
Raymond Wheeler
Julo Sugarman
Paul Anthony
Kenneth Dean

[redacted]

See Field Fd. 1967

via air mail July 5, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

Should you have the time I think it would help our conversation next week if you could read this first-draft position paper prepared by Ed Stanfield.

I am going to try to make an 11:00 a.m. appointment with Jack Coleman, lunch with Vernon Eagle, and see you thereafter. I'll check with your office that morning (July 12th) to determine if this is possible.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
(Position Paper on Future Roles & Relationships of SRC & the State Councils on Human Relations)
See: State file - General.

file Field for refd. Fdtn
Sou Cons Ed.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

July 7, 1967

Rev. A. J. McKnight
Southern Consumers' Education Foundation
P. O. Box 3005
Lafayette, Louisiana 70501

Dear Father McKnight:

It is with a great deal of regret that I tell you that we will not be able to act on your proposal until the Fall. I hope in the meantime you can in other ways find the means to continue the work of the Southern Consumers' Education Foundation.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

bcc: Paul Anthony

LD:la

file Field
Found
SC Council

~~LS~~
MJ-file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

July 7, 1967

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman, Executive Director
The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Alice:

I am very glad to be able to inform you that the Foundation, at a recent meeting and in response to your proposal of April 14, 1967, has voted $17,000 toward the general support of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations for another year. We are not clear as to when the year should begin because we are not clear as to the transition between you and your successor. It was the thought of the Board that the grant should be conditioned upon the appointment of a qualified successor to you, and I wish you would drop me a note as to developments.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
230 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

~~ES~~
KM-file KM

July 20, 1967

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Alice:

Thank you for your letter of July 18. Will you or someone please let us know when the new director has been appointed.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:cpm

bcc: Paul Anthony

WILLIAM & MARY COLLEGE LIBRARY

File State Council (clan)

File ~~or Ref~~ → Field Foundation

July 27, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

Enclosed is a copy of a recent speech Ed Stanfield made in New Orleans.

I am sorry to add this much paper to your desk, but thought you might like to be aware of the opinions he expresses.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

No cc of speech
mailed Goldenbrick 8/2
See EG for cc

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Leslie W. Dunbar
Field Foundation

REGARDING

Sent c.c. Speech Ed Starfield made in New Orleans regarding Human Relations Councils to LWD

DATE

7-27-67

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT

(Filed)
State Councils on Human Relations
(General)

Jr. Field Fd.

August 1, 1967

Mr. John Lewis
Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear John:

Enclosed is a check for your travel expenses. Thank you again for coming.

Do think long and hard about the offer and then submit your resignation up there and come on home.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc. - Check $98.22.

File Field Fd. 1967

August 4, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

This is a very brief reaction to your memorandum to the board of the Foundation. Thereafter, I will share it with Pat, Vernon, and with others here. I am sure they will be interested in it.

Of course, in a very brief space you have summarized extremely well the problem and the dilemma. I am particularly struck by how the memo points up the absence of any dramatic new remedies which can be taken by anyone in the private sector. This takes into account your observation that we all must do what we can to strengthen those groups and movements which can bring "new and suitable.....pressure."

While every observation in your memo is important, two of the most important I think are the specific of money for people, patticularly in my mind public works, although the others are important. The other to me is the observation of confronting directly the matter of race and having no further illusions about the Odum type dream that "progress brings harmony."

(Incidentally, I think the New Orleans speech of Ed Stanfield's, a copy of which I sent you the other day, has some bearing on this.)

There is one idea, hardly new, that we have developed for the immediate future. It is reflected in the draft of an SRC statement enclosed which was sent yesterday to the Executive Committee. The main purpose is to try again to alert the leadership of Southern cities to the fact that while we are building ghettos and doing it wrong, we have not yet gotten to the intolerable state of a Newark and, if for no other reason, enlightened self-interest now insists that we rapidly change our policies and programs and take perhaps this final warning of the inevitable unless we do it better and differently.

Finally, I think your memo points up as well as anything I have seen the fact that those of us who thought we had at least some of the answers several years ago now have to start all over again either looking for new answers or better ways of implementing the old ones. This is not to say those answers we had were all wrong. Most of them were probably quite good. But just as in the early fifties SRC did not accurately gauge the white Southerner's coming reaction, so I think earlier we did not gauge the white reaction nationally which may just be the beginning.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS W. YOUNG, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern F[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W[illegible] [illegible]A 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

D R A F T

August 2, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

This is a very brief reaction to your memorandum to the board of the Foundation. Thereafter, I will share it with Pat, Vernon, and with others here. I am sure they will be interested in it.

Of course, in a very brief space you have summarized extremely well the problem and the dilemma. I am particularly struck by how the memo points up the absence of any dramatic new remedies which can be taken by anyone in the ~~public~~ Private sector. This takes into account your observation that we all must do what we can to strengthen those groups and movements which can bring "new and suitable ~~ways of protest and~~ . . . . pressure."

While ~~I think~~ every observation in your memo is important, two of the most important I think are the specific of money for people, particularly in my mind, public works, although the others are important.

DRAFT

The matter Grace

The other to me is the observation of confronting ~~less~~ directly and having no further illusions about the Odum type dream that "progress brings harmony."

(Incidentally, I think the New Orleans speech of Ed Stanfield's, a copy of which I sent you the other day, has some bearing on this.)

There is one idea, hardly new, that we have developed for the immediate future. It is reflected in the draft of an SRC statement enclosed which was sent yesterday to the Executive Committee. The main purpose is to try again to alert the leadership of Southern cities to the fact that while we are building ghettos and doing it wrong, we have not yet gotten to the intolerable state of a Newark and, if for no other reason, enlightened self-interest now insists that we rapidly change our policies and programs and take perhaps this final warning of the inevitable unless we do it better and differently.

Finally, I think your memo points up as well as anything I have seen the fact that those of us who thought we had at least some of the answers several years ago now have to start all over again either looking for new answers or better ways of implementing the old ones. This is not to say those answers we had were all wrong. Most of them were probably quite good. But just as in the early fifties SRC did not accurately gauge the white Southerner's coming reaction, so I think earlier we did not gauge the white ~~national~~ reaction, which may just be the beginning.

naturally

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

no reading file copy

File
Field Fd.
cr. ref.
Ga. council

August 4, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

Somewhat relative to our recent conversation I thought you would be interested in the enclosed letter from the president of the Georgia Council.

I am very concerned about the serious misunderstanding which is being - or has been - created. Yesterday Ed Stanfield and I met with Frances and Johnny Glustrom to discuss next year's support. The discussion on that subject was satisfactory. But the next two hours of conversation indicated the depth of the misunderstanding. For instance, relative to the grant-in-aid program ending after next year Johnny said to me with deep emotion "You are sending us to the gas chamber."

This situation is unique, I think. Thus far all indications are that the other councils pretty

well understand the necessity of this decision and, with most of them, also understand the wisdom of it. Unique or not, however, I thought you would want to see this.

Enclosed also is a reaction to your memo.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures - 2.

cc: 1) Letter from Ga. Council
2) Ltr. re: Leg. Letter to Bloy Adm. & re. Statement to Ex. Cttee of 81

Free
Field Fd. 1967

August 14, 1967

Mr. George Loft
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear George:

Enclosed is Al Clayton's bill for the Mississippi photographs. The price is somewhat more than we had anticipated; largely because of extra prints, I think. If this is more that you feel Field should handle, we'll make up the difference.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

ILLUSTRATION DESIGN GROUP, INC. *Creative services for advertising*

INVOICE

TO Southern Regional Council

5 Forsyth Street

Atlanta, Georgia

DATE August 10, 1967

INVOICE 3894

YOUR ORDER Paul Anthony

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL PHOTO JOB FOR SENATE SUB- COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

7 Days shooting, film, processing, Prints and Miscellaneous expenses	$1,423.20

460 TENTH CIRCLE NORTH, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37203 | PHONE (615) 244-2881

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

Field Fd.
Cr. ref
Tenn. Council

LES
MJ-file

August 25, 1967

Mr. Baxton Bryant, Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
1207 18th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Baxton:

I have read your most recent newsletter. Coming on top of a recent conversation I had with Al Clayton, and on top of a summer-long reading about Tennessee, I cannot help but ask if you are giving any reconsideration to the question of whether Tennessee can spare you at this time?

I am just back from vacation and an expedition to Kentucky. Notes on my desk say you phoned once while I was gone. Ring me again, collect.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la
cc: Will Campbell
Paul Anthony

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

file

See

August 25, 1967

Mr. Edward Schwartz, President
United States National Student Association
2115 "S" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20008

Dear Mr. Schwartz:

First of all may I congratulate you on your election as president of the National Student Association. I wish you a most successful administration.

I do well understand your shock at the death of Warren Simpson. It must have been quite a blow.

In a happier note, I have known Howard Romaine pleasantly through his work with SSOC and I think he could well be what is needed for the Southern Project. I do not wish to go through the questions we have corresponded about before in regard to the nature of the project. I will only say, however, that when I read your letter of August 7, in which things such as course and teacher evaluation, and "student stress" bulked large, I again had my old questions. Let me simply say that I read your letter of June 12, 1967 as indicating that the project would in fact be primarily concerned with integration.

But, I don't want to go through all this again. Let's get on with the project and hope that it may be of signal value.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:cpm

cc: Mr. Howard Romaine
bcc: Mr. Paul Anthony

file
Field H, 1967

JW
MJ - file

August 28, 1967

Miss Jean Fairfax, Director
Division of Legal Information & Community Service
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle
New York, N. Y. 10019

Dear Jean:

I am pleased to enclose our check for $25,000 toward the cost of the special project aimed at racial discrimination in textile employment in the Carolinas.

Our understanding is Mr. Mordecai Johnson will direct this project under the supervision of an advisory committee representing a number of interested agencies. We further understand that the Legal Defense and Educational Fund will exercise the usual supervision over disbursements.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc.
LD:la

cc: Paul Anthony

File
Field Fd. - V.E.P.
cr. ref - Supplemental
re: request for $50,000 for
Grant for 1967 for V.E.P.

September 8, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

This is to request payment of the supplementary grant of $50,000 made to the Voter Education Project by the Field Foundation.

I am happy to report to you that we have met theprovision of matching the grant. As you know, the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation has made a grant of $50,000 to the Voter Education Project for use during 1967.

Again, please know we are most grateful for this important support from the Field Foundation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Field Fd.
Cx. ref: Texas Council
re: Position Paper's
leading T.C.H.R.

via air mail September 13, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

Thank you again for coming down last week. The visit was pleasurable as well as helpful.

When you left I asked for a few days to think, because the questions you raised were, obviously, of considerable importance and I felt the need to think about them for some time. That's done.

You were quite right that the Field Foundation should support the state councils through SRC, and I hope the Foundation will adopt that policy. While I still believe it is of considerable value to have some place where state councils can take their requests independently, it is also clear to me that I have over-reacted in this instance because of several situations here to which I am particularly sensitive, at times to the point where sensitivity may get in the way of judgment.

I agree also that any grant made should have a number of specifics as to what type of support can be given where. And, I feel certain we can work these out easily. In fact, unless I am considerably mistaken, we are in agreement on these specifics and the SRC staff not only will welcome them but will find them very helpful.

In regard to Texas we do have an impasse; a bad word, but workable. We remain prepared to submit a proposal for the Dallas Council with the understanding that we see this as an important step toward establishing a Texas Council. Should such a step be taken, we would sincerely hope the director would help stimulate councils in other cities and that in time we might arrange a federation of these councils into a statewide organization. We would hope, too, that the director would be particularly sensitive to problems of Mexican-Americans. This we can do honestly and I see a rationale for this more and more and feel it to be more important than simply support for a local program. I see also the Foundation's reluctance to make such a grant and understand it. And, in the order of priorities, while desirable, this is not important enough to become an issue.

Support for a Rio Grande Council or a Texas Council is, I think, premature. More importantly, I think it would be a serious mistake for either SRC or the Foundation to encourage such programs with a staff which we would impose on the effort.

Baxton has dealt with both of us quite honestly in this matter, I believe, and has had a concern that we not think he was saying different things at different places. I think Baxton has had a great personal desire to return to Texas and his enthusiasm

for this personal interest has created a problem for both of us. It has also created a serious problem in Tennessee and perhaps in Dallas. Frankly, I think whatever commitments either of us have made to Baxton must be re-evaluated in light of his enthusiastic behavior. He has taken considerable liberties, has moved rapidly in spite of the caution expressed by both of us, and I think his behavior has negated any commitments either of us made earlier.

I am uncomfortable with the number of "I's" and "I thinks" in this letter, but it's what I think, and I am sincerely grateful for the several experiences last week which led to them -- from the meeting in Gatlinburg to your visit here.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File Field Fd. 1967

September 18, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

Mike DeVito has been on vacation until today. I have now checked with him on the financial situation of the law students. He thinks, generally, all of them will be able to make it. In checking today, he determined that all of the students had registered for the coming term and he had earlier informed them that anyone with a serious financial problem should check with him. None have. There is one possible exception to this, and Mike will double check on that one as soon as possible. If a serious difficulty exists, it looks as if SRC and the law school will be able to work it out.

Incidentally, the assistant to the dean of the University of Georgia Law School has also assured Mike that any of these students who could not make it at Emory because of financial reasons would be accepted at Georgia as transfer students.

Mike also told me of the 11 students in this summer's program, 7 have been admitted and the best of the other 4 accepted at Ohio Northern Law School. One other dropped out very early saying that he didn't want to be a lawyer, but an actor. Therefore, only 2 of the 11 did not make it. Sounds like a pretty good average.

I have not been able to get the financial information relative to SCEF, but hope to have it soon.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Field Fd — 1967
(posted in Money book
9/25/67)

September 21, 1967

Mr. John Lewis
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear John:

We are very grateful for the Foundation's check for $50,000. Enclosed is our official receipt.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

September 20, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

In keeping with your letter of September 8, I am pleased to enclose our check for $50,000. May we have an official acknowledgment of this check?

for rep.

I'll see you in two weeks.

Sincerely,

John

John Lewis

Enc.
JL:la

$50,000. ck
9-21-67 rh

Free Field Fd.

September 25, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

When you were here I think you looked with some interest at the John Faulkner painting in my office. While I too am fond of it, I really think it is yours and that it is well within my authority to send it to you. This is being done.

Except for our little gift to Linda, we never did anything adequate concerning the Dunbar's departure. I hope you will consider this a gift from the SRC.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

File

E.S.
MJ file

September 26, 1967

Mr. Kenneth Dean, Executive Director
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
306 First Federal Building
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Ken:

This will acknowledge your letter of September 25 proposing a three-year grant from the Foundation of $14,000 a year. We shall take this up later this Fall and I shall let you know what the Foundation can do.

As you probably know, we have before us several proposals from state councils on human relations, as well as the proposal of the Southern Regional Council for a renewal of our grant to it for aid to the state councils. We intend to take up all of these together and I, therefore, very much appreciate your promptness in getting your letter to us in time.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:cpm

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

File: Field Fd. 1967

September 26, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to Baxton in response to his recent letter to me, which I really felt he was writing for your benefit rather than mine. Frankly, it is written with restraint, but I hope in my old age I am getting a little wiser about such things.

I hope, also, you do not object to my asking Ed to call you and discuss this. I not only have great respect for Ed's ability, but honestly feel we may all benefit by his involvement.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Southern Conference Education Fund

REGARDING

Financial Status of the Fund as requested by

L.W.Dunbar

DATE

9-26-67

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT

SOUTGERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND

See Field Fd. 1967

September 27, 1967

Mr. George Loft
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear George:

Enclosed, finally, is an itemized bill from Charles Clayton on the photos. It took us weeks to get this bill because of some delay in their accounting office, and then we only got a simple statement. The amount was so large we felt certain it included some other work Clayton had done for us. After several more weeks we did get the enclosed, which is incredibly high in my opinion. The explanation for the substantial amount for prints was to get them to the sub-committee on time. An outside lab, with weekend overtime, had to be used. Please note the total does not take into account the $204.04 travel advance.

Let me know what you think of the bill with the understanding we will make up any difference.

Incidentally, the cost of the prints also includes a set for the Foundation, two (2) extra sets for the sub-committee, a set for SRC, and one of the Mississippi Council.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

ILLUSTRATION DESIGN GROUP, INC. *Creative services for advertising*

idg

C O R R E C T E D I N V O I C E

INVOICE

TO Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

DATE August 10, 1967
INVOICE 3894
YOUR ORDER Paul Anthony

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL PHOTO JOB FOR SENATE SUB-COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

COST BREAKDOWN

7 days shooting @ $125.00	$875.00
Film	20.00
Processing	20.00
Prints - plus overtime charges from outside lab purchases	1,046.19
Telephone calls and postage	68.60
Mileage - 1,546 miles @ 10¢	154.60
	$2,184.39

Receipt hereby acknowledged of $204.04 travel advance.

Charles A. Clayton

460 TENTH CIRCLE NORTH, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37203 | PHONE (615) 244-2881

ILLUSTRATION DESIGN GROUP, INC. *Creative services for advertising*

idg

C O R R E C T E D I N V O I C E

INVOICE

TO Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

DATE August 23, 1967
INVOICE 3970
YOUR ORDER Paul Anthony

POVERTY PHOTOS NO. 2

Film	$ 20.00
Processing	20.00
7 days shooting @ $100.00	700.00
Mileage, 3,200 miles @ 10¢	320.00
Prints	160.06
Postage	2.10
	$1,222.16

Receipt is hereby acknowledged of $200.00 travel advance.

Charles A. Clayton

316 — Expenditures PA

460 TENTH CIRCLE NORTH, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37203 | PHONE [615] 244-2881

File Field Fd.
Post in Money book Done 10/3/67
mj

October 3, 1967

Mr. George Loft
Associate
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear George:

This will acknowledge with appreciation the Foundation's check of $2,184.39.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

September 29, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Following up our telephone conversation earlier today, I am enclosing our check to the order of Southern Regional Council for $2,184.39 to cover the enclosed invoice from Charles Clayton for his photograph services in connection with the Field-sponsored doctors project of Mississippi.

KM
10-2-67

We very much appreciate your role in making the arrangements for what turned out to be most effective coverage.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

George Loft
Associate

Enc.
GL:la

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

Rec'd 10/13/67

File Field Fd. 1967 Or. ref. Ark. Council re: ark's proposal for funds for welfare project

October 11, 1967

Mr. Walter Clancy
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Walter:

This will acknowledge your letter and proposal of September 22. We read with a good bit of interest these plans for a welfare project. I do not know what, if anything, we can do, and I would suggest you be also in touch with other foundations. We have the whole matter of the state councils on human relations before us this Fall, and I'll let you know as soon as I can.

It was good to hear from you again; all good wishes to you, and please remember me to my other friends in the Arkansas Council.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la
cc: Paul Anthony

File - Field Fd. 1967

via air mail October 19, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

Enclosed is our report of the activities of the Voter Education Project for the year to date. I hope this information is sufficient to serve as our request for consideration of a renewal for support for 1968. We would hope also this could be in the amount of $150,000.

If you need additional information, please let us know and we will supply it promptly.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure

A REPORT

ON THE

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

1967

- - -

OCTOBER 19, 1967

Thus far in 1967, the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., has funded 112 programs. With two months of the year remaining, the number of funded programs already has exceeded the number supported last year by six. Programs have been financed in all eleven Old South states.

In addition, the Voter Education Project has undertaken a wide variety of new programs. Chief among these was the seminar for Negro city councilmen and county officers held at Clark College in July. Thirty-four elected Negro officials from across the South attended the three-day meeting. VEP joined with the Center for the Study of Southern Public Policy at Clark College in sponsoring the seminar.

Major voter registration efforts during 1967 have come in Mississippi, Virginia, Louisiana and South Carolina, although some voter registration drives have been supported in ten of the eleven states. Voter registration has been spurred ahead in the first three states listed by statewide elections. The areas selected included some of the most difficult in all three

states. Registration programs in South Carolina are tied to that state's re-registration law, which requires all voters to re-register in order to vote next year.

Special mention might be made of two projects in North Carolina. In Charlotte, VEP sponsored its first registration drive through a community anti-poverty agency. In Robeson County (Lumberton), VEP funded a registration drive among Lumbee Indians which added nearly 4,000 names to the voting books. And in Georgia, when three counties (Terrell, Lee and Screven) were designated for the first and only federal examiners sent to Georgia, VEP acted immediately and was instrumental in setting up and supporting voter registration campaigns in all three counties.

During 1967, VEP helped move two additional state Voter Registration Projects toward permanent status. Both the Arkansas and North Carolina Voter Education Projects have been funded, have elected boards, and have employed full-time directors. VEP continued its support of the South Carolina Voter Education Project and assisted SCVEP in obtaining a new director. It is hoped that a recent statewide meeting in Baton Rouge has

provided the basis for organizing a state VEP in Louisiana.

Leadership training received major attention during 1967. Statewide leadership training meetings were held in North Carolina, South Carolina, Arkansas and Texas. The latter was held through the Texas Leadership Conference, and the other three through state VEPs. Typically, these one-day conferences consisted of general meetings and workshops on such topics as registration, voting, citizenship education, registration and election laws, the role of Negro office-holders, and the anti-poverty program. Hundreds of Negroes from all corners of these four states attended the leadership conferences.

Last year, VEP joined the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund in sponsoring one-day institutes for Negro candidates in South Carolina and Alabama. These institutes were most useful in enabling Negro candidates to protect themselves against election fraud. These institutes for candidates have been continued this year in Mississippi and Louisiana, the latter being the largest such meeting yet held. In each case, Fred Wallace of the Legal Defense Fund has been in charge of

briefing the candidates.

The Clark College seminar already mentioned was one of the most successful and inspiring in which VEP has been involved. This seminar, along with the VEP-sponsored conference last year for Negro legislators, marked the first time that such groups of Negro officeholders had met in the South. As did the meeting of Negro legislators, the seminar provided a base for continuing liaison for the officeholders who attended. Speakers for the seminar included Bayard Rustin, Miss Marian Wright, Dr. Vivian Henderson, Jack Greenberg, Dr. Samuel D. Cook, and others. On the basis of his experience with these successful programs, the VEP director was asked to participate in planning the national conference of Negro officeholders which was held in late September in Chicago.

The Voter Education Project supplied $2,000 of the cost of a workshop for Negro school board members which was held in August at Arlie House near Washington. This workshop was planned and conducted by the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality, Inc.

Additional emphasis also was placed on citizenship

education during 1967. Most of the Mississippi, Louisiana and Virginia registration projects have been tied in with citizenship education work on procedures for casting the ballot. The same has been true of several registration projects in North Carolina, Georgia and Florida. VEP has funded a citizenship education program in Memphis which has not yet started, and $6,600 has been allocated to the regional office of the Urban League for citizenship education in Florida and Alabama.

Research grants include Dave Emmons, Holmes County, Miss.; Charles Webster, Crenshaw County, Ala.; and Dean B. R. Brazeal, a study of registration problems in rural Georgia. Another research grant went to Armstead L. Robinson, a Yale student. His research on Negro life in Memphis during the Reconstruction enabled him to apply successfully for the Scholar of the House program at Yale.

VEP employed nine student interns during the summer, three of whom worked with the Atlanta All-Citizens Registration Committee. For the second year, VEP helped the YWCA sponsor student programs of voter registration during the spring holidays. And as always,

young people played important roles in local registration programs funded by VEP across the region. One VEP student, Miss Patricia Collins, served in the office of Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen. Another, Bernard Parks, served in the offices of Mayor Allen and Atlanta Alderman Q. V. Williamson.

VEP publications produced this year were "How To Conduct a Registration Campaign," a monthly newsletter which started in June, and "Know Your Georgia Government." The latter, a 24-page booklet containing basic facts about local and state government, was evaluated during the summer in Houston County, Georgia by two VEP student interns. The evaluation provided useful ideas for improving such booklets in the future. Similar booklets are planned in the near future for Mississippi and Louisiana, and others will follow as the booklet format is established. Several schools have written for copies of "Know Your Georgia Government."

With VEP assistance, a second citizenship education film was produced by the Auburn League of Women Voters. Called "Getting To Know Them," the film explains the duties of state and local officials in Alabama. The film was televised in Alabama in August.

The Voter Education Project during 1967 continued to be the primary source of information on voter registration, Negro candidates and Negro officeholders in the South. Several books and national publications requested and received permission to use VEP statistics. The research director collected information and maintained files which enabled him to answer numerous requests from newspapers, news magazines, television networks, writers, college students and professors, civil rights organizations and others. The research director also was responsible for the writing and/or editing of all VEP publications.

In September, the Voter Education Project acquired a full-time field director. He is Weldon Rougeau, a recent graduate of Loyola University in Chicago and a native of Lake Charles, Louisiana. Mr. Rougeau worked two years as a field secretary for CORE and also carried out assignments for the first Voter Education Project.

During the latter part of the year, the VEP director has participated in planning and background work for the Urban Coalition. He was designated for these duties by John Wheeler, president of SRC, who

serves on the steering committee for the Urban Coalition. During the early part of the year, Mr. Jordan completed his service on the President's National Advisory Commission on Selective Service. In January Mr. Jordan visited Israel as one of 12 young Negroes selected for such tours by the American Jewish Committee.

The third year of the current Voter Education Project probably will be its biggest. We sense that the interest of the citizenry will be very high, for in addition to congressional elections and the Presidential election, four Southern states will be electing governors and seven will be electing U. S. senators. Along with this will come county, district, state and national political conventions and the usual wide variety of local elections.

With just over half the region's adult Negro population registered (as against nearly three-fourths of the whites), VEP's services are expected to be in greater demand than ever next year. Negroes are beginning to enjoy political successes throughout the region, even in such hard-core states as Mississippi. There is a growing awareness of political participation as a lever for justice and equal rights. Consequently,

there is more interest among Negroes in registering, voting and running.

Institutes for candidates should be held next year in most, if not all, of the states of the Old South. Along with this should come more leadership conferences as a means of developing potential candidates and organizers. We hope to employ more student interns, possibly to serve this winter with Negro legislators. We will continue to develop citizenship education materials, such as know-your-government booklets. And we will continue our efforts to organize state VEPs, which can be valuable watchdogs over such processes as political conventions. Finally, we must continue our efforts to get Southern Negroes registered---which is, after all, where political participation begins.

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VEP GRANTS

JANUARY 1 - OCTOBER 18, 1967

ALABAMA	$ 10,481.00	
ARKANSAS	11,689.00	
FLORIDA	4,320.00	
GEORGIA	29,991.25	
LOUISIANA	20,200.37	
MISSISSIPPI	43,597.29	
NORTH CAROLINA	30,350.00	
SOUTH CAROLINA	36,645.60	
TENNESSEE	7,657.00	
TEXAS	5,000.00	
VIRGINIA	17,900.00	
OTHER FUNDS	4,500.00	
TOTAL		$ 222,331.51

ALABAMA

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Regional Office, NAACP Birmingham	$ 3,460.00	Voter Registration
Auburn League of Women Voters Auburn	200.00	Citizenship Education
Russell County VEP Seale	500.00	Voter Registration
Pike County Voters League Troy	500.00	Voter Registration
Talladega Improvement Association Talladega	2,321.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Madison County Voters League Huntsville	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Greene County Civic Organization Eutaw	1,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
TOTAL	$ 10,481.00	

ARKANSAS

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Arkansas Voter Education Project Little Rock	$ 10,140.00	Program Development
Arkansas Voter Education Project Statewide Meeting Camden	1,549.00	Leadership Training
TOTAL	$ 11,689.00	

FLORIDA

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Fort Lauderdale Branch, NAACP Fort Lauderdale	$ 2,500.00	Citizenship Education and Voter Registration
Marion County Voters League Ocala	1,820.00	Voter Registration
TOTAL	$ 4,320.00	

GEORGIA

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
YWCA (Student Interns) Atlanta	$ 3,027.00	Voter Registration
Screven County VEP Sylvania	1,500.00	Voter Registration
Terrell County VEP Dawson	1,000.00	Voter Registration
Richmond County Branch, NAACP Augusta	500.00	Voter Registration
Houston County (SCLC) Warner Robins	1,800.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
All-Citizens Registration Committee Atlanta	3,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Burke County Improvement Association Waynesboro	2,663.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education

GEORGIA - 2.

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Toombs County VEP Vidalia	$ 1,000.00	Voter Registration
B. R. Brazeal Atlanta	1,201.25	Research
Crisp County VEP Cordele	1,000.00	Voter Registration
Regional Office Urban League Atlanta	6,600.00	Citizenship Education
Dublin Branch, NAACP Dublin	950.00	Voter Registration
Douglas County VEP Lithia Springs	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Ben Hill County VEP Fitzgerald	1,000.00	Voter Registration
Grady County VEP Cairo, Georgia	1,000.00	Voter Registration

GEORGIA - 3.

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
American Friends Service Committee Atlanta	250.00	Research
Lee County VEP Leesburg	1,000.00	Voter Registration
TOTAL	$ 29,991.25	

LOUISIANA

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Mansfield Branch, NAACP Mansfield	$ 1,410.00	Voter Registration
Caddo Parish VEP Shreveport	3,590.37	Voter Registration
New Iberia Branch, NAACP New Iberia	1,000.00	Voter Registration
St. John the Baptist Parish Mount Airy	2,200.00	Voter Registration
New Orleans Youth Council, NAACP New Orleans	1,750.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Community League for Citizenship Education and Voter Registration New Orleans	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Four Parish Voter Education Project Iberville	3,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education

LOUISIANA - 2.

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
East Baton Rouge Parish VEP Baton Rouge	$ 2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Madison Parish Voters League Tallulah	1,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
East Carroll Branch, NAACP Lake Providence	750.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Louisiana Workshop for Candidates Baton Rouge	1,000.00	Leadership Training
TOTAL	$ 20,200.37	

MISSISSIPPI

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Bolivar County VEP Gunnerson	$ 1,920.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Holmes County VEP Tchula	1,985.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Quitman County VEP Marks	1,830.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Sunflower County VEP Ruleville	2,100.44	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Tallahatchie County VEP Glendora	1,790.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Yazoo County VEP Vaughn	1,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Amite County VEP Liberty	1,200.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Issaquena County Voters League Mayersville	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Holmes County Branch, NAACP Lexington	750.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education

MISSISSIPPI - 2.

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Coahoma County Branch, NAACP Clarksdale	$ 2,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Clay County Community Association West Point	1,001.85	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Carroll County Improvement Association Vaiden	1,020.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Pike County Branch, NAACP McComb	1,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Grenada County Voters League Grenada	2,200.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Warren County Improvement League Vicksburg	1,200.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Civic League of Simpson County Mendenhall	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Sharkey County Improvement Association Anguilla	1,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Voters League of Jeff Davis County Prentiss	2,050.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education

MISSISSIPPI - 3.

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Wilkerson County Voter Education League Woodville	$ 2,200.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Hinds County Registration League Jackson	3,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Rankin County Movement Brandon	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Lawrence County Civic League Monticello	1,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Leake County Branch, NAACP Carthage	1,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Lauderdale County VEP Meridian	1,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Forrest County Branch, NAACP Hattiesburg	1,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
North Gulfport Political Action Committee Gulfport	1,000.00	Voter Registration

MISSISSIPPI - 4.

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Mississippi Council on Human Relations Jackson	$ 600.00	Voter Registration
Dave Emmons	250.00	Research
TOTAL	$ 43,597.29	

NORTH CAROLINA

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Lumbee Citizens Council Pembroke	$ 4,150.00	Voter Registration
Charlotte Area Fund, Inc. Charlotte	2,000.00	Voter Registration
Greensboro Branch, NAACP Greensboro	1,000.00	Voter Registration
Halifax County Voters Movement Weldon	1,500.00	Voter Registration
North Carolina VEP Durham	13,000.00	Program Development
North Carolina Leadership Training Program (Statewide Meeting) Durham	2,000.00	Leadership Training
Citizens Voter Registration Project Rocky Mount	2,000.00	Voter Registration
Martin County VEP Williamston	1,500.00	Voter Registration

NORTH CAROLINA - 2.

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Goldsboro Branch, NAACP Goldsboro	$ 1,200.00	Voter Registration
Bertie County VEP Windsor	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
TOTAL	$ 30,350.00	

SOUTH CAROLINA

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
South Carolina VEP Columbia	$ 13,000.00	Program Development
Lee County VEP Bishopville	850.00	Voter Re-registration
Sumter County VEP Sumter	1,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Greenville County VEP Greenville	2,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Orangeburg County VEP Orangeburg	2,050.00	Voter Re-registration
Laurens County VEP Clinton	1,500.00	Voter Re-registration
Clarendon County VEP Manning	2,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Allendale County VEP Allendale	750.00	Voter Re-registration
Anderson County VEP Anderson	1,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Darlington County VEP Darlington	1,000.00	Voter Re-registration

SOUTH CAROLINA - 2.

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
South Carolina VEP Leadership Conference (Statewide Meeting) Columbia	$ 3,095.60	Leadership Training
Richland County VEP Columbia	2,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Charleston Branch, NAACP Charleston	2,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Newberry County VEP Newberry	1,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Hampton County Branch, NAACP Hampton	1,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Williamsburg County Voters League Kingstree	2,000.00	Voter Re-retistration
TOTAL	$ 36,245.60	

TENNESSEE

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Nashville Branch, NAACP Nashville	$ 2,592.00	Voter Registration
A. L. Robinson (Student Intern) Memphis	500.00	Research
Ripley Branch, NAACP Ripley	2,000.00	Voter Registration
Memphis Branch, NAACP Memphis	2,565.00	Citizenship Education
TOTAL	$ 7,657.00	

TEXAS*

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Texas Leadership Conference (Statewide Meeting) San Marcos	$ 5,000.00	Leadership Training

* Late 1966 registration programs in three Texas counties extended into early 1967 and were, for the most part, 1967 projects.

VIRGINIA

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Virginia State Conference, NAACP Richmond	$ 200.00	Leadership Training
Danville VEP (SCLC) Danville	3,300.00	Voter Registration
Lynchburg Voters League Lynchburg	1,000.00	Voter Registration
Galax Branch, NAACP Galax	1,110.00	Voter Registration
Petersburg Improvement Association (SCLC) Petersburg	3,000.00	Voter Registration
New Kent County VEP Quinton	1,050.00	Voter Registration
Amelia County Branch, NAACP Amelia	1,000.00	Voter Registration
Brunswick County League for Progress Lawrenceville	1,175.00	Voter Registration
Richmond Branch, NAACP Richmond	3,495.00	Voter Registration

VIRGINIA - 2.

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Powhatan County Branch, NAACP Powhatan	$ 820.00	Voter Registration
Greensville County Branch, NAACP Emporia	1,750.00	Voter Registration
TOTAL	$ 17,900.00	

OTHER

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
SEDFRE	$ 2,000.00	Leadership Training
Law Students Research Council Mississippi	2,500.00	Research
TOTAL	$ 4,500.00	

Note: VEP 67 - 24 is included in the total of 112 projects, but is not listed because the recipient declined the grant since the registration deadline had passed.

October 24, 1968

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Les:

Enclosed is a very brief request for consideration of support of the Urban Planning Project. If it is inadequate, do let me know and I'll respond promptly.

Frankly, in the proposal I have attempted to say on the one hand that I strongly feel we need this continuing program on a limited basis, and that on that basis the funds will be well used. This implies, of course, that under the present arrangement only a limited program is justified.

Moreland's presence and continued involvement in the Council's program is of considerable value to us, and I hope this can be continued

for at least another year. I am not certain, however, that he can effectively participate in the more elaborate program referred to in the proposal.

Sincerelthanks for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure

A PROPOSAL TO THE FIELD FOUNDATION
from the
Southern Regional Council

October 24, 1968

This is to request the consideration of the Field Foundation for a grant in the amount of $14,000 in support of our Urban Planning Project during 1969.

For a period of approximately three years the Council has had an Urban Planning Project, directed by Moreland Smith, FAIA. Mr. Smith was formally the head of an architectural firm in Montgomery, Alabama.

There have been several major areas of interest of the Project. The most consistent has been periodic consultation with private groups, mayors and planning and housing commissions in a number of southern cities. Other consultants, as well as the project director, have been involved with fair housing groups in several communities. There has been a rather substantial publications program aimed at both lay and professional people. (A list of publications is attached.) There has also been periodic confrontation with professional associations and schools of architecture, and planning in an attempt to make them more sensitive to the racial aspects of their work and to encourage them to have greater involvement of minority groups in their associations and student bodies.

This project will not continue on a full-time basis after 1968. We have, however, worked out a tentative arrangement with Mr. Smith to have him spend 50% of his time with us during 1969 on a consultative basis. We would continue to provide an office and supportive services.

We believe this arrangement has merit for several reasons. It would allow us, and others, to still have

available Mr. Smith's services, and it would keep the entire organization sensitive to the area of urban planning and the needs and developments within that area. It would also give us more time to develop a more elaborate and more effective program in this area; one aimed more substantially at the people affected by urban planning and their relationships to those who now do the "planning."

The requested sum of $14,000 would allow us to meet Mr. Smith's consultant fee, employee benefits, and travel costs. The supportive services of secretary, office space, and printing would be covered by other funds.

PUBLICATIONS

of the

URBAN PLANNING PROJECT

1. NEIGHBORHOOD STABILIZATION (1966)

   Guidelines for groups trying to build stable interracial neighborhoods.

2. A HOME OF YOUR OWN (1966)

   What families should know when buying their first home.

3. MR. MAYOR -- SLUM GHETTOS IN YOUR CITY, (1967) Can We Solve Our Housing Dilemma?

   A guideline for city officials in facing the total problems of slums.

4. NEIGHBORHOODS - WHERE HUMAN RIGHTS BEGIN (1967)

   Experiences and evaluation of three interracial neighborhoods.

5. A GUIDE TO PROGRAMS FOR BETTER HOMES AND NEIGHBORHOODS (1967)

   A layman's guide to government and private housing programs.

6. ATLANTA HOUSING STUDY (1967)

   An analysis of Atlanta's housing patterns.

-o-

File Field Fd. 1967

Via Air Mail

October 27, 1967

(Personal and Confidential)

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

Again, I am conscious of loading your desk with paper and apologize, though I thought you would want to have copies of the enclosed documents.

I assume Baxton's quarterly report came only to us, but the letter from Frances was mimeographed and sent to her Executive Committee and others.

I do hope you are going to be with us next week.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 3.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Field Foundation

REGARDING

Tennessee Council - relative to Baxton Bryant's resignation and reinstatement

DATE

11-6-67

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

See - Field Fd. grant for 1967
Cr. Ref. La. Council re. denial of

LS
MJ - file

November 16, 1967

Miss Patricia B. Miller, Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
First Federal Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Dear Miss Miller:

I got the message that you phoned last week. It has not been simple discourtesy that has kept me from calling back, but instead a hard trip to South Carolina and Alabama, plus a two-day board meeting here have kept me pretty well beyond reach.

We discussed the state councils on human relations at our meeting, and I am afraid that the decision was that we would this year only extend our present commitments and not, with one small exception, undertake new ones at this time. On the more favorable side for you - because the decision meant that we would not be able to accept your proposal of last April 18 - we agreed to take up the state councils again in 1968.

I enjoyed meeting you in Atlanta, and wish I could write better news.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

cc: Paul Anthony

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

File
~~Ark. Council~~
~~Field~~
Field Fd
Cr. rej.
Ark. C.H.R.
re $5,000 incentive grant

LS
MJ - file

November 21, 1967

The Reverend Walter B. Clancy,
Chairman, Board of Directors
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Walter,

At a recent meeting, the Foundation considered your proposal of September 22 for a welfare project. Because of very heavy commitments, we regretfully decided that we could not assume this.

We have, however, great respect for the work of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations and for its leadership. We wish, therefore, to make a one-time, incentive grant, of $5,000, and our check for that amount will reach you shortly after the first of the year.

With our very best regards,

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

CC: Mr. Paul Anthony

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

See Field Fd. cr. rec'd. Mississippi re $14,000 Grant for 1968

November 21, 1967

Mr. Kenneth Dean, Executive Director
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
306 First Federal Building
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Ken:

I have considerable pleasure in telling you that the Foundation, in response to your proposal of September 25, has granted $14,000 for the Mississippi Council on Human Relations during 1968. Our check will reach you shortly after the first of the year.

I believe that I told you that the Foundation was not this year considering multiple year grants for the state councils. It is for that reason that your request for 1969 and 1970 was not acted upon. We are prepared during 1968 to take up that request, if you so desire.

Please give our best wishes to your officers and members. We are grateful to you all for what you do to advance democracy and justice in this nation.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

cc: Paul Anthony

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

File
Field Fd —
Cr. ref. council for
Ed. re: $12,500 for
Gen. support
retroactive to
Oct. 1, 1967

November 22, 1967

Mr. John L. McCown
Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear John,

Mr. Hendricks wrote to me on July 20, followed by your letter of October 24, as well as a good visit from you. Both Joe's letter and yours requested an increase of our grant and I wish we might have obliged.

Instead, after considerable study the Foundation decided it would hold its support to the state councils at the same level for another year. We shall, therefore, take this matter up again in 1968.

In the meantime, I am glad to send enclosed our check for $12,500, for general support during the twelve month period retroactively beginning October 1, 1967.

My very best regards.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

FIELD FOUNDATION

REGARDING

LWD correspondence with Martha Ragland relative to ugly situation in Tennessee Council on Human Relations

DATE

11-21-67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

See Field Fd. 1967

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

November 22, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

Jack Bass tells me this man is for real.

Is there any way to make him contagious.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enclosure

There Isn't A Man Who Is Unemployable

9/12/67

Columbia

By Jack Bass
Observer Columbia Bureau

COLUMBIA, S.C. — Willie Wright Sr. is 58 years old. He is slight of build, has lived all his life in rural Richland County, is a Negro, and a man of few words.

He has been working for Congaree Iron and Steel Co since the day a rural electric co-op extended a power line to a tenant shack nine years ago in the middle of an open field, a low swampy area from which the water had been drained. The shack was the company office and only building. Rent was $15 a month.

Company officials are wrong when they say Willie Wright Sr. never went to school. Ask- says politely and with a trace of a smile. "I went to school for one week."

Unable either to read or write his name, by almost any industrial personnel standards Willie Wright Sr. probably would be classified as unemployable for other than menial or janitorial work.

At Congaree Iron and Steel Co., however, his shirt reads "foreman" and company president and founder W. Frank Threatt says Willie Wright Sr. can read numbers and expertly handle precision instruments to less than one thirty-second of an inch.

His son, Willie Wright Jr., also works for Congaree, one of more than a dozen father-and-son combinations.

The relationship between Willie Wright Sr. and Frank Threatt began long before the founding of Congaree Iron and Steel Co.

Threatt had commanded a company of Negroes in World War II, volunteering to take charge of a group labeled as misfits from other units. Under Threatt's command in the battle of Saipan in the Pacific, many of the men won decorations and there was a presidential unit citation.

When it was found the Japanese would surrender more readily to Negro than to white soldiers, the unit was assigned to mopping-up operations. "We had a lot of fun together," Threatt recalls, "but of course a lot of the fellows were killed."

A native South Carolinian whose great grandfather was a slave-holder, Threatt, now 52, is a man with unusual compassion and empathy for Negroes.

After World War II, Threatt entered the construction business in Columbia, but lived on a farm in lower Richland County. Willie Wright Sr. was a neighbor.

Threatt was recalled to active duty in Korea, assigned as a beachmaster at the Inchon amphibious landing. Again, he took command of a predominantly-Negro unit, and again there were numerous citations for valor and bravery.

While Threatt was gone, Negroes in the area worked his fields, refusing to take any pay from his wife who remained at home.

They would explain only, "He's gone to war for the country."

Willie Wright Sr. was one of those who tilled the fields while Threatt was gone.

Back from the war, Threatt decided to organize a company as soon as practical to utilize the unemployed Negroes in his community.

Family income averaged well under $1,000 a year among Negroes, who made up 85 per cent of the population in the area.

First, Threatt helped organize a steel joist company in Florence, but he returned in 1958 to start Congaree Iron and Steel Co. on a shoestring. He taught Willie Wright Sr., who had some carpentry experience, and unskilled Negro field hands how to weld.

Threatt was not interested so much in social reform, or even in getting rich as in proving a point his experience in the Pacific had convinced him was true. As with his troops, many of his employes have jail records, more than half have a record of venereal disease, and many are illiterate.

University of South Carolina social psychologist Robert V. Heckel, a student of the Southern Negro, concludes they are mainly a conforming group striving to be middle-class people.

Threatt's experience tends to confirm Dr. Heckel's thesis. Many of Congaree's employes, more than 80 per cent of whom are Negro, have invested in the company credit union, are making improvements on their homes and looking for means to build new ones, and most of all are staying home.

Not only that, scattered through the Congaree work force are Negroes who have returned from Northern ghettos, planning to remain in South Carolina.

On his visit to the plant last week, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman said it was "a picture book example of what needs to be done all over the nation."

Freeman made it clear he plans to bring plenty of attention to the Congaree experience when he returns to Washington.

Freeman said the example proves that people will stay at home and not flock to city ghettoes if decent jobs and facilities are provided in rural areas.

This is all secondary to Frank Threatt. To him the most important point of all is, "There is no such thing as an unemployable man, due to race, education, or background."

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

File

November 22, 1967

Professor Paul Gaston
Department of History
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I hear from Paul Anthony that he and you are having discussions. There seems to be something inevitable about the Southern Regional Council's courtship of you; I believe I started it in 1962. It still seems to me like a good idea.

You may have heard, or you may hear, from another very close friend of mine. Coincidentally, I gave your name a few days ago to Gerhard Lowenberg, who has been invited to take a job in your Political Science Department. Gerry has been down to Charlottesville where, I am glad to say, he talked with Bob Harris. He is seriously considering the offer, and I told him if he had any questions about the University or town you would be a good person to answer them. Virginia would be extraordinarily lucky to get him.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

bcc: Paul Anthony
Gerhard Lowenberg

See Field Fd. 1967

December 4, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Separately I have sent you letters officially acknowledging the two grants recently approved.

Enclosed is a report of the Special Committee on SRC's State Council Relations. This report and the recommendations in it were adopted yesterday by the Executive Committee.

We had a very long special meeting of the Executive Committee beginning Friday evening and running through mid-afternoon Sunday. I think it was an extremely good one and would like sometime to discuss with you what went on there.

Thanks for the latest on the Battle of Oak Ridge. It continues to be a dreary situation.

V. J. Stiles of Nashville was by here Friday. We fought the Battle of Oak Ridge all over again from his perspective!

Frank Threatt at Congaree is for real, I too am told. Currently we are exploring ways to produce occasional publications aimed at the business sector a little along the lines of our earlier L-Report series. If we are able to do this I had thought one of the first might be a description of this company and its remarkable success.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028

December 3, 1968

Mr. Kenneth L. Dean, Executive Director
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
302 First Federal Building
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

Dear Ken:

The Foundation at a recent meeting, and in response to your proposal of August 24, made a grant of $16,500 to the Mississippi Council on Human Relations for each of the next three years. Our check for $16,500 is enclosed, representing the 1969 payment.

Shortly after the first of the year of 1970 we shall forward the second payment, and at the same time in 1971 forward the remaining payment. They are, of course, contingent on further satisfactory progress.

The Foundation has high regard for the work of the Mississippi Council and is glad to be able to be of assistance.

If any public announcement of this grant is made we would appreciate receiving a copy.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la
cc: Paul Anthony

File Field Fd. 1967

Posted in Money book 12/14/67

December 4, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

This is to acknowledge with sincere appreciation the Foundation's action in support of the Grant-in-Aid program for 1968.

We note the conditions of the grant and shall abide by them.

Early in the year I would welcome the opportunity to discuss this entire situation with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

November 22, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

At a recent meeting, the Foundation voted to renew its assistance for grant-in-aid to the state councils on human relations. Our check for $25,000 will be mailed to you shortly after the first of the year.

This is a one year grant, for calendar year 1968. The Foundation thought that it would like to review the entire state council program with you during 1968, and act on the program, if you and the state councils wish, again next Fall.

We wonder if our entire grant for 1968 cannot best be used exclusively in support of the state councils of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee? It would seem to us that these councils, by virtue of the quality of their programs as well as their difficulty in obtaining local support, would be most entitled to this general subsidy. If you think differently, let us know but otherwise we shall assume that the money will be so used.

Sincerely,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

File
Field Foundation
grant in money book
12/14/67

✓ VJ
Ret MMJ

December 4, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

This will acknowledge with sincere appreciation the action of the Foundation in support of the Voter Education Project during 1968.

I shall share with Vernon and his staff your thoughtful comments about the program.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

November 22, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Shortly after the first of the year we shall forward, in response to your proposal of October 19, the Foundation's check for $150,000 in support of the Voter Education Project during 1968.

This will represent the third annual contribution by the Foundation to the second Voter Education Project. When we began this in 1966, we did so with the understanding that the second Voter Education Project would be a three-year program, terminating in 1968. This grant represents, therefore, the final award contemplated at that time and for the Voter Education Project as now conceived.

We would like to extend to you, Vernon Jordan, and all your associates our congratulations and our gratitude for an outstanding program.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

File - Field Fd. 1967

December 13, 1967

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

A Ford Foundation review team will be here January 21st for a week's review of SRC. That, and placing a new proposal before them will be a heavy involvement until then. Immediately thereafter, however, I would very much like to set a date when we can discuss the state councils.

I hope, too, by then to have some better idea of Ford's continuing interest - - and level of interest - - since the review team will spend two days with several of the councils.

In the meantime, things are looking up. Rilla Moran has been down for a visit. She

and Baxton have made up and she is proceeding enthusiastically. In Georgia, for their annual meeting last Friday, John McCowan had Ed Stanfield give greetings from SRC and Eliza Paschall introduce the speaker.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Free Field Fd. 1967

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 8, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I have your acknowledgment of December 4 of the grant-in-aid award. You propose that early in the year we discuss the entire situation again. I am very much concerned that we do so. The Tennessee grant will run out in the Spring, Georgia runs out in the Summer, and the South Carolina grant runs out in the Summer.

If at all possible, we would like to act on the councils all together. I had hoped we would not have to do so again until Fall, but perhaps that will not be possible, At any rate, let's agree that we shall discuss these definitively sometime after the first of the year.

I have received the report you have sent to me of the special committee, but have not yet read it; I assume, however, it is basically what I did read last November.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

Field Fd. 1967

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 18, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

Your letter of September 25 affected me as such things sometimes do; i.e. it left me tongue-tied. Even now, I don't quite know how to say thank-you to you and SRC.

You are right that I like the picture a great deal. Peggy and I haven't yet hung it, because a Mississippi sun rise does not fit in just anywhere. We shall find the favored spot in our home soon, however, and shall treasure the painting and its donors.

Sincerely,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/ig

File Field Fd. 1967

December 27, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

It occured to me that you might be interested in the enclosed memorandum which concerns the interests in the Southwest.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

(Memorandum from Ed Stanfield to P. Anthony, dtd. Dec. 4, 1967) (re: Possibility of An Sec. Type agency in Southwest)

Free
Field Fd.
1968

The Field Foundation

1966
1967

	FISCAL YEAR 1966	FISCAL YEAR 1967
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS EDUCATION FUND, Washington, D.C.: To cover cost of publishing and distributing a voter registration manual.		$ 4,000
LINCOLN UNIVERSITY, Pa.: Three-year grant to help establish an academic program to prepare students for professional careers in urban government and community development.	$ 75,000	
METROPOLITAN APPLIED RESEARCH CENTER, New York, N.Y.: To establish and to help meet 1966 and 1967 operating costs of this organization, which conducts research into urban problems and public policy in the New York metropolitan area.	12,210	311,171
Toward costs of September 29-October 1, 1967 meeting in Chicago of National Conference of Negro Elected Officials.		5,000
MILLSAPS COLLEGE, Jackson, Miss.: Further grant toward Oral History Project, to record and preserve significant aspects of contemporary Mississippi life.		2,000
MISSISSIPPI COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS (grantees to be designated).		60,000
[1]**MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS,** Jackson, Miss., and **COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN, INC.,** Nashville, Tenn.: For wider distribution in Mississippi of *Mississippi: The Closed Society*, by James Silver.	2,060	
And **SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL,** Atlanta, Ga.: For a study of tax-supported predominantly Negro colleges in Mississippi.	6,050	
For an educational demonstration program for 4-year-olds in Lafayette County, Miss.		6,260
JOSEPH MITCHELL MEMORIAL FOUNDATION, New York, N.Y.: Toward cost of establishing a cultural center for disadvantaged children in Notasulga, Ala.		3,500
NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC., New York, N.Y.: Further grant toward general support during 1966 and 1967, in recognition of new emphasis on welfare, poverty, and housing law.	95,000	
Further grant toward 1967 costs of Internships Program in the South.		29,000
For costs of planning a legal defense agency for Spanish-speaking Americans in the southwest.		3,993
For a project to assist desegregation of the textile industry of South Carolina, in cooperation with other agencies.		25,000
NAACP SPECIAL CONTRIBUTION FUND, New York, N.Y.: Toward general support during 1966.		25,000
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS, Washington, D.C.: Toward general support during 1967.		7,500
NATIONAL BOARD OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S.A., New York, N.Y.: For southern students human relations project during the year starting October 1, 1966.	46,065	
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE, Chicago, Ill.: In support of Educational Services Project during two-year period beginning April 15, 1966.	35,000	
In support of fair housing and fair employment programs during three-year period beginning May 1, 1967.		75,000

[1]See also Poor People's Technical Assistance Corporation.

	FISCAL YEAR 1966	FISCAL YEAR 1967
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, Princeton, N. J.: Toward support of comparative study of Negro and white college graduates carried out by Sydney S. Spivak.	$ 15,000	
[1]**PUERTO RICAN FORUM, INC.,** New York, N.Y.: Toward Aspira Program during 1966, to provide educational counselling and assistance for New York City's Puerto Rican community.	7,500	
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH EDUCATIONAL FUND, New York, N.Y.: For a series of seminars on the civil rights movement.	44,450	
RETARDED INFANTS SERVICES, INC., New York, N.Y.: Grant for 1966 and 1967 to help expand home aid service and to develop a group therapy program.	10,000	
SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION AND DEFENSE FUND FOR RACIAL EQUALITY, INC., New York, N.Y.: Toward general support during 1966.	15,000	
Toward costs of Leadership Training Program during 1967.		$ 15,000
SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, Columbia, S. C.: Toward general program support during 1966 and 1967.	17,000	17,000
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, Atlanta, Ga. and **UNITED CHURCH BOARD FOR HOMELAND MINISTRIES,** New York, N.Y.: Toward support from July 1, 1966 to Oct. 31, 1967 of Citizenship Education Program of adult leadership and literacy training.	135,000	45,000
[2]**SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.,** Atlanta, Ga.: Toward 1966 and 1967 costs of Voter Education Project, a program of voter education and registration conducted in coordination with other agencies and local groups.	100,000	150,000
Toward research and writing costs of a biography of Lillian Smith to be prepared by Joan Titus.		8,000
SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, Nashville, Tenn.: Toward general program support during 1966, 1967, and 1968.	5,000	20,000
SPRING HILL COLLEGE, Mobile, Ala.: Toward budget of Gulf States Human Relations Consulting Center.		10,000
ADLAI E. STEVENSON MEMORIAL FUND, Chicago, Ill.: Seven-year grant toward the Eleanor Roosevelt Study Group on Violent Politics and Modernization.		250,000
STILLMAN COLLEGE, Tuscaloosa, Ala.: For a lecture series during 1965-66 on the theme "Toward Maturity in an Integrated Society."	2,500	
SYRACUSE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION, N.Y.: Toward interim support in 1966 for this anti-poverty program, pending resolution of relationships with federal and municipal authorities.	14,728	
[3]**TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS,** Nashville, Tenn.: Toward general program support during 1966 and 1967.	25,000	
For a staff worker in west Tennessee.		6,000
TOUGALOO COLLEGE, Tougaloo, Miss.: For the 1966 and 1967 budgets of the Social Science Laboratory and Forum, and the Social Science Advancement Institute.	20,500	25,000

[1]See also Aspira, Inc.
[2]See also Mississippi Council on Human Relations.
[3]See also Appalachian Volunteers.

Put in money book

Field Fd. 1968

January 5, 1968

Mr. George Loft
Associate
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear George:

This will acknowledge with grateful appreciation the Foundation's contribution of $25,000 in support of the state councils on human relations.

Every good wish from all of us here for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 2, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Following up Les' letter to you of November 22nd, we are pleased to enclose the Foundation's check for $25,000 to provide grants-in-aid during 1968 to the state councils on human relations specified in Les' letter.

1-5-68
Kathy

Would you please acknowledge receipt of this check for our records?

Our very best wishes to you for the year ahead.

Sincerely,

George Loft
Associate

GL/ig

Enc.
check #05077

See Field Fd. 1968

file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 11, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

A few days ago I had a call from Look Magazine about the response to Al Hedgepath's article on the Pilgrim Family in Mississippi. I dashed off a note to Les about this and you might like to just glance at the copy enclosed.

My best to you, Paul.

Sincerely,

George Loft
Associate

GL/ig

Enc.

Les:

Miss Jane Douglas of Look Magazine telephoned at the request of her legal department to get our comments on Mississippi CHR; of course, I gave the strongest credentials, citing our own grants to MCHR.

The reason for the call was that Look has received about $2,000 in checks made payable to Look Magazine from readers of the Hedgepath article (this in addition to about $1,000 made payable to the Pilgrims direct which came in to Look). In the process of writing the donors whether they would be willing to have Look turn the $2,000 over to MCHR, the legal dept. suggested that we be queried re MCHR's bona fides.

In addition to what came in to New York, Miss Douglas said that she has been advised by the Yazoo City postmaster that they have been snowed under with mail for the Pilgrims from Look article readers, including checks amounting to about $1,800 (how the postmaster would know this is not clear).

The Pilgrims, as you know, now are in California. Miss Douglas said that the job for Mr. Pilgrim is not yet sewed up, and Look is trying to help him on this.

In addition to the checks coming in to Look, Miss Douglas said that they have had "an avalanche" of wonderful letters from people asking what they can do to help. I assume she will have Ken Dean's advice in answering them.

Sept 4/68

Postpone Money book 1/16/68

See: Field Fd 1968

January 11, 1968

Mr. George Loft
Associate
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear George:

This will acknowledge with grateful appreciation the Foundation's check for $150,000 in support of the SRC Voter Education Project.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc. - 1. (Official receipt)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 5, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

In accordance with Les' letter of November 22, 1967, we are enclosing the Field Foundation's check in the amount of $150,000 for the Voter Education Project during 1968. May we have your acknowledgment at this time?

1-8-68
Km

Sincerely,

George Loft
Associate

GL:la
Enc.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

FIELD FOUNDATION 1968

REGARDING

Ray Wheeler's letter to L. W. Dunbar in support of Planning and Crime Projects

DATE

1-29-68

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

BOARD - Ray Wheeler

Leo:
Field Fd. 1968

February 16, 1968

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

Enclosed is a copy of our proposal in support of the state Councils submitted to the Ford Foundation. You will note the proposal requests $200,000-a-year, and indicates an overhead to SRC of 10%. Our revised budget, at the Foundation's request, for $100,000-a-year drops the overhead. Unless we are unusually fortunate in finding funds for this purpose we will not take any overhead from funds granted in support of state Councils.

I think the heart of the decision the Foundation must make is whether or not it wishes to give a total amount of money in support of most, if not all, the state Councils as opposed to reserving those funds for support of specific and substantial projects within the several councils.

This is certainly not to say that we will continue our general grant-in-aid program. In fact, we, too, will deliberately aim largely at project support with any funds we have available. Nevertheless, for the Foundation I think the only alternative is support for several agencies as opposed to support for the state council movement.

I have no idea at this point where we shall look, but I shall, during the course of the year, try to find new sources of support for the state Councils.

It was good spending the morning with you.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file

file 1968

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

February 28, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter of February 16. I have studied the Ford proposal in behalf of the state councils which you sent along. Frankly, it did not supply much of what I was particularly interested in, which was gaining a clearer grasp than I now have about program activities.

I was also struck by the financial data. As I recall, we used to estimate a total income around $300,000. You here report $441,000, which would indicate almost no growth except the Ford grant. Would you say that is about right?

In your letter, you suggest that our alternatives are (1) making a grant in support of most or all of the councils or (2) supporting specific and substantial projects within several councils.

Under alternative (1), are you in a position, under your new policy statement, to administer general support grants, and if so could you accept from us a grant which would be for some but not all states?

Under alternative (2), are you suggesting that S.R.C. would select the projects or that we would deal directly with the individual councils? In the light of the first paragraph on page 2 of your letter, I assume you mean the latter.

I have restudied the new policy and I, frankly, still do not comprehend it.

If I read it correctly (and I don't see that it is susceptible to other readings), it says that you will no longer give general support to "mature" councils; instead, you will seek project funds from foundations that have rejected general support, though you would apparently do this only for projects that S.R.C. itself is interested in participating in; furthermore, if the state is not interested and S.R.C. is, you will go ahead anyway.

Mr. Paul Anthony

Inasmuch as we have not rejected general support, what applicability does this have for us?

No definition, so far as I see, is given of "developing" councils. Two cases are mentioned: states where no council exists; and states where councils have "ceased" to be viable. Are there any states (besides Texas) that fit these cases?

But whatever may be the definition, or whichever states you may now regard as "developing", there again appears to be no room for general support of the kind we have been giving or which, in your letter of February 16, you may under alternative (1) be indicating is still possible; on the contrary, in the new policy statement you say that a developing council may be given staff (of your choosing and direction) but not money.

Given these questions, and given the dependence which I believe some of the councils still have on us for general support, I tend now more and more to wonder if our best course is not to discontinue the grant to S.R.C. for aid to the councils, and do whatever we do directly with them. As I noted above, this may be what you meant by your alternative (2).

If so, we would, of course, want your advice on specific grants, and would weigh it very carefully, as the Foundation has always. As of now, we are granting:

to Georgia	-	$12,500	per year
Mississippi	-	$14,000	" "
South Carolina	-	$17,000	" "
Tennessee	-	$12,500	" "

Would you recommend a continuance of grants to these four states? At these figures?(Tennessee is asking now for an increase, and Georgia unsuccessfully sought one last Fall.) Would our continued direct support of them be adverse to S.R.C.'s working relationship with them? With the other councils? What other advice for us would you have?

Best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

March 1, 1968

Mrs. Mildred Johnson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mildred:

That's it! Thanks very much.

Sincerely,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

See Field Fd.

February 26, 1968

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

One last desperate try. Hope this is it. If not, I'm lost as to what and where!

The Johnsons are all recuperating from the 'flu. Hope the Dunbars have managed to escape it.

Best.

Sincerely,

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

February 23, 1968

Mrs. Mildred Johnson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mildred:

Thank you a million for sending up the things.

Actually, what I am looking for is another memo I did about late '63 or early ~~in~~ or mid '64. It was not addressed to anyone (as I recall), but we did circulate it around to a few people, including some foundation types. It was in outline form, and set down what I saw as the problems ahead. But it isn't important, and if you can't find it after one more look, don't bother.

How are you? Give my best to Zeke.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/ig

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

See Gen. Counsel re: letter from L.W. Dunbar to Pollard 2/19/68 re Coline Williams to future funding of T.C.H.R. Rtd.

ES
MJ-1/4

February 19, 1968

Mr. William G. Pollard
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
818 B 17th Avenue South
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Dear Bill:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 13, and Baxton and Lewis Sinclair were in here last Thursday. It was a rather hectic afternoon: February 15 is "income tax" day for foundations, and our legal counsel had unexpectedly questioned some of the entries made by our auditors and so what should have been a routine submission became a down-to-wire kind of thing, but we did have a satisfactory (from our side) talk with Baxton and Lewis.

We shall be getting a formal submission from Baxton soon. I am a little doubtful that we can grant as much as he intends to ask, but I would be greatly disappointed if the Foundation were not able to continue its support of the Tennessee Council.

With all good wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la
cc: Baxton Bryant
Lewis Sinclair

bcc: Paul Anthony

File
Field Foundation

March 7, 1968

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

The proposal from the Foundation for Community Development does not strike me as a very good one and, given our experiences here with the VEP, the funds requested seem excessive.

Vernon tells me he will be in New York next Tuesday and will talk with you about this at that time. I think he feels even stronger than I do about this and, obviously, he is in a much better position to react.

I tried to reach you by telephone yesterday to discuss your letter relative to the state Councils. I will be at the University of Texas Law School for the remainder of the week, but would still like to talk to you about this.

In the meantime, perhaps it's sufficient to say that, reluctantly, I agree with your conclusion that the Field Foundation's reaction is a correct one. I only hope that this can be considered a matter for the current year only, and not necessarily an absolute policy for the indefinite future.

You might be interested in the enclosed memorandum which was sent yesterday to the state Council directors. This relationship wearies me more than it should, but it's a dreary and discouraging business. You might also be interested to know that in this "dreary business" Baxton seems to be playing a very constructive role.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
encl. 1 (PA's Memo of Mar. 5, 1968 to State Directors re: SRC's fund-raising efforts in behalf of State Councils)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

March 1, 1968

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from Nat Garrett. I would very much appreciate your comments and advice.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc.
LD:la

cc: Paul Anthony

FOUNDATION FOR
COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT, INC.
A NONPROFIT CORPORATION

ack: high
John + ~~Heat~~ Dan
cc Paul
maybe Edwin

FEB 27 1968

Nathan T. Garrett
Executive Director

811 West Main Street
Post Office Box 647
Durham, North Carolina 27702
Phone (919) 688-8248

February 26, 1968

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The purpose of this letter is to request a grant in the amount of $215,000 to be expended over a three year period in support of voter education, voter registration, and basic community organization efforts in North Carolina. $150,000 of the amount requested will be regranted to organizations among the poor for a variety of small, short-term projects including, but not limited to, voter registration. The remainder, $65,000, will be granted to the North Carolina Voter Education Project over a two year period beginning January 1, 1969, to support a staff which will provide the major source of technical assistance in the state for voter registration activity.

Foundation for Community Development was granted approximately $263,000 in cash and equipment by the North Carolina Fund for its first year of operation which commenced December 1, 1967. That grant was made as a result of the Fund's desire to establish an organization which would do the following:

1) focus on the problems, needs and aspirations of the poor from the point of view of the poor;

2) help define, analyze and present public issues which are of concern to the poor and which need to be faced directly in helping to solve problems of poverty;

3) sponsor further experimentation in the concept of maximum feasible participation by the poor in programs and public processes affecting their welfare; and

4) experiment in helping to achieve institutional change among institutions dealing directly with the poor through the support of new or existing institutions which are seeking to mobilize public and private resources to achieve change, and through the formulation of new institutional approaches to problems faced by the poor.

The attached proposal spells out in detail the philosophy, plan of action, secondary goals and budgets for Foundation for Community Development. You will also find copies of our charter, bylaws and tax exemptions, as well as brief resumés on our existing staff. Background information on the North Carolina Voter Education Project and a budget are also enclosed.

The basic assertions contained in the introductory section of our proposal are as follows:

Poverty results from the decisions made by those persons who exercise varying degrees of control over the creation and/or distribution of our nation's wealth.

The poor are not now represented on most of the boards, commissions and other bodies which make decisions affecting their welfare.

In most communities, entry into the decision-making councils by spokesmen for the poor will require stable organizations through which there is control of the votes, money, skills and knowledge possessed by the poor.

Development of stable organizations requires -

1) time for the poor to develop an understanding of and confidence in the group process,

2) versatile and sophisticated leadership among the poor which understands both the misgivings of the poor and the real purposes of the organization, and which keeps the group moving toward a confrontation with basic issues.

3) citizenship education to help each member of the group educate himself about the many systems, services and institutions within his community which affect him, and what he can do to influence them,

4) community workers who can identify with the group and who understand how to appeal to their emotional and practical senses to join together in a common effort, and

5) resource people with special skills who are responsible to the leadership of the group to assist in the development and/or implementation of plans and strategies.

The reasoning processes which lead us to the above assertions are contained in the proposal itself, and since none of them can be considered as indisputable fact, we urge you to read the entire proposal.

We have attempted to quantify our operating goals for each of our three departments in terms of the number of people to be trained, the number of community organizations to be created, and the number of viable economic enterprises we propose to help to create. These, however, are operating goals which are necessary to attain the overall goal of Foundation for Community Development. At present 2.2 billion dollars is being expended each year at the state and local levels from tax sources for schools, health, highway and street improvements, housing, recreation, welfare, job training and economic development. Our goal is to assist the poor to obtain dramatically greater influence on the decisions which must be made as to the amount of funds to be devoted to such purposes and the manner in which the expenditures will be made. To achieve this, we must have

strong organizations among the poor which will reach, motivate, and otherwise influence the lives of 400,000 teenage and adult poor people so that we can register 100,000 new voters to increase the registration percentage among the Negro poor from the present 52% to 85%, and secure the appointment of at least two hundred representatives of the poor to local and state level boards and commissions in North Carolina.

To these ends we submit this proposal.

Very truly yours,

Nathan T. Garrett
Executive Director

NTG/smn

Enclosures

March 18, 1968

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Relative to the letter you shared with me from Pat Miller, there are several statements in it which should be corrected rather quickly.

While we here have felt that Mississippi was an exception to the likely standards of "viability," and have so indicated this to the Mississippi folks, Louisiana has never been in this position, nor can I conceive that Ed Stanfield has so indicated. Recently, Ed did suggest to Pat that the future of the Louisiana Council looks quite bleak and, for her own good, she should consider other employment. This suggestion made on her inquiry was for three reasons: (1) Pat is a lovely person, but completely incompetent; (2) Last year the Louisiana Council was able to attract only about $3,500 in addition to SRC's support; (3) the policy leadership has not given Pat adequate support, and has shown very little understanding of what a human

relations Council should be. It is without doubt the weakest leadership in the region.

The account from both Pat and Ed that I have of their conversation, to which she refers in her letter to you, gets very complicated. But the important fact here is that we have made no determination on which "non-viable" councils will be staffed and, indeed, are not in a position to do so. As a matter of fact, while it will be a policy decision, I am reasonably convinced that whatever funds are available will have to go in support of those councils that are operating, and I would be very surprised if, in keeping with the policy statement, we sent any staff people into a state for the purposes of organizing a state council. Quite honestly, apart from the limitation of funds, I think priority would call for different use of staff and money which are available.

Earlier, the VEP had hoped to cooperate with the Louisiana Council in an effort to create a state-wide voter organization. In fact, Vernon tentatively indicated this to the leadership of the Louisiana Council. On further investigation last week, he reluctantly came to the conclusion that that agency is so weak in both staff and policy leadership that to fund a program through it would jeopardize the program.

Finally, and sadly, Raymond and I met for dinner, at their request, with seven of the state directors last Thursday evening in Charlotte. I thought Raymond handled himself extremely well, with both responsibility and open-mindedness. Both he and I thought that real progress was being made in resolving whatever the differences are among us. Then, come 11:00 p.m., Will Allred read an ultimatum from the state directors that negated all the conversation that had taken place, after which everyone concerned agreed that the directors would have to meet further, by themselves, to determine just where they stood and what they wanted. Regrettably,

Baxton Bryant did not carry through on his promise to me; to see that this was a constructive meeting. And, as resourceful as he can be, I am not at all sure that he was in a position to do so.

We now awaitea communication from John McCown, the designated representative of the directors, to outline whatever position they determined on Friday morning. When it comes, I will share it with you.

It is presumably their final statement on our future relationships. On April 6, our Executive Committee meets and there, undoubtedly, will be a determination on our final position in the matter as well.

As you recall, the members of the Executive Committee can be very strong when they choose to be. For some time I have felt that they would grow very weary of this exchange. Now particularly, among the two Wheelers, I think there is weariness and whatever decision is made will reflect it.

As usual, I am genuinely sorry for the length of this.

If it can be arranged with Ford, I hope to be in New York during the first week of April. If so, I shall be in touch with you to determine if you are available.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Field Fd.
1968
Ch. Pol. Res. Council

Pat
reg. Miller's
and appeal
for funds
Grade Field Fd.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

March 13, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I enclose herewith, the letter from the Louisiana Council on Human Relations.

Any advise you have would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/ig

Enclosure

March 13, 1968

Miss Patricia Miller
Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
First Federal Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Dear Miss Miller:

I have your letter of February 29th. I don't know what can be done with it, but the application will certainly be considered and I shall let you know.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/ig

LCHR

First Federal Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Louisiana Council on Human Relations

February 29, 1968

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Field Foundation Corporation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

This is a frank appeal to the Field Foundation for reconsideration of a grant to the Louisiana Council on Human Relations. We are asking that we be made an exception to your present commitments if at all possible and be granted $10,000 a year for a three year period.

In light of your last correspondence concerning the relationship of S.R.C. to State Councils on Human Relations, my board of directors advised me to wait for clarification. The final clarification was made evident Saturday, February 24. We were caught off guard in as much as Edward Stanfield had announced to state directors at the Gatlinburg Meeting that because of their recent organization, Louisiana and Mississippi would not be effected by the new position of S.R.C. Saturday Ed and I met privately and he informed me that the Louisiana Council on Human Relations would become a branch of S.R.C. staffed by S.R.C. programmed by S.R.C. and accountable to S.R.C. with the board of directors acting in an advisory capacity only. The other alternative would be to raise $20,000 which S.R.C. considers basic in order to be a viable state council. This is totally unrealistic in such a short period. The board feeling a bit chagrined at having been deceived, is not ready to accede to the wishes of S.R.C. at this time.

Louisiana Council on Human Relations is fast gaining recognition as the one organization in the state through which the poor and appressed may find voice. Of the two and one half million residents in Louisiana 1/3 of which are Negroes, less than six

organizations are actively engaged in work toward achieving social and economic justice. Problems of people and police are increasing. Fort Jackson has been renovated to incarcerate rioters-just in case. Police forces have been increased, arsenals are being located at strategic points throughout the state. Only twelve of sixty four school districts are really in compliance with H.E.W. guide lines.

Hospitals are reverting to old patterns of segregating patients. White ambulance drivers will let Negroes die before using their facilities. Labor and industry still rely on old segregational patterns of hiring and promoting. They also attempt to buy us off when we interfere with the traditional patterns. The Department of Welfare says recipients will comply with the new federal order, yet seem to be making no provisions for day care centers. Students from six Negro colleges are meeting Saturday to plan simultaneous demonstrations in their locals unless we can convince them that other methods exist.

These represent only a very few of the problems that we feel are better handled locally by local people.

As Executive Director of Louisiana Council on Human Relations, the board has requested that I say for them, that any consideration offered at this point will be most gratefully received. May we hear from you soon.

Very truly yours,

Patricia Miller

Patricia Miller
Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations

jbg

Lee Dixed 7d. 1968

Leslie W. Dunbar
National Civil Liberties Clearing House
March 22, 1968

It is not often that a private liberal is under a duty to acknowledge that politicians have been more right, indeed more constant than he in serving the right. That is, I think, our duty now, because the small band of Senators who nourished the 1968 civil rights bill until they finally won for it an overwhelming majority in the Senate did so with very little stimulus or encouragement from the rest of us. These Senators were superb.

Humble as we must be in the face of their example, it is nevertheless worthwhile to ask if we private liberals have had any justification on our side. It seems to me there may have been a threefold cause for our lackadaisical performance, and that its three sides may be the bounds of that crisis in race relations we are here discussing: we are tired, we are confused, and we are doubtful.

We have only so much energy, and many are putting the best of themselves into the controversy over Vietnam or into the effort to save the aniti-poverty programs.

We have let the intellectual clarity of the pre-1966 civil rights movement erode into the frequent mindlessness and the paralyzingly dogmatic rivalries of the post-1965 period.

Fortunately, liberal Senators have not been so tired and confused as private liberals. On the other hand, the third cause of our inaction might possibly justify it as, of course, the first two do not. In addition to being tired and confused, we have become growingly doubtful of the value of certain traditional political solutions. American

liberalism, at least during this century, has put its chief reliance for curing social problems on creating bureaucracies to regulate and, it is hoped, master them. It would not be far wrong to say that liberalism's motto has been, "A bureaucracy for every problem."

But to those who have seen so many bureaucracies created and yet so many problems endure, and who wonder therefore if the creation of another bureaucracy has practical relevance to the problem of housing discrimination, this is no longer the motto. Liberals who may be wondering about the lambastings we often get from our youth and from our more articulate poor might keep in mind what a deep identification we liberals have with the bureaucratic method. They, on the contrary, have a concern and even a fear about bureaucracies, or at least a strong wish (as exemplified in the controversies about parent involvement in the big city schools) for bureaucracies open to the easy passage of ideas and to entry by those persons who come from close to the heart of problems.

I think this brings us to the truth of the Black Power cult. There is not much about this cult (and, of course, being a "cult" it is illiberal) which is helpful, and so we should give all the more weight to that which is. Insofar as Black Power invites and encourages vulgarity of thought and manners, or violence of thought and deed, or blesses racism, or luxuriates in irrationality, or breeds cheap leaders who march innocent

people off into fantasy - insofar as it has done and continues to do all this, the cult of Black Power is another one of the enormous burdens that history has pushed down on Negro Americans.

But insofar as the Black Power people say - as they do say and are right in saying - that the political process does not work efficiently, and that often it does not work even honestly, when it addresses itself to the problems of the Negro poor; insofar as the Black Power people say - as they do say and are right in saying - that the American government and people have false priorities; insofar as they say these things they add to the progressive forces of our time.

No government in the world is as internally complicated as our federal system, and to make it work and to work well requires an extraordinarily able and interested citizenry. Consequently, I think no present trend is more supportive of constitutional government as well as more hope giving than the urge toward experimentation in participatory democracy, for this offers a way out of our present tiredness, confusion, and suspicion.

The civil rights bill of 1968 will be tremendously beneficial for the added protection it gives to the lives and safety of civil rights workers and those exercising their civil rights, though the Department of Justice already has far more statutory authority and duty to protect these citizens than it has ever been willing to employ. The housing provisions of the bill mean a great deal, because they mark the first federal action whose main impact may be felt in the North, because they put the federal government forthrightly into the housing field, and because, in addition to these largely symbolic values, they will undoubtedly do also some good in curbing discrimination.

But this housing bill will not disperse the ghetto and it will not undo the slum, and it will not, consequently, be seen as very important by the masses of Negroes and Puerto Ricans. I do not say this in any condescending or ungrateful spirit. I mean only that the ghettoized masses will probably not see or share in the value of this bill. It will not solve their housing problems. As the Kerner Commission noted, a federal anti-discrimination law is only the necessary beginning of an assault on the accursed living conditions of our enormous urban slums. (Bantam edition, 481-2)

It is terribly crucial that our government begin doing things that do not merely tease these masses. I am here, of course, only saying what has been many times said, and what all of you probably believe. Let me indulge in just a few more cliches. Comprehensive, curative, effective things have got to be done with these urban masses because (a) their own need as human beings is so intense and so justified and (b) they are in their present condition a threat to the peace of all of us.

These are, to repeat, cliches; they happen also to be inescapable truths, but I shall not be exploring them further today. Instead, speaking here in this gathering of liberals, I want to say that we cannot be at all sure that these urban masses will be a progressive political force. The Negroes of the vast Harlem, Watts, Chicago, and other northern slums are today acting in a variety of ways that frequently cancel out each other's impact and often intensify white opposition without any approximately equivalent yield of benefits. They may over the next few years continue this way, in which case we shall have a politics of disorder and repression; or they may allow themselves to be captured by political machines held

in other and mostly white hands. In neither of these cases will they be anything but an illiberal, even destructive, force.

Our hope has to be that these northern and western urban masses will take a third course, that they will produce a kind of political leadership that will represent the interests of their constituents with dignity and with unrelenting purpose. This kind of Negro political leadership is emerging in the South, and if it does not come more rapidly forth in the North and the West we are as a nation in real trouble.

Politics - American politics - is always a matter of alliances. What alliances will most likely represent the progressive forces of the next generation or so? The rest of my talk will, in one way or another, be underlining certain beliefs about that. First, since New Deal days American liberalism has been expressed by an alliance of labor, Negroes, and a hard to define but huge population of well-educated individualists. If the Vietnam policies of the administration do not change, this historic alliance will not last out 1968. Second, the historic alliance is, in any event, subject to basic probes from two sides: one comes from the no longer inert and obedient minority poor, who are getting too little - some would say, nothing - from the alliance; the other comes from students, who are subjecting the institutions of the republic to passionate as well as intelligent scrutiny. My third belief is that the constant itch of liberals to "reach" and "involve" business must surely be expressive of some deep cultural myth about tribal gods and how to propitiate them. Although one would think that businessmen are grown up enough to find their own way of doing their duty, liberals invest hugely of their scarce energy in seeking to guide and direct them in the ways of virtue. One who

remembers Plans for Progress in 1961, and the White House conferences of 1963, and the national committee brought together by the Community Relations Service in 1964, is entitled to some skepticism now about the Urban Coalition; one begins to wonder if business is like the old time sinner, needing to be saved and consecrated anew at every revival.

My fourth belief is that the progressive forces of our time are, if they are anything, the minority poor and the left-wing or liberal students.

Does it make sense to speak of students as a political interest group? Well, I think it probably does. I am using the word as a shorthand designation for educated youth, politically oriented from Robert Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy leftward. They have these last few years acted as a self-generating, self-propelling force to reform American society, and that is more than can be said for labor, or business, or some other interest groups. Since 1960, the other great self-generating, self-propelling forces have been Negro Southerners and the nationwide civil rights movement. The movement is, as I suggested earlier, in such a confused and tired state as to be no longer very forceful. So I am inclined to think that whatever vigor and sense of purpose American society will have in the next decade or so will depend on the quality of leadership that comes to us from these disadvantaged minorities.

I believe, furthermore, that this has deep implications for American liberals, for it comes at a time when we face a probable division. We are assembled here as representatives of American liberalism in our belief that whatever disagreements there may be among us are less than

the agreements which unite us. There is a very good chance that Vietnam and the foreign policy which produces it are about to break apart our unity; that, in other words, the conflict among us during this election year will not pass but will permanently break the coalition of labor, minority groups, and individualists who have since New Deal days been the standard bearers of liberalism.

I want to return to that in a few minutes. Before I do, I would like to look a little longer at traditional liberalism. Beginning with Theodore Roosevelt, we have had two-thirds of a century in which one wave of domestic reform has followed another, and where are we now? We are at a time when at least one of five of us is miserably poor, when racial discrimination is rampant, when our streets are unsafe, when we arm our police as if the Russians were coming, when our big city schools are incapable of teaching and our welfare departments are incapable of stopping the increase of needy cases, and when even hunger stalks the land. Has liberalism failed? Or does liberalism give with the hand of domestic reform, and take away with the hand of foreign war?

We must face ourselves and concede that it is precisely those administrations that have led in domestic reforms that have also led us into wars. Is there a schizophrenia of liberalism? Are we - we here today as the representatives of American liberalism - the true and essential war-mongers of the land? Can it be that only liberals

could feel sure enough of the rightness of their purposes to make the kind of war we have now in Vietnam? What do we make of the fact that so very many of the old New Dealers still around are the staunchest hawks of the Democratic party? That this war apparently has the approval of most of organized labor?

If these questions are in bad taste, then so too was the Kerner commission's charge that white racism envelopes this land. There come times when we have to look at ourselves with honest vision. This is such a time. We are killing people; our own and those of a far-away nation. That is the most important fact of our times. President Johnson, who says that we are killing people for a just cause, is a better man than those other liberals who apologize for it all, but say other things are more important just now.

We must accept the fact that this war divides us, as it fractures all our public life. If this and any other meeting where liberals gather together is not relevant to the war in Vietnam, it is simply not relevant. So far, it is principally those of us who are against that war who say that it dominates every public issue, while those not yet active against it would prefer to focus on other issues. But later, my friends, if this war goes much longer, it will be, I fear, its defenders who will say, as its critics say today, "The war comes first,"—but with quite a different meaning.

The old union song called out, "Which side are you on, boys?" We may be apart a good while. For Vietnam is the expression of a foreign policy that can, and will if it is not curbed,

produce more Vietnams. The issue is whether the great powers, of which we are one and probably the greatest, will attune their power to the world or try to force the world to fit their power. Before Vietnam, liberals could and did squabble and scrap, but only Vice President Humphrey believes that the present division is of that same gentle kind.

I read Irving Kristol's recent piece in the New York Times Magazine: "Memoirs of a Cold Warrior" (Feb.11,1968). He was an important, I a most unimportant, anti-Communist liberal of the 1950's; but like him, I have no regrets and some small pride in what we stood for and what we did. Yet when he talked in that article of the attacks he and other anti-Communist liberals endured from what he calls the anti-anti-Communist liberals, I could not share the memory. His experience was in New York literary and intellectual circles. Out in the ranks, we only read about that. I remember the 1950's as a time of marvellous unanimity among liberals. We agreed with each other about everything, about Joe McCarthy, and Nixon, and Dixon-Yates, and Oppenheimer, and Dulles, and civil rights (which meant we all favored moving ahead on the next target selected by the NAACP lawyers), and all the rest. Conversation was lovely, friendships abounded. Eisenhower made us, "one from many".

Now (though in my worst dreams I see some flickering evidence that President Johnson has in his own way brought about and embodies the longed-for union of labor and Negroes) we are divided. The divisions have to do essentially with the uses of national power and the cause of the poor, the truly poor, the poor that the New Deal and all that has followed never did reach.

In those far-off Eisenhower years, Adlai Stevenson gave meaning to our public life. What we saw and recognized in him was what we believed to be America. He may have been denied the power he was ready to accept, but few men have meant so much to so many as for six to eight years he meant to us. As he was our leader, Camus and Orwell were our philosophers and prophets, and E. B. White was our weekly comforter. Did ever anyone have better mentors?

In one way or another we moved away from each of them as we went into the Kennedy years and the great days of the civil rights movement, though I think they helped many of us find our way through those times. Now they seem again real and close, as we see that nothing is so wanted of us as clear heads and clear decisions ~~in~~ about the use of power. Our students may be Dr. Spock's children. Those of us who learned to be adult from Stevenson, Orwell, Camus, and E. B. White have, I like to think, an equal disposition toward reason and self-awareness, an equal fear of confusing presumption with principle, an equal hope that we may someday learn to be gentle of spirit and act.

The Black Power people and the more traditional civil rights organizations have much the same goal; it is, in the vernacular, "getting ahead", or, in the newer vernacular, "making it". The traditional organizations want Negroes to "get ahead" as individuals and the Black Power people seem to want them to do it as a group. A white man can and should respond to the former. I am at a loss to see how we can, on their own terms, respond to the

Black Power people except to say, "O.K., good luck, go ahead and do it." To both, however, to traditionalists and to Black Power cultists, the white person can, in the final analysis, respond only as a white person.

In our time, there has been a third approach, one that still is alive among a remnant of old SNCC and CORE and SCLC workers and friends, white and Negro, and among some Negro and white liberals who were moved and changed by it. It believes that we can and ought to transform society, that, although we cannot fully sense how that can be done or to what ends, it can be done by black and white together, that in that union, in that reconciliation, America could at last discover itself, and the texture of its ancient dream. To this one could, whether Negro or white, respond, simply and completely, as a man or as a woman.

What those old SNCC and SCLC and CORE people did was marvellous. They taught us not to care - <u>really</u> not to care - about color. Nothing good has ever, will ever, or can ever, come from color identity. I shall call anybody anything he wants to be called. If my Negro friends want me to call them Blacks, they have only to ask and I'll unfalteringly do it. I wish, however, we had not had to go through this one. I wish Negro Americans had said to us instead: "Color is out. You may not call us Blacks or Browns or Coloreds and we don't want to call you Whites either. We would rather call you something which, like the word 'Negro', has some meaning in your history, is something from your culture that you can identify with. Like, maybe, Crackers, - or Honkies. Let us," I wish Negro Americans had said, "no longer sing 'black and white together, we shall overcome'. Let us instead sing,

out of our self-awareness, our humbling self-knowledge of what we have been and how we have wronged ourselved and each other, out of our knowledge that we are people with history and culture that defines us and limits us and yet which we must overcome and transform, let us sing, 'Negroes and Honkies together, we shall overcome."

This calls up old dreams from an old time. There is a place in the New Testament where God speaks to his church, and says "Fortitude you have; you have borne up in my cause and never flagged. But I have this against you: you have lost your early love." (Revelations, 2:3-4) So it is perhaps with us. The "early love" that gave us self-awareness during the great days of the civil rights movement - where is it now? If it is gone, or wavering, let us know that it did not fail, but rather that we failed it. John Morris, in a wonderful speech he gave a short time ago, spoke of the American Dream and said that we had, in all truth, dreamed it in all our history for only a few years in the early 1960's. I suppose we pull back always from our dreams. But the dream itself neither dies nor fades, even though its popularity may, and some who have visioned it can never lose it from their sight.

If the historic alliance of labor, Negroes, and educated individualists can function today as a way of re-ordering national priorities and the values that lie at the root of our discontent, then it will be truly worth one's loyalty. If the historic alliance does do this it will be because it will have succeeded in opening itself to the entry of the truly poor, and has in realistic ways made their cause its own.

The historic alliance has become an affluent, a privileged, a highly placed class. It cannot preserve liberalism by preserving itself alone. It can preserve a liberal - i.e., a free-political order only by being willing to lead in those structural changes of this society that will make possible the rescue of the minority poor.

In my belief, the old alliance will not be able to do this unless foreign policy ceases to dominate us. If we go on as we are now headed, that alliance will be shattered beyond repair.

In that event, that all too likely event, liberals will have to set about building new alliances. And we do well to remember that the real strength of liberalism is not embodied in any institutions or institutional groupings. It is, in our time, vested in a vast gathering of individuals. To put it crassly, this is where the votes are, not in union headquarters and not in denominational bureaucracies. Liberals may or may not be trade unionists or share interests with them; may or may not be churchgoers and church adherents; may or may not feel an identity with business; may or may not feel a concern for the prosperity of the universities. I think no mistake would be worse than the one that would lead us to identify the liberal cause with that of any institution or groups of them.

The liberal cause is the cause of the disadvantaged, the poor, the shirtless ones. It is also the cause of peace. It is also the cause of free thought and free speech. That is the beginning and the end of it. Let those who see it so coalesce with us.

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PAUL ANTHONY SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA

THE FIELD FOUNDATION CONCERNED TO HONOR MEANINGFULLY THE SACRIFICE OF MARTIN LUTHER KING JR HAS MADE A SPECIAL GRANT TO SUPPORT CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITIES IN THE SOUTH AND FROM THIS GRANT WISHES TO CONTRIBUTE AN ADDITIONAL 225,000 DOLLARS TO THE VOTERS EDUCATION PROJECT. A LETTER AND CHECK WILL FOLLOW. BEST WISHES TO YOU

LESLIE DUNBAR EXEC DIRECTOR FIELD FOUNDATION.

file: Field Fd. 1968

Cr. ref. re: Special grant from Field Found. to VEP "in memory of Martin L. King, Jr."

SF1201(R2-65)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

file

file 1968

STATEMENT ON THE DEATH OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Seven years ago, the Field Foundation began its working association with Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Even before then we had come to believe in this gentle yet powerful man.

As at other times of national shame and self-despair, what is at issue now is how well we as a nation shall respond morally and politically. On the day of Dr. King's assassination, Congress was once again voting against the poor, whose lives and hopes he implored us to see and do justice toward. In words he, himself, once used on another terrible occasion, "this must never happen again".

We know how pitifully inadequate on this occasion is a gift of money, yet what each person or organization should do is what can most constructively be done with his or its distinctive resources. The Field Foundation has long supported, to the best of its wisdom, the cause of civil rights and the cause of the disadvantaged. We pledge now that we shall continue to do that as long as these dreadful conditions or our resources last. As an earnest of that renewed resolve, we will contribute within the next few days $1 million toward the civil rights struggle in the South. These funds are being distributed among a few organizations which in purpose and method represent Dr. King's own constant and beautiful loyalty to the ideal of a beloved community, united in and by justice, non-violence, and love.

These funds, which shall come from capital, will be in addition to the Foundation's planned level of giving for this year. Notifications have gone out and been received by the grantees, and any further announcement there may be will come, in accordance with our usual practice, from them.

We hope and pray that there shall be many who by service and by money will want to renew their dedication to the cause of a humane and Godly society, for which our friend Martin gave his life.

The ugly scars of racism and poverty will not be eliminated in this country until the people through Congress wills this be done. Concerned citizens and voluntary groups can, however, tax themselves, and we urge that they do so until Congress can be persuaded to do its duty in the name of us all. We shall do that as individuals as well as a foundation. We urge that others join in this demonstration that private America is awake, if Congress is not.

Ruth P. Field
Chairman

Morris B. Abram
President

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

April 5, 1968

file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 11, 1968

Mr. John McCown
Georgia Council on Human Relations
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear John:

Confirming our wire of April 5, we enclose herewith our check for $40,000. This is part of a larger grant made by the Foundation in memorial to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Our most recent level of general support to the Georgia Council has been at the rate of $12,500 per year. For the calendar year 1968 we are contributing this sum of $40,000. What the Foundation may be able to do regarding your 1969 support I cannot at this time say, but it will not be anywhere near this level.

Indeed I wish to emphasize that the Foundation hopes that this special grant made to you and other organizations will be used during the next few months in connection with the present critical situation. We do not, of course, urge hasty or unconsidered action on you but only that these funds be put to work as soon as sound plans can be devised.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc.
LD:la

bcc: Paul Anthony

1/6

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 11, 1968

Mr. Baxton Bryant
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
818 B 17th Avenue South
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Dear Baxton:

Confirming our wire of April 5, we enclose herewith our check for $40,000. This is part of a larger grant made by the Foundation in memorial to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

We have before us your recent application for renewal of the Foundation's assistance to the Tennessee Council. Our most recent level of general support to the Tenneseee Council has been at the rate of $12,500 per year. For the calendar year 1968 we are contributing this sum of $40,000. What the Foundation may be able to do regarding your West Tennessee office or regarding your calendar year 1969 support I cannot, at this time, say. I can say at this time that our 1969 support to the Tennessee Council will be closer to $12,500 than to this special amount.

Indeed I wish to emphasize that the Foundation hopes that this special grant made to you and other organizations will be used during the next few months in connection with the present critical situation. We do not, of course, urge hasty or unconsidered action on you but only that these funds be put to work as soon as sound plans can be devised.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc.
LD:la

bcc: Paul Anthony

file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 11, 1968

Mr. Bob Valder, Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Confirming our wire of April 5, I enclose herewith our check for $40,000. This represents a one-time grant to the Alabama Council on Human Relations, in memory of the work and achievement of Martin Luther King, Jr.

It is part of a larger grant made by the Foundation to this end. We thought the Alabama Council should share in it because it has always embodied and expressed convictions similar to those of Dr. King. We remember too his personal association with the Alabama Council and, of course, his historic work in the state of Alabama.

In making this grant, it is the hope and wish of the Foundation that it can be put immediately to use, that it will enable you over the next few critical months to enlarge significantly your efforts. We do not, of course, ask that you act hastily: only that we hope these funds can be thrown as rapidly as good judgment allows into Dr. King's cause.

With our very best regards.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc.
LD:la

bcc: Paul Anthony

File
Field Fd.
1968

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Field Foundation, Inc.

REGARDING

Special Grant of $13,800 toward expenses for operation of Washington Office in connection with Poor People's Campaign (Legal work to be done by Marian Wright)

DATE

Rec'd. - 5/15/68 - 5/20/68 pa

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Poor People's Campaign

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

See

June 11, 1968

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

I have just read the second supplement to the Memphis report, which you sent up some time ago, and it is as first-rate as the earlier two.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

cc: Paul Anthony

(914) PE 8-2585

file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

Jice

July 25, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul,

We are having an all day meeting here on Friday, August 2, about which we have already talked to Vernon, John, and Ken Dean. We hope you can join us too, though I realize that you will be just returning from vacation and may be too piled up to do so. Let George or me know, though, would you please? The place will be the Drake Hotel.

Although we do not contemplate having a prescribed agenda, I could see the discussion moving - at least at the beginning - in a progression from (a) the Headstart situation in Mississippi; (b) the anti-poverty program generally in the South; (c) the Dominick amendment and the future of Headstart; to (d) the future of OEO.

The reason we have sought this meeting is, however, a more generalized one. We who have shared certain experiences the last two or three years should begin a process of seeing where at this time we stand. What is to be our posture and attitude about the survival of OEO, about the place of Headstart, about the continued usefulness of the established anti-poverty programs? What is worth fighting for (and how?) and what changes can we accept?

The meeting will be entirely private and off the record, and no publicity about it will originate from this office. Best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enclosure

file

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

July 29, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I am sorry for any confusion my letter of June 24 to Miss Miller caused you. In answer to your questions, we have or have had applications from Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Virginia. Among the four Councils (not including Alabama) we have been assisting, all grants expire some time this year and none has a formal proposal in here. I suppose I could assume proposals and go ahead on them. You will recall my letter to you of November 22, 1967, saying that we wish to act on the entire state council programs "again next Fall." It would seem to me orderly to do so, this year, before the grants expire. The present status is:

Georgia - present grants expires 12/31/68

Mississippi - present grant expires 12/31/68

South Carolina - present grant expires 8/31/68 (Matthias has written for an appointment)

Tennessee - present grants expires 12/31/68

As to S.R.C.'s general support you have already proposed a renewal, in your letter of June 12, 1968. We may need to ask for some other information, but the proposal is here and will be acted on.

As to whether Field would renew again its support of S.R.C.'s grant-in-aid program with the state councils, I don't think this has been chiefly a matter of conversations. On February 28, 1968, I wrote to you at some length, concluding that, if my reading of certain points you had made in your policy memo were correct, then it seemed to me we should deal only in a direct way with selected states. You replied on March 7, 1968, saying, "reluctantly, I agree with your conclusions that the Field Foundation's reaction is a correct one."

The above summarizes where we now stand, as far as I know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/ig

LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010
(212) YUKON 9-7530

MS

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Harvard University Law School

HOWARD MOORE JR.
Counsel
Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee

CHARLES MORGAN JR.
Southern Regional Director
American Civil Liberties Union

JOHN DE J. PEMBERTON JR.
Executive Director
American Civil Liberties Union

JOHN M. PRATT
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•

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Selma, Alabama 36701
(205) 872-3427

•

2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70113
(504) 523-1797

RICHARD B. SOBOL
Staff Counsel

August 26, 1968

After Labor Day, I shall begin a temporary consultancy with the Field Foundation. My office address will be

The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, N.Y. 10028

(212) 535-9915.

My home address is 4 Alan Place, White Plains, N.Y. 10607, (914) WH 8-4787.

Henry Schwarzschild

Contributions to the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee are tax-deductible.

252

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

October 16, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I wonder is we can prevail upon you to read over the enclosed proposal from AFSC for work with public school systems in the Deep South.

In addition to any other comments, we would be particularly interested in knowing whether you think such a program would work well with the South Carolina and Alabama Councils on Human Relations.

Our best to you, Paul.

Sincerely,

George Loft
Associate

GL/ig

Enclosure

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE PROGRAM TO AFFECT THE PATTERNS OF CHANGE IN DEEP SOUTH PUBLIC SCHOOLS

AFSC EXPERIENCE. For the past 12 years the American Friends Service Committee has been deeply involved in the task of assisting community people who seek to fulfill the mandates of the nation's courts and laws to desegregate the public schools of the South. Our programs have taken us into every southern state, and have included intensive efforts in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, North and South Carolina, Prince Edward County, Virginia, and Little Rock, Arkansas.

These efforts of AFSC have ranged from meeting the most basic human needs of those who have sent their children to desegregated schools and have suffered economic reprisals as a result to interpreting to school officials, state officials, the public at large, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and its Office of Education, the Department of Justice and Congressional committees the necessity for increased initiatives in the area of school desegregation. While such efforts have not been without their successes, we have been disappointed that neither Federal governmental agencies nor the Federal courts have acted with the necessary vigor or speed to bring about the abolition of the dual school system in the South. Today the vast majority of black children in the South continue to receive a segregated and inferior education.

GOALS. As we have worked for greater desegregation we have had two goals. One is to strengthen the democratic framework of our public school system, the other is to provide a good education for all children. Indeed, much of our concern for desegregation has been based on the belief that a dual school system cannot provide a quality education ("separate educational facilities are inherently unequal") and that for such an education to be available the dual school system must be abolished. This is still our goal.

THE CURRENT PROBLEM. The work of the AFSC in school desegregation in the South has provided us with new insights into community and school problems. We have found, for example, that access to a desegregated education does not necessarily mean that low-income and black people will automatically have access to an integrated education which relates to them out of respect and consideration for their identity, heritage, and culture.

Too, we have seen that a desegregated education does not mean that the traditional policies, methods, and practices of an educational system fostered and nurtured by racism will be abandoned or even altered to meet the new complexion of the classroom resulting from desegregation. We have found that it is possible, even likely, that for black people in the South a desegregated education means ostracism, academic failure, and a greater disillusionment with the promulgated good intentions of white society. All that we have learned indicates that desegregation is not a panacea for our society's problems in providing black and low-income children with a quality education.

But in many parts of the South significant desegregation is not yet a reality. In other areas, principally rural and poor, the black population is so large that even when the dual school system is abolished most black children will continue to go to all-black, poor quality schools. What of the education of these children? Will they continue to graduate from the twelfth grade capable of working only at the eighth or ninth grade level? Will they continue to migrate to the cities of the North, poorly educated and unskilled? We believe that in those areas where desegregation will have little significant impact on the racial complexion of the schools, new efforts must be initiated to provide these students with equality of educational opportunity. What we have learned, then, is that desegregation is not the sole answer to the deep educational problems of our public school system and, even if it were, the future of black children cannot wait until integrated schools become a reality in the South.

Thus, our involvement in the movement to assist in the desegregation of schools in the South has developed within the AFSC a new concern for those educational problems for which desegregation alone is not the answer. Such educational problems, for the most part, continue to relate to our involvement with the needs and aspirations of black and low-income people but are not exclusively related to civil rights problems per se. No other organization with AFSC's breadth of community experience in the South has such a single concern.

COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES. Through our experience we have found in the South a significant number of people, black and white, in local communities who have expressed an interest in working to solve particular problems of their educational system. Such people, however, have often been so isolated and alienated from that system over the years that now they have little information about how that system functions, their rights in relation to it, educational alternatives available to the system, or techniques for confronting and changing the system.

These persons at the community level are interested in their school system for many reasons. Some feel that it is not right for a county which is sixty per cent black to have a school system which is controlled by an all white school board. Others feel that it is improper for the school board, a public body, to hold secret meetings which are unannounced, unreported, and where no minutes are kept. Some parents resent the fact that their children graduate from high school unequipped to pass a college entrance examination or to get a decent job. Others despair at trying to obtain basic information from the school system such as a copy of the budget, the average achievement level of a particular class, or the expenditures for certain educational programs. Still others feel that newly desegregated schools should offer courses in black history and human relations. Some parents take exception to the school principal who either does not allow a PTA to exist at "his" school or who decides that an existing PTA can no longer function when it becomes too curious about the operation of the school. There are parents who feel it is wrong for schools to ignore requirements of the U.S. Office of Education that citizen advisory committees be established to assist in the planning and evaluation of federally financed education programs. Others complain about inequitable bus routes, the absence of basic equipment in the school, the lack of free school

lunches for poor children, the lack of a curriculum geared to the needs of black and low-income children, poor school-community relations, and the unwillingness of school officials to respond in a progressive and creative manner to the educational and social challenges presented by desegregation.

It is clear to many such people in communities across the South that the public school system, has, for the most part, failed to provide their children with either a quality education or to prepare them for a quality life. It is also clear to them that they have been denied participation and involvement in those areas of the educational system which determine educational policy; like so many other institutions which relate to (but do not involve) black and low-income people the schools permit minimal opportunity for them to participate in decisions affecting their destinies. And for most community people the subject of racial isolation continues to be of great concern, for isolation is still the rule rather than the exception in the South.

AFSC PROGRAM. Between the strong community desire to solve the problems of poor quality, lack of control and isolation in public education and the ability to do so there is a significant gap. We believe this is where the experience of the AFSC can be of assistance.

We have now in operation intensive efforts in Alabama and South Carolina. We have contacts and knowledge of communities throughout the five state area of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, which would be the geographic focus of the program. We propose to strengthen the former and to build on the latter to keep the issues of public schools before the Deep South, to draw together those who have a concern and to share information and approaches to solving some of the problems of public school systems.

We see a combination of intensive and extensive program efforts, directed from Atlanta and working in the five state area, which will meet three areas of need.

(1) Many community people, no matter how motivated, urgently need technical assistance concerning new programs and innovations in education, the role of assistance from state and federal agencies, and how other communities have dealt with their problems.

We are in a position to bring such technical assistance and share workable techniques for solving problems. We would do this in our intensive efforts as a part of daily community organization work, with staff sharing such knowledge on an informal basis. In our extensive program we would propose to set up seminars and workshops in strategic places throughout the South in which such information would be shared.

(2) Citizens need a greater awareness of the rights of lay people in relation to the school system and they need to be helped to act in ways which will build their assurance and confidence that they can exercise those rights.

We recognize the magnitude of this task and we approach it with the realization that we cannot quickly restore people's loss of confidence in their ability to effectuate needed change in the public school system. To accomplish this task we need to "dig in" at the community level to help people achieve what they perceive to be needed reforms. Our intensive Alabama and South Carolina efforts lay the immediate base for this kind of work. We propose to develop intensive programs in other areas as exploration reveals the potential for such work.

(3) A constant pressure is needed on the governmental processes which should work toward abolition of the dual school system in the South and toward building an educational system of quality and relevance. These are local, state and federal processes.

We propose to bring our authentic, community-based experience to bear on governmental units from school boards and boards of county supervisors, to state and federal agencies, and to stimulate citizen groups to do the same.

Implementation of Court orders requires the same constant feeding of the community "facts of life" into the "processes", in this case to the lawyers who carry school cases. Where necessary, we have played this role; we will continue to supply this information when asked.

The outline of the Deep South Program would be as follows:

1. A central operation, based in Atlanta and moving across the five state area to:

   - give oversight to our scattered intensive efforts and to keep alert to new opportunities for such work.

   - develop seminars and conferences throughout the area on issues in public education. These would serve to bring information to people, to identify leaders and reduce their sense of isolation, and to keep the issue before people.

   - keep abreast of developments on the public school scene across the Deep South, using our field staff as the primary source of information, but also developing a network of contacts where we do not have local staff.

   - carry the responsibility, along with other southern staff, of feeding our experience into the federal government; also carrying the responsibility for a systematic involvement of those educational forces in the private agency world to whom we feel we can give a more profound relationship to the southern school scene -- the National Education Association, the National Committee for the Support of Public Schools, etc.

2. An intensive, state wide South Carolina Program, consisting of a Columbia-based Director and six community organizers placed in strategic areas of the state where we have identified leadership and a will to produce change in schools. Elements of this program are: community organization around the

issues of education in six areas; seminars and meetings between community people and state education officials, some of whom we have identified as ready to listen to community perspectives; and the retention of legal assistance to be available to community people at critical points, i.e., when a school board meeting is coming up and community people have demands. (A detailed description of this program is available.)

3. Intensive efforts in three areas of Alabama where we have identified particularly urgent needs and vigorous local leadership in need of the support and assistance we have defined earlier: Mobile, where a sweeping court order provoked wide white resistance and aroused education concern in the black community, and where, despite temporary lower court set-backs, there will eventually and inevitably be the potential for extensive desegregation and work on the issue of the quality of schools; in a group of central-Alabama counties around Montgomery (Elmore, Autauga, Lowndes) where the problems of education in rural, poor areas, some predominantly black, others predominantly white, are highlighted and where we are close to strong community groups; and Birmingham, where the addition of a special staff resource in the field of education at this point would help concerned citizens move on the issue of public education.

4. Development of seminars and conferences and perhaps intensive programs in Mississippi, Georgia and Louisiana. We have made tentative explorations in Mississippi and Georgia, revisiting contacts in these areas.

In Mississippi, explorations indicate that a critical period is ahead, as court orders will call for more extensive desegregation. Knowledgeable people in the state predict a crisis not unlike that of 1964, with increased resistance to change, perhaps violent reprisals against those who seek it, and a resurgence of private school activity as an escape from desegregation. We have worked intensively in Mississippi in the past and are aware of points where citizen concern could be rallied and supported.

In Georgia, we would propose to look into areas where political activity has brought Negroes into positions of influence and we would seek ways to make such new strength felt in public school issues.

We are aware from our involvement in Louisiana of the plight of black educators as desegregation comes and are now documenting the process through which they are eased out of effective roles in the system as desegregation proceeds. We propose to use these documented findings to address ourselves to this critical problem in other areas as well.

The program should be financed initially for a minimum of two years. In order to hire competent staff and develop sound program plans, a "future" of at least two years is necessary. We would foresee a Deep South effort of three to five years in order to activate local forces with staying power.

# # #

AFSC PROGRAM TO AFFECT THE PATTERNS OF CHANGE IN DEEP SOUTH PUBLIC SCHOOLS

ANNUAL BUDGET

1. EXTENSIVE PROGRAM (Deep South-wide, Atlanta-based)			$ 35,000
Salaries (Director and Secretarial support)	$ 13,500		
Travel	5,500		
Telephone and Telegraph	2,500		
Office Expenses (Shared space, postage, supplies, etc.)	1,000		
Conferences and Seminars	5,000		
Special Projects (Short term staff and consultants; legal fees, educational materials)	7,500		
2. INTENSIVE PROGRAMS			130,000
SOUTH CAROLINA		75,000	
Salaries (Director and Six Community Organizers; secretarial support)	61,000		
Office Expenses (Columbia)	1,500		
Travel	5,000		
Telephone and Telegraph	1,500		
Seminars for Community and Educators	2,500		
Educational and Program Materials	1,500		
Legal Services Retainer	2,000		
ALABAMA *		55,000	
Mobile (Two staff)	25,000		
Mid-Alabama Counties (One staff)	15,000		
Birmingham	15,000		
3. TOTAL BUDGET			$ 165,000

* These are field operations with low office expenses, substantial travel costs, "serviced" in many ways from Atlanta base. No overall Alabama program director. Less advantage to a "state-wide" program approach there than in South Carolina.

October 18, 1968

Mr. George Loft
Associate
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear George:

The AFSC proposal which you shared with me today has considerable merit. With the exception of our periodic reporting and a few local efforts, I know of no significant work being done in the Deep South on school integration other than that being done by AFSC. And, in my opinion, the staff work of AFSC in South Carolina and Alabama has been of a very high caliber.

Incidentally, you might like to see our most recent commentary on this situation, if you have not already done so. A copy is enclosed.

Both the Alabama and South Carolina Human Relations Councils have worked very closely with

the AFSC staff people in the past. I am sure this will continue to be the case in South Carolina. In Alabama there is a new Council director, with whom I am not very familiar. But, here too, I would anticipate his full cooperation.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

October 30, 1968

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Les:

Here's your copy. I hope I have read you correctly, though the handwriting is so familiar I doubt that I could go too far wrong.

Am saving you a room for the 13th. Do try to come. If you really canpt, do let me know.

Sincerely,

Mildred M. Johnson

MMJ
enclosure - 1.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028

file

November 19, 1968

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

I wanted very badly to get down for the annual meeting, but the weather was too bad and uncertain for me to chance it. One reason I especially wanted to go was to talk with you.

Much about your letter puzzles me and that means that much about my memo puzzled you. As I told you, I wrote the thing riding first class on a flight to San Francisco, before being given lunch and while the stewardesses were plying me with mid-morning whiskey. Maybe that was the whole problem. Certainly if there is any suggestion in that memo that I have come to undervalue the work of the Council - now or in the past - something went wrong.

Let me try a brief gloss on the memo.

I stressed the role of VEP. I also held it up as an example of what I saw to be the kind of program which should bulk large in SRC's future; i.e., program which thrusts SRC into the center of events and change. (You object to the very idea of "program". SRC has <u>always</u> had programs: e.g. the Fellowship of the Concerned and the Southern Leadership Project. I think such programs as these ~~are~~ are not the key ones for the future - whatever their past - though I am glad to see them go on if conditions permit.) I gave as another example of the sort of program I meant several forms of what is fashionable to call these days, "advocacy". When I was at SRC I had talked about this in connection with physical planning, without knowing yet the word "advocacy". I meant then and now a program which would identify itself with the interests of Negro Southerners (and low-income whites too) and the interests of integration and would fight for those interests. Frankly, I have been disappointed that the project which Moreland has led, and which at least to some degree was fathered by my suggestions of long ago, has not been this kind of identity-establishing, aggressive program.

Whiskey or no whiskey, I was conscious while writing that memo that there are other types of program I would have liked to have also given as example.

Fidelity Control Skin
100% COTTON

November 19, 1968

Mr. Pat Watters

Specifically and to mention only one, John Lewis's work in community organization. I deliberately did not do this, because I decided that it might be misunderstood if I were to single out any existent SRC program (except VEP). I mention this now because I want you to know clearly that "advocacy" is not the only kind of needed program, in my judgment.

I haven't seen the final form of my memo, but Mildred did send to me a rough draft and it still did include a perhaps too wordy, though honestly meant, endorsement of SRC's research and information work, and an encouragement to make it as philosophical as only SRC seems to have the gift to do. Your letter seems to overlook this.

The one thing which I concede altogether your right to demand clarification of is my remark about the opinions of southern whites. Obviously (or may be not so obviously: at any rate, truly) these are of crucial importance, not only to Southerners but to the whole country. I just don't, however, see how - except through good information and research work - it is possible any longer to plan program to affect these opinions. Any program which goes beyond good information and research and is at the same time "effective" is likely to be the kind of thing neither you nor I could tolerate. I am saying that I no longer believe that the planned persuasion of the Fellowship of the Concerned and the Southern Leadership Project and the councils on human relations (as run by some states) is to be given a very high priority. I think the most persuasive thing for most white people is to be confronted by concrete situations. It is when they are, that your own fine writing is at its most helpful, by giving understanding and depth of meaning.

Finally, I ended up my memo by trying to reassert my conviction that one of the great values of SRC is simply in being a great in-gathering of Negro and white liberal Southerners.

Well, having said all this, have I left anything still in disagreement between you and me.

I am enclosing a carbon copy which you may give to Paul. I didn't send it to him directly because I did not know whether you want to share this correspondence with him. If you have no objection, I would just as soon he read this.

All good wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc. (cc Paul Anthony)
LD:la

November 26, 1968

Mr. Baxton Bryant
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
818 17th Avenue South
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Dear Baxton:

The information I have for you is not what you want, but I am afraid it is the best we were able to do. Our grant to the Tennessee Council for calendar year 1969 will be $15,000. The check will reach you shortly after the first of the year.

We are prepared to consider, at your request, two annual renewals of this grant, in the same amount. We are not prepared to consider renewals past 1971.

The amount of this award certainly does not represent my valuation of the Tennessee Council. The Foundation has perhaps taken on more commitments than it should, and we simply found that we could not do all we would like.

You run a fine show.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/ig

cc: Paul Anthony

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028

November 27, 1968

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

I am pleased to inform you that the Foundation, at its recent meeting and in response to your proposal of October 23, has granted $125,000 toward the calendar year 1969 budget of the Council's Voter Education Project. Our check for that amount will reach you shortly after the first of the year.

In addition, the Foundation is prepared to consider three annual renewals of this grant, at your request. A report by you early next Fall and at like time in later years, would suffice to bring about that consideration.

We are happy to have been a part, and to continue being one, of this program that has meant so much to all of us.

With best wishes to you, Paul, and all your associates.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la
cc: Paul Anthony

Carbon
Fidelity Carbon Skin

November 26, 1968

Mr. Paul W. Matthias, Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1420 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Paul:

I am glad to be able to inform you that the Foundation, at a recent meeting and in response to your proposal of October 11, has granted to your calendar year 1969 support in the sum of $19,500. Our check for this amount will reach you shortly after the first of the year.

The Foundation is prepared to consider, at your request, two annual renewals of this grant, in the same amount. We are not prepared to consider renewals past 1971.

With best wishes, to you and your associates.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/ig

cc: Paul Anthony

November 26, 1968

Mr. John L. McCown, Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear John:

At a recent meeting, and in response to your proposal of October 11, the Foundation granted $15,000 toward your calendar year 1969 budget. A check for that amount will reach you shortly after the first of the year.

The Foundation is also prepared to consider, at your request, two annual renewals, in the same amount. We are not prepared to consider renewals after 1971.

I know well that you had hoped for a larger grant, and I personally think your program deserves one. We are very heavily committed, however, and simply not able to do as much as we would like.

With best wishes, to you and your associates.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/ig

cc: Paul Anthony

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028

December 5, 1968

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Southwest Intergroup Relations Council
2801 Silverway Drive
Austin, Texas 78757

Dear Ed:

I am afraid the decision here is that we shall need a bit more time to respond to your proposal. We have kept it in a pending file and will make a disposition of it one way or another at our Spring meeting.

In our discussion one of the most strongly expressed reservations has been doubt as to the feasibility of embracing so many states in the initial stages of the organization. There is - as you know - no hurry about it but at some time you might share with us your thinking on this point.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

cc: Paul Anthony

December 9, 1968

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Leslie:

We are grateful for your response to our proposal for support of the Council and the Urban Planning Project.

We are particularly grateful for your willingness to consider increasing the grant to $40,000 per year, subject to our developing a desirable, expanded program within the Project.

We are planning a meeting on January 31st to go into a thorough exploration of this additional program. In addition to several people namely, Moreland Smith, John Lewis, Jim Wood, and Bob Anderson, there will be several members of the Executive Committee, including John Wheeler. Other individuals, as listed in the attached

memorandum, have also been invited to join us. I trust it is satisfactory with you if we wait until after this meeting to place before you our plans for additional program.

It will be at least January before I can get to New York, but I am very anxious to talk with you about some of my thinking about the Council's future.

Again, we are sincerely grateful.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

December 3, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

You wrote to us on July 12, 1968 regarding renewal of general support of the Council, and you wrote to us again on October 24 regarding support of the Urban Planning Project. You and I have discussed these proposals at length, and at a recent meeting of the Foundation we acted on the proposals in the light of these conversations, the most recent of which had been on November 11.

Summary ltrs due Fed'd: Fall, 1969 Fall, 1970 Fall, 1971 for renewal to UPP

I am glad to be able to inform you that the Foundation has decided to grant combined general support and Urban Planning Project support for the year 1969 and is prepared to consider two renewals of the latter, at your request. A summary letter from you in the early Fall of 1969 and at the same time in the next year would suffice to bring about this consideration.

Based on our conversations we understand that you are giving very serious thought to an expansion of the Urban Planning Project beyond that which was outlined in your letter of October 24. In anticipation that these plans would be finally decided upon, the Foundation authorized me to say that if you have so decided the amount of our grant for 1969 will be $40,000, and that is the amount that can be considered for renewal in two subsequent years.

If, on the other hand, should you decide the expansion is not feasible the 1969 grant will be $20,000, and our check for that amount is enclosed.

With all good wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc.
LD:la

$20,000.00
12-5-68
Km

Posted in money book

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028

December 18, 1968

Mr. Frank T. Adams, Jr.
The Virginia Council on Human Relations
17 East Cary Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219

Dear Mr. Adams:

As George Loft prophesied when you were here last July, the Foundation was not able to make the grant proposed by you and Mr. Anderson in his letter of June 18. I hope you are able to find the funds from other sources.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la
cc: Paul Anthony

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

December 19, 1968

Mr. Will C. Allred, Jr., Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
233½ North Greene Street, Room 4
Greensboro, North Carolina 27401

Dear Will:

At its Fall meeting the Foundation did consider your letter of July 23 and it was decided that we could not take on commitments to additional councils on human relations at this time.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

cc: Paul Anthony

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028

file

December 20, 1968

Rev. Francis X. Walter
Selma Inter-Religious Project
810 29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Dear Mr. Walter:

I enjoyed your visit, and will - as I said - get down your way next Spring.

I was glad to read, in your letter and proposal of November 5, of the cooperative plans of you, the Alabama Council on Human Relations, and the Southern Rural Research Project.

As I said in our talk, given the scant organizational resources of Alabama as well as the natural affinities of your three programs, I might hope that the combining effort could be even closer.

Thank you too for the Freedom Quilting Bee memo. I have read it also, with great admiration.

With best wishes to you, for the season and the year ahead.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

cc: Paul Anthony
John Morris

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028

file

December 27, 1968

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein, Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10018

Dear Norm:

I have the statement on rural migration which you and Paul sent to me. I'm with you, but I have some hesitation about signing statements from my present position.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la
cc: Paul Anthony

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Since I wrote you on September 2, my tentative plans to be in New York on September 18 and 19 have become definite. I have a meeting Thursday morning, September 18, but my other engagements are flexible at this point. If you will have any free time Thursday afternoon or Friday morning, I should appreciate an opportunity to talk with you.

In the event this reaches you too late to permit a reply, I shall call your office on arrival to see what is possible.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/hs

File - Field Foundation

MEMORANDUM TO GOVERNOR STEVENSON RE ATLANTA BACKGROUND

By Morris Abram

(* indicates a person whom you will meet when you are in Atlanta)

Atlanta, a metropolitan complex of one million, is a city of problems and hope. Its problems stem substantially from a conflict between rural and urban attitudes and ways. The struggle is waged within the city's population and with the state outside. Atlanta's hopes derive from a significant group of articulate and sophisticated citizens, well lead by the senior American Mayor in point of service, supported generally (in the clinches) by business interests jealous of the city's fair name, with the cooperation of a responsible Negro leadership which is in turn backed by over 25,000 Negro voters.

The rural-urban conflict is an ever present rumble which can be depended upon to erupt in almost weekly crisis. Sometimes it occurs over the issue of how schools are to be financed; at other times over whether we are to have schools at all. The issue is always alive in the continuous debate and litigation over the county unit system and it periodically surfaces in the recurring epithets hurled from the state house to city hall and bounced straight back almost as if by echo.

Georgia was 75% rural and 25% urban in 1920. Today it is 56% urban and 44% rural. Its 159 counties, which were carvedin other days (even then only to oblige political ends) are expensive relics populated by as few as 1841 people (Echols County) and by as many as 500,000

(Fulton County). Yet, Echols has two votes in state elections and one representative in the General Assembly. Fulton has six votes and three representatives. The ratio of discrimination against Fulton County voters is more than 100 to 1.

With all of its burdens and problems, Atlanta stands for something worthy. Those who despise its spirit have unmistakably recognied it and know well what it is they curse. Even those who scorn Atlanta in public often brag on her in private. Her course, most every one knows, is the destiny of the South, dislike it as a majority of Georgians and 40% of Atlantans do.

Several current issues are at least partially explained within the above frame of reference: (1) The School Desegregation Issues.

It has been 23 years since Missouri Ex Rel Gaines v. Canada was decided. Yet, not one Negro has ever been admitted to an institution of higher learning in Georgia (nor, for that matter, in South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama or Louisiana). Needless to add, none has been admitted to the common school system of any of these states (except Louisiana on November 14, 1960). The Georgia State School of Business Administration in Atlanta has for eighteen months or more been under federal court order not to discriminate against qualified Negroes. But, no Negro has, since the order, pursued his judicially protected right. (This is almost incomprehensible in view of the fact that there is no state supported downtown Negro college in the area and qualifications are not a grave obstacle.)

One must speculate that this is an example of the inertia, because of which segregation in fact will remain long after in principle it is abolished.

Since last June, the Atlanta Public School System has been under an order to place into effect its own reverse stair-step grade-a-year pupil placement type desegregation plan, beginning with the 12th grade in September, 1961. Federal Judge Frank Hooper has prodded the state administration to enact legislation to permit this plan to be effected without Atlanta school closings required by present law if integration occurs within the system. The judge has pointedly remarked that under standing federal decisions, one school system cannot be closed unless the whole state system is shut down. He has given ample time for state laws to be adjusted to his decree. The Legislature has done nothing (predictably) except set up a study commission. This,(headed by traditionalist Atlanta banker John Sibley) held statewide hearings last spring and reported in a split report favorable to a plan of pupil placement under local option. The governor did not even sign the bill establishing the Sibley Commission (though he no doubt was in favor of the idea). The governor is not only not committed, but,from his public actions, is opposed to the implementation of the Sibley report. The best guess is that he (and other top state politicians) believes that a governor of this state will be politically ruined if: (a) he presides over desegregation or (b)

he presides over a massive school closing. The obvious tactic, on such an analysis, is to delay, delay and delay in the hope that this cruel choice will belong to the governor's successor in office. Talmadge and Griffin have succeeded. Vandiver appears to be "it".

Meanwhile, beginning in Atlanta, a statewide save-the-schools movement (HOPE, INC.) has been established, based mainly in the urban communities. The common ground of its membership is the inviolability of the public school in desegregation. The movement is respectable, but inevitably a target of some extremist criticism.

The pressures in the school crisis are easily weighed: Atlanta, wanting its schools more than it fears some desegregation; having successfully desegregated its golf courses (under decree), its airport restaurant (under decree), its buses (under decree) and its library (under mayoralty leadership), is willing to comply with Judge Hooper's order. The Atlanta police force, under capable Chief Herbert Jenkins*, is thoroughly capable of handling any incidents which may arise through compliance. Yet, Atlanta is badgered by state laws which forcibly remind all that it is only a municipal island in a vast sea of rural tides. These rural powers, however, will eventually and ineluctably compromise. The facts require it.

It is rural Georgia that can least afford an adequate alternative system of mass education. Further, it is in rural Georgia where the gulf between the white and

Negro accomplishment is greatest that Negro amibition and leadership is minimal. There is thus a self adjusting factor built into segregation which will accomplish desegregation first and fastest where it is most possible.

I believe that Atlanta Education Board President, A.C. "Pete" Latimer*, who is a long time crony of Senator Talmadge, will agree with my assessment. I would guess that with Pete Latimer's cooperation, we will get through September 1, 1961 with at worst a school closing lasting a few days, and with good luck no school shutdown at all.

(2) The Sit Down Crisis.

As important as the school problem has been, it is presently eclipsed by a more immediate and equally dramatic issue - the sit down.

This movement came rather late to Atlanta considering it has the largest Negro college complex in the country - five colleges and universities plus an inter denominational theological center. Perhaps the delay was due to the rather pleasant circumstances of Negro life here (if one can ignore the fact that no really good restaurant, hotel museum or movie is open to Negroes, and that the opera, synphony and ballparks are segregated). Perhaps the pressures were delayed by the remarkably good relations between City Hall and the Negro college administrations. In the long run, however, there was no possibility that the sit down movement would bypass Atlanta. It struck during this spring, first with a moving appeal for human rights published by Negro students in a large newspaper advertisement appearing in both

newspapers. The appeal was rational and persuasive. The Governor declared it was per force "written in Moscow". The Mayor said it represented the hopes and aspirations of people everywhere. He chided the Governor for "thinking every good thing comes out of Russia".

After the ad came the sitdowns. They were, without exception, peaceful and the Negro leaders had nothing but praise for the Atlanta police who dutifully performed arrests under the state statute adopted in February, 1960, making it a crime to remain in a business establishment after a management request to leave. (To date none of the cases made in the spring have been brought to trial for one reason or another.)

The most prestiguous business institution in Atlanta is Rich's. It does a retail volume of 70 million annually - the largest department south of Washington. It has no real rival in Miami, Dallas, Richmond nor New Orleans. It is Atlanta's own - "a Southern Institution since 1867". In the depression, Rich's paid the Atlanta school teachers salaries by redeeming for cash the teachers "script". Come to think of it, Rich's is the only completely urban-rural amalgam in the state. Over a great city store - really as much an institution as a store - there figuratively flies a Confederate flag.

Dick Rich*, a past President of the Community Chest, insisted on bringing the first Negro representative to the Chest Board. No where in the store is there the

slightest distinction between white and Negro customers except in the eating and restroom facilities. Even in customer feeding, Rich's has done what no other has by establishing a Negro dining facility at great expense.

From the first, it was apparent that Rich's would be the prime sit down target. Rich's has significant Negro trade; it is therefore vulnerable to pressure. Rich's is the store which matters; it therefore attracts attention. Macy's Atlanta affiliate, Davison's, doing one-half Rich's volume under its president, Joe Ross*, is important commercially, but it is not a community power. If Davison's desegregates its feeding and Rich 's does not, Atlanta would not be impressed.

The pressure is therefore centered on Rich's. Dick Rich thoughtthe boycotts organized by the students against Rich's were morally wrong and despicable treatment to an old friend and they made him furious. His first resolve was to close his dining areas whenever a sit down occurred, but to arrest no one. The boycott grew tighter as the older Negro community was pushed and pulled into this complicity with the youth. Dick Rich soon perceived that the Negro students now had a key to his feeding service; that they could and did shut it down at their whim. During the late summer, Rich's was urged to join in a citywide lunch counter desegregation plan which, with the Mayor's and newspapers' cooperation, could probably have been accomplished then successfully and without too much trauma. Rich's was not agreeable. Dick Rich decided to shift

his policy of dealing with the sitters. He would now arrest them. The first batch of sitters after this policy change included Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Dr. King and several students were arrested in Rich's in October, after the Rich's Board Chairman (76) had appeared before them demanding to know which of a list of "race mixing organizations they belonged to". This was a mistake and it was news. Davison's simply shut its eating operation on the same occasion. Rich's was the lightning rod and now the lightning had struck.

On October 22nd, Dr. King was in the county jail, bound over with a group of students after a hearing in Municipal Court and awaiting standing trial. He and his companions had spurned small bail which had been established. Other students were in the city stockade. The boycott grew tighter and there seemed to be an inexhaustible supply of sitters. The Ku Klux Klan element began to infiltrate the town, bringing for the first time an appreciable white countervailing force.

On October 22nd, the Mayor met in the City Hall with 60 Negroes. The King movement and the students were represented. But, now the older leaders were there too - all of them.

Mayor Hartsfield is a practising Democrat. If he introduced Vice-President Nixon (as he did in September) and has the police to puff Nixon's campaign crowd estimates to 40,000 in a park holding no more than 10,000, it is only because the Mayor is determined that Atlanta will outdo any other city - even in Republican campaign crowds.

He was, however, heart and soul for Kennedy, as he was for Stevenson in 1952 and 1956 and, I might add, in pre-convention 1960. When it was suggested that there was political magic for Kennedy in the King case, without giving the affair any direction except that which the good reputation and best interests of the city demanded, Hartsfield was ready to help.

I was with him from 11:00 A.M. October 22nd until 1:30 A.M. October 23rd, with only time out for supper. He played the personalities and handled the issues as a conductor of a symphony would his orchestra. The result was a thirty day sit down truce (expiring, incidentally, November 24th unless renewed). King and his band were released from jail (Rich's dropping the charges), though King was then immediately picked up for the revocation of a suspended sentence arising out of a traffic violation in an adjoining county.

(I am enclosing an interesting press release which explains pretty well the political impact of the King incident and the Mayor's handling of it on the recent presidential election.)

Meanwhile, the present situation is fraught with grave difficulties. If Rich's should decide to desegregate its eating facilities at this time, it will face a much more severe white reaction than if the same decision has been made last summer. The bitter-end segregationists have now form an organization - Georgians Unwilling to Surrender - headed by Lester "Pickrick" Maddox, the Mayor's opponent in the last election.

Maddox runs a successful lower middle class restaurant, serving well fried foods in an atmosphere distinctly fundamentalist, prohibitionist and segregated. Maddox has the support of our local Congressman, James C. Davis, who has recentlyattacked the Mayor for his presumed intentions to preside over the desegregation of Atlanta's lunch counters. It is interesting to observe that ? Georgian Unwilling to Surrender wish to be known by their first initials - GUTS. Characteristically, the newspapers, which are doing a better and better job on this question, have spoiled their fun by calling them GUS - dropping the initial T. Nevertheless, GUS has been able to assemble six or seven hundred people of an evening at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel and there is now an organized protest against the desegregation of the city's lunch counters. Again, Rich's is getting the pressure. Curiously, but predictably, this latter pressure takes a form of sincere but unwanted flattery towards Rich's. In effect, it thanks Rich's for preserving segregation; it states its confidence that Rich's will continue to hold the line. In fact, the issues have now been drawn so that Rich's has been repeatedly informed by the bitter-end segregationists that they regard what happens at Rich's as determinative of the future course of the state segregation policy. Rich's now finds itself in the unpleasant situation of preserving the state, therefore, against mixed schools, mixed beaches and mixed marriages. There are, of course, many lessons

to be learned from this. One is more important than any other. It is this: whatever is inevitable in this tricky field should be accepted before it is too late and before countervailing forces have created other and irrelevant issues which may be supercharged with emotional content.

I do not know what the ultimate resolution of this sit down issue will be. However, it is perfectly obvious that there is a new force abroad in the Negro community and that this force is perhaps more powerful than even the processes of the courts. There are many grievances which the Negro has and the tactics developed in the sit down may very well be applied in an attempt to correct these other grievances. Let me give you just a few of these.

3. Some Negro Grievances.

Economic opportunity for the Negro in the South is greatly improved since the 1930's. Unfortunately, however, this is not the result of better job opportunities. The Negro is by and large still the hewer of wood, the drawer of water and the porter of goods. Such jobs, thanks to the Wage & Hour Law and improved economic conditions, are paying relatively higher wages. Economic opportunity, in the sense of the open availability of jobs on the basis of merit, appears a long way off. For example, the federal government in Atlanta employs 18,000 people. A recent survey indicates that except for the postal department and the communicable disease center, almost no Negroes are employed here by the federal government except in

menial job classifications.

The Negro population of the United States in 1950 was roughly 10 per cent of the total. If Negroes had been trained in professional and technical categories in relation to their total to the population, there would have been approximately 33,000 Negro auditors and accountants, not 960; 1,400 airplane pilots and navigators, not 60; 2,200 architects, not 180; 52,000 technical engineers, not 1,620; 16,000 physicians and surgeons, not 3,360.

Moreover, many Negroes trained to do one thing must accept employment in a lower job classification. 50% of the Negro clerks and mail handlers in the Atlanta Post Office have college degrees.

The Negro in the South (and in the country generally) has the problem of finding adequate living space. There is a continuous flood of Negroes to all cities off Southern farms. Atlanta has done a much better job than most cities in providing open living space. The problem is by no means solved, however, despite the fact that this city has, I believe, a better record in developing 221 relocation housing than any other in the nation. The United States Civil Rights Commission held a hearing in Atlanta on April 10, 1959 and its report gave high marks to the city for its intentions and its accomplishments in this field.

I would like to brief you on a few personalities:

Senator Talmadge is by all odds the most powerful

political figure in the state. He is distinctly a rural man - sincerely conservative. He is not a romantic, however, and he possesses a thoroughly realistic steel trap mind. He wishes the tides were not running against rural life, but he knows they are and when necessary he will be prepared to make the minimal adjustments required. He is a man to recognize a political limb when he sees one and he is determined not to perch thereon if there is a man with a saw about. Talmadge, since his election to the Senate, has said very little on the school segregation question, but significantly proposed a constitutional amendment to reverse the Supreme Court's decision. He is not fatuous and therefore this proposal must be taken as a part of public re-education. Talmadge created Vandiver (with Russell's help, whose nephew-in-law Vandiver is) and Talmadge elected Griffin. He lived to regret the latter and I am of the opinion that he is not wholly happy with the Vandiver administration. There is an open public rupture between Griffin and Vandiver, but amongst Russell, Vandiver and Talmadge there have been no public quarrels. Talmadge is personally friendly with Kennedy, but he does not like Kennedy's political philosophy. Talmadge has told me that "you can't drive a piece of paper between Nixon and Kennedy", but he personally dislikes Nixon. After Lyndon Johnson failed of nomination, Talmadge had no further heartfelt interest in the election. As a farmer, he approves of Kennedy more than Ezra Taft Benson; as a realist he wanted

no rupture in the Democratic phalanx in Georgia; as one who prefers state power to federal power, he dislikes the direction of the National Democratic Party. As a politician he did not wish to be closely identified with a presidential candidate pledged to a strong civil rights program. Therefore, Talmadge merely dampened any third party fires, announced he was voting for the Democratic ticket, accompanied Kennedy when in Georgia and introduced Johnson at a Law Day exercise at Mercer University. His skirts are clean with the Party, but he is not identified as a strong Kennedy partisan.

Senator Russell announced he was voting for the ticket and promptly left the country - his usual course in all presidential campaigns since Franklin Roosevelt's last election. Eugene Talmadge, the Senator's father, used to say of Senator Russell that he was like some hound dogs he knew. They were never in on the chase of the coon, but they bayed loudly at the tree when the work was over. On Monday prior to the election of November 8th, Russell went out to Texas to make speeches for Johnson at Johnson's explicit request. It is interesting to observe that in late years Russell has been more vocal about segregation problems than Talmadge, but then Talmadge is by far the more politically secure of the two senators. It cannot truthfully be said, however, that either are in any political trouble at home.

Governor Vandiver has not been a strong administrator, but he was an active Kennedy partisan - finally. He has been very vocal on segregation matters. In fact, he took an unnecessarily strong position in his campaign for governor in 1952 against a pip-squeak preacher. As Senator Talmadge remarked, he used a "French 75 to swat a mosquito." Nevertheless, Vandiver is not popular politically in the rural counties at this time and he does not enjoy much urban support in view of his extremist words on issues requiring more delicacy than he employs.

The power structure in Atlanta has formerly had quite pervasive influence throughout the state. Therefore, it has never really fought the county unit system nor the rural type politicians who are elected by it and who act against the urban area's interest. They have thought, I suppose, that the political structure of the state was at least manipulatable in the clinches, particularly because of the dependence of politicians on campaign contributions. This was surely true when the state budget was $50 million a year as it was before Talmadge's gubernatorial administration. However, since the sales tax the state budget is over $300 million and this dependence is no longer acute. Some members of the financial power structure recognize the change, but whatever influence they have is generally being "saved" or "hoarded." The big question is whether or not in the crisis the power structure will not find its will and its muscle atrophied through no use.

Some Public Relations Suggestions

The child care and other concerns of the Field Foundation such as juvenile delinquency would enjoy the interest and approval of Atlanta. You are going to see the Junior League Speech School for Children who have speech difficulties, and some of whom are literally being taught to speak. This is an institution possessing great prestige, doing a fine work, and it would be well to mention your intention to visit the Atlanta Junior League Speech School. It really is a splendid operation and well regarded throughout the country. In addition, Fulton County has just built a magnificent new Juvenile Court facility, This, presided over by Judge W.W. Woolfolk, contains detention, treatment and shelter care under the same roof. Justine Polier has indicated a desire to visit this facility and she is most welcome, as are all the members of the Foundation. Atlanta is proud of this ornament. You are going to see some really remarkable development in Negro private housing and you would not be wrong if you should point out that this is one of the ways in which Atlanta is an outstanding American city. You are going to Liberty Hall, the home of Alexander Hamilton Stephen, Vice-President of the Confederacy. Stephen was a moderate. He did not want Georgia to secede, but he went along with the state in a day when good men such as Lee had an under-developed sense of nation, but a well focused involvement with their state. You will see Washington, Georgia, a microcosm of the

old South - the home of Robert Toombs, a secessionist fire brand. You are going to Athens to see the oldest chartered state university in America and you will visit there the beautiful institute of continuing education erected by the Kellog Foundation.

May I suggest that this visit be known as a visit of certain trustees of the Field Foundation who are anxious to see the fine development in the South and the great progress for which Atlanta is renowned. I do not think it is necessary nor wise to designate this as a meeting of the Committee.

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February
10
1949

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am sending you a copy of the "STUDY FOR THE FORD FOUNDATION ON POLICY AND PROGRAM.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

B E M
d em

enc

RECEIVED
FEB 11 1949
Southern Regional Council

11- Foundation Requests (Ford)

RECEIVED
FEB 11 1949
Social Science Research Council

STUDY FOR THE FORD FOUNDATION ON POLICY AND PROGRAM

Statement of Purposes and Procedure

The purpose of this study is to recommend to the Ford Foundation the general role which the Foundation should assume in our society and in particular how it can most intelligently employ its resources for the national welfare. The study will seek to ascertain where the Foundation can most efficiently impinge upon strategic areas of public concern, and where a selective application of its funds will be most effective in breaking through the barriers hindering the advancement of the national well-being.

To accomplish its objective the study will secure the best thinking in the United States in each area of public interest as to

1. The major problems, needs and opportunities confronting this country;
2. The condition of present knowledge, institutions and techniques with respect to such problems, needs and opportunities; and
3. The attention which these matters are receiving from government, industry, existing foundations and other institutions and individuals.

The recommendations of the study will be based upon the foregoing data and also upon the unique potentialities of foundation operation in our social system. Certain important problems, because of their size, character, personnel needs, continuity requirements, or other factors can only be undertaken by an organization with the peculiar scope, flexibility and leverage power of a large foundation.

However, the resources of this or any foundation, no matter how large, are small in comparison with the total need and total present or future national expenditure for the public welfare. Formulating the Foundation's policy and program must therefore be primarily a matter of discrimination and selection. What the study seeks to supply is the best basis available in a short period of time for making an informed and intelligent selection.

For convenience in administering the study the area of public interest has been divided into the following fields: political science, business, other social sciences, education, physical sciences and medical sciences.

A committee made up of an outstanding consultant from each of the six fields will be formed to assist the study director. Each member of the committee will in turn be aided by a panel of leading representatives drawn from the sub-specialties of his field. The committee will coordinate and integrate the most advanced thinking in each area and will evaluate it in the light of the foregoing considerations in formulating recommendations as to Foundation policy and program.

November 18, 1948

11 - Foundation Requests (Ford)

March 9, 1949

Mr. Ben D. Wood
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

Dear Ben:

Here is my memo.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

11-Foundation Requests (Ford)

MEMORANDUM

March 8, 1949

TO: Mr. Ben D. Wood
FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
RE: Ford Foundation Study

The thing I have studied is the southern states. I will try to give you some advice about them.

In getting an understanding of it, the first thing to do is to sort out the four great sub-areas of the South. It takes a lot of explaining of history to lay out the development of the economy and institutions characteristic of each of the sub-areas. Here I omit the history. What you have got is something like the areas mapped just below:

These I have numbered for convenience 1, 2, 3, 4.

Area 1 The first one has an almost entirely white population. The basic farm pattern is ownership by operators of small acreages. The bits of good land are greatly overcrowded. Hillside farming has stripped the many slopes of their cover. One result has been the silting of the streams and periodic flooding of the precious bottom lands. That gives you many valleys with a still rapidly multiplying farm population dependent on the nearly worthless mountainsides and unreliable bottom fields. Much of the population went into the mountains not to farm but to cut timber. The timber is mostly gone and the ex-woodsmen are reduced to subsistence farming.

The base for democratic institutions is good. The mountain people fled slavery and resisted it. What property they have is fairly evenly distributed. Political participation is high.

Problems and needs: A complicated but perfectly feasible kind of land use reorganization involving getting the hills into timber and pasture, clearing obstructions in the streams and, where possible, reshaping of land holdings so that many farmers own some hill land and some bottom land.

More land should be converted to livestock. Much more afforestation and much improved forest care. More forest industries. More light industry in general. More hydroelectric power. More recreational industry.

Lastly and quite importantly, because of the surplus of people as against present resources, more education in usable skills.

Area 2 Population probably 85% white, 15% Negro. Basic rural pattern pretty good. Most farms are family owned and operated. Where a man has tenants he generally has only one or two. Land ownership, therefore, reasonably equalitarian.

Whole area dotted with widely decentralized industry. Hydroelectric power abundant. Most farms are within ten to twenty miles of factories, thus giving each rural family two chances at a living. Political participation well developed: franchise extends to Negro population in cities and towns and somewhat to Negroes on farms. Trade unionism moderately well developed. The people have learned the device of the mixed Negro and white trade union and work it successfully with rewarding consequences in quickened interracial understanding. This also foreshadows a normal participation in the processes of economic democracy.

Further needs: Additional industries providing balance to the heavily predominant textile industry. Stepped-up conversion of agriculture from the old staple crops to truck, livestock, dairy products, poultry and fruit. This will enable the farm population to supply directly the rich industrial market at its doorstep and will, at the same time lessen soil erosion and general loss of fertility.

Needs: Forest care should be stepped up, particularly farm woodlot care. Area badly needs a well developed system of technical education.

Area 3 Basic agricultural unit is still the large land holding. Except in certain areas the true plantation does not survive, but the great preponderance of people on the land are tenants or croppers. This makes a dependence inimical to free political institutions. In the absence of industrial development and in the face of growing mechanization of agriculture, hundreds of thousands of farm

families are leaving this area, mostly going into area 2 or North or West. Population would vary between 40% and 75% Negro, by counties. Low tax base and inequities of land tax system have yielded slim local revenues for school buildings and school maintenance. Educational level therefore backward, much more so for Negroes than for whites.

Needs: More power and more industry, particularly more processing industry. More forest care. Energetic measures to substitute a democratic rural pattern for the present landlord and tenant pattern. This could be done variously by direct federal credit, by federal guarantee of local private credit (both of which devices are in use) by state legislation requiring written leases and compensation for improvements made by tenants or by adjustments in the general federal farm program which would favor the family farm as against the large unit.

A great need is basic technical education. Whereas in area 2 what is called for is a highly developed system of trade education, what is needed in area 3 is a wide extension of so-called "industrial arts" teaching. This provides as a part of regular elementary and high school education training in measurement in materials, neatness of work, electricity, power machinery, care and use of tools. Young persons who have had such training will readily be picked up for factory processes and at the expense of employers given the necessary further training for the specific skills demanded by a particular employer. Whole area is converting from stable crops to a more diversified agriculture, to much greater use of livestock and to mechanization. The youth of this area require speedily such a training as will enable them to make their choice between employment in a mechanized and diversified southern agriculture or employment in industry.

Area 4 Much of the land is swampy and more of it is sandy. The one great natural resource is long-leaf pine trees. Population probably 60% white. Much of the land held in large forest units by companies. Subsistence plots and general farms small and poor. Basic rural institutions, therefore, undemocratic. Employment opportunities limited to work in the woods, or more lately, work in wood-processing plants.

Needs: Stepped-up public and private measures for conservation of the pine tree resource. Trade unionism and, to some extent cooperative organization needed to spread more equitably the income from the pine trees. Incidentally, trade unionism has been taking hold very rapidly in this area in the last three years.

Throughout all four areas health problems continue acute. Need more hospitals, particularly small rural hospitals, need more doctors and more dentists and more service from both for rural and small town people. Greatly need more and better-trained Negro doctors and dentists and more opportunity for each to practice with modern facilities.

Scanning what is above, the following stand out as things needing to be done. I have put by each some note as to agencies by which they may be cared for.

1. Land use reorganization, most intensively in the mountains. Being done sporadically through the persuasion method by Agricultural Extension Service. Could be greatly speeded up if funds were available for the minor engineering works needed in stream bed clearance, soil conservation, damming and so on.

Probable source of funds: Federal Government.

2. Crop adjustment in area 2: Can be expected to proceed by private devices, particularly when the artificial restraints of present federal agricultural conservation program are altered or removed. In area 3 the switch to livestock proceeds under its own steam, as does mechanization.

3. Improved forest care: Can and doubtless will be done by private, state, and federal effort.

4. Technical re-education: The limited state and federal funds available are by no means doing the job. Most particularly, education of this kind is best developed in area 2, which for present purposes needs it least. Private philanthropic effort in technical education adapted to the needs of areas 1, 3, and 4 would be richly rewarding in better earnings and more rapid industrialization.

5. Industrialization, particularly in areas 1 and 3: Probably held back most by problems of transportation, power, and lack of skill in the work population. Must presumably proceed from purely private resources, but public funds may become available also.

6. Land Tenure: The Federal Government will probably have to carry the main burden in a broadened offer of long-term land purchase credit, in credit for rural homes and farm buildings, and in changes in both what is now called the Agricultural Conservation Program (ACP) and in the price support policy which changes would give a positive preference to the family farm as against the multiple unit. Just at present no one seems to know the extent to which migration and conversion to livestock will reorganize plantation agriculture in area 3 — but obviously extensively, and probably in such a way as to foreclose the development of democratic institutions based on equalitarian land ownership. In that event, democratic institutions would have to walk in southern agriculture the painful ~~pattern~~ path being traveled now in factory farm areas elsewhere in the country. In other words, the non-landowning people who remain in area 3, if it becomes an area of mechanized plantations and large livestock farms, could only obtain democratic advance through trade unionism, and trade unionism is hard to achieve in the open country.

There remains the matter of state regulation of the terms on which farm land shall be rented.

That is a very fruitful avenue to be explored. Without expense it could greatly strengthen the security and ambition of millions of tenants and croppers and, at the same time, do much to improve care of the soil and of farm properties.

7. The franchise: The great problem here is area 3. Observe the sheer geographical preponderance in each state of the lower South of that section of the state included within area 3. That in itself would guarantee a public life, whole state by whole state, little in advance of what is acceptable within that part of each state lying in area 3. But the geographical preponderance is heightened by various artificial devices. The chief of these is failure to observe constitutional requirements ~~[illegible]~~ of reapportionment. Area 3 has been losing population for thirty years. Much of it has been lost to area 2. Yet, generally speaking, the counties in area 2 retain the proportion of the total legislative representation in their states which they had thirty and more years ago. Recall, in addition, that the dependence involved in tenancy and sharecropping makes it

easy either to deny the ballot to great numbers of persons caught in this dependency, or to control the votes of those who, notwithstanding the dependency, are armed with the franchise. The two factors of legislative preponderance and a limited and controllable franchise put you pretty close to the core of the political backwardness of the South. It will help to remove the poll tax, and in Georgia some day, to remove the county unit system. It will help still more to reapportion legislative seats to meet the shift in population of an industrial age and to underpin the franchise in the former plantation areas with the basically democratic institution of the family farm.

8. Housing: I suppose mainly a job for federal credit. A great effort to improve southern houses in cities, in small towns, and in the open country is badly needed. We shall not have in the South a society in which men think of each other humanely as long as two-thirds of our people, Negro and white, live degradingly in shacks.

9. Law and justice: Partly a matter of raising the general level of living of all the people. Importantly a matter of getting better-trained policemen, sheriffs, and sheriff's deputies. An important beginning could be made by training up in the South in the next eighteen months or two years two lay persons, one Negro and one white, deeply familiar with matters of police administration over wide areas in the South and then, in careful conferences with police officials, state and municipal governments, and private philanthropic foundations determine upon the most feasible course of improvement and training.

The city of Louisville, Kentucky is establishing a police training institution which carefully cultivated, could become a Southwide resource for this necessary skill. It will be a big job to organize support and students for this school.

10. The matter of health I know too little about to comment on usefully. Obviously the Federal Government is going to play a big role in improvement in health and medical service and hospital care.

Here are some special projects which should be considered:

Look again at the map and see the way in which the mountain area is the backyards only of eight states. The state boundaries lying as they do, the mountain area has great difficulty in achieving uniform progress and policy. Somebody could do a very useful thing by affording a planning secretariat for a widespread organization of mountain people and mountain interests. If the mountain area, through voluntary organization, could draw up a uniform program for its advance, it would have a pretty good chance of getting enacted by its eight state capitals the laws that would enable the whole mountain area to progress effectively.

Correcting the myth of the Negro past: Slave traders, slave purchasers, missionary societies, and blind ignorance have severally contributed to perpetuation of the myth that in Africa all was savagery, and brute-like people, while suffering the temporary pains of slavery, were given on this side of the world an opportunity to touch and perhaps achieve the kind of civilized life that could never have been possible for them in Africa. The white people in the South, believing this doctrine, too frequently see Negroes as a fit object for distaste, mingled with, perhaps, some compassion. That attitude would yield to one more appreciative of the possibilities of Negroes if white people and Negro people both knew the very different truth about

the African background. Historians are now increasingly agreed that in the medieval period Africans had got pretty far in adaptation to their exceedingly difficult environment and had to their credit achievements in political organization, in art, in craftsmanship, and in communal culture, much that should be regarded with pride. It is part of the truth that Arab and then European and later American slave traders, far from snatching a savage people into civilizational opportunity, actually did most to destroy African institutions which were producing stability and the complicated structure of civilization. All of this is perfectly unknown to the people of the South. Some sort of institute of African studies, reasonably well financed, could over a period of fifteen or twenty years by many devices bring to the people of this country an understanding of the creditable achievements and rich possibilities of people of African descent. Such an institute, perhaps tied in with several suitably distributed universities, could do quite a lot to lessen race prejudice.

Special training opportunities to prepare Negroes for foreign service: History has examples of peoples neighboring to richer peoples who, notwithstanding their poverty, climbed through the years to places of unusual influence. Witness the power of the Scotch in the British Empire, and the power of the Irish in their church. American Negroes have a chance now to land some of their number in places of unusual responsibility. One thinks at once of Ralph Bunche and Governor Hastie. As America extends its defense of its democratic institutions into Asia and Africa, Americans of Negro descent plainly have a special opportunity. Some will climb into places important in service and administration in the backward areas. The process could be substantially hastened, to the benefit of the backward areas and of the American Negro and of Americans in general by the training of Negro persons for such jobs. Doubtless the State Department is already concerned with general training arrangements. Perhaps in cooperation with the State Department, two or three universities could receive special assistance in giving to young Negro Americans intensive education that would enable them to achieve their finest in responsible places abroad.

Mention was made earlier of instruction in Industrial Arts. This is something badly needed over the whole South. We are already in great areas an industrial society. Industry and mechanization of agriculture are pushing, with some speed, into parts heretofore purely rural. From historical process too long to go into, the South has both in its white and Negro population a particularly unskilled work force. Vocational education strictly speaking, backward anyway in the South, has had most of its development in the already industrialized areas of the South. Vocational agriculture has been mainly concerned with biological and chemical processes as against mechanical ones. We are attempting to operate an industrial society with an underpinning of industrial education so skimpy that it would scandalize the Swiss or the Germans. Now it so happens that vocational education is intimately bound up with the federal subsidy of the Smith-Hughes and subsequent acts, and the federal legislation provides its subsidy mainly for instruction looking toward the acquaintance of particular and compartmentalized skills. In the South that has two unfortunate effects. It is a doctrine little disputed in vocational circles that no more persons should be trained to skills than will meet the number of prospective vacancies in the area in which the training occurs for the skill involved. That both (a) keeps down the number of training opportunities opened and (b) perpetuates the unbalance, particularly as to skilled occupations, as between whites and Negroes.

What is called Industrial Arts training (see mention under area 3 above) should be a part of the standard curriculum of at least the high schools of the whole South. That is to say, every child should get some hours a week of such instruction. The modern industrial process demands less and less the complete and specialized skill, and demands more and more a background of flexible ability in mechanical work. As the South expands industrially, it will need to take in and train for specific operations more and more people equipped with such a background. As mechanized agriculture and high-value food crop agriculture proceed, they will likewise demand people with generalized technical ability of this kind. Meanwhile the mountain South and the plantation South are currently yielding up to other parts of the South and other parts of the nation some millions of young people who, for the most part, migrate untrained for the mainly industrial operations in which they seek employment.

Unfortunately, as federal subsidy is not (so I am told) now available for Industrial Arts teachers, hardly any schools offer Industrial Arts courses. Nor are the teacher-training institutions equipped to supply teachers for these courses.

Here is an opportunity for private philanthropy. Some demonstration that this is a good idea would lead very rapidly to pick-up of the cost by public bodies.

Small town self-surveys: Experience shows that a community in which a committee of quite responsible citizens itself does the work of a survey of housing, health, education, sanitation, transportation, land tenure, employment opportunities and the administration of justice (or any several of these) gets automatically, through the activities of the responsible citizens, rapid and effective improving follow-up. Our Council has prepared and issued a manual to enable small communities over the South to make such surveys. We offer the services of a competent sociological person to advise the communities in making the surveys. Towns using the manual will find their results statistically comparable. It is intended to gear into each survey assistance from some neighboring college or university faculty, thus spreading a useful technique. Such a service, modestly financed, could begin a grass roots movement for betterment in hundreds of southern towns. Each such survey would also be a useful and perfectly manageable lesson in a joint effort by members of both races for community improvement.

All this amounts to a sizeable stack of things to be done. They need not merely to be urged, to be taught, and to be demonstrated; they need also to be observed, followed up, measured, pruned, and corrected. Somewhere the South should have a body, private at first and probably, after a generation or so, public, which would push through in this way a concerted democratic series of improvements in the economic and institutional life of the region. I plead not particularly for our small Council which, assisted by a dwindling stream of pennies, aspires to such an effort. The idea is what is important. I do plead for somebody to take the idea, to sharpen it, and apply it to the next thirty years in the life of the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

February 25, 1949

Mr. Ben D. Wood
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

Dear Ben:

I have got two-thirds through with dictating a memorandum to you.

It is going to be some days yet before it is finished and typed, but I will get it up to you.

It was very nice to see and talk with you. You had a busy time here in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

THE STUDY FOR THE

FORD FOUNDATION

ON POLICY AND PROGRAM

H. ROWAN GAITHER, JR.
Study Director

WILLIAM W. MCPEAK
Asst. Study Director

Committee:
THOMAS H. CARROLL, D.C.S.
T. DUCKETT JONES, M.D.
CHARLES C. LAURITSEN, PH.D.
DONALD G. MARQUIS, PH.D.
PETER H. ODEGARD, PH.D.
FRANCIS T. SPAULDING, ED.D.

REPLY TO

Ben D. Wood
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

February 16, 1949

RECEIVED
FEB 21 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am writing to thank you, tardily but nonetheless heartily, for your kindness in seeing me on February 4 and allowing me to lay before you the problems with which the Ford Foundation Study is concerned.

Your comments and suggestions were so helpful that we are looking forward to the memorandum which we hope you will write us, with great anticipations.

If any questions arise, or if I can do anything to facilitate the writing of your memorandum, please let me know.

The luncheon with you and Ken was most pleasant, and the account of your regional study most exciting. I hope to hear more of it and of your handbook for editors and reporters.

With reiterated thanks and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Ben

Ben D. Wood

BDW:GT

11- Foundation Requests (Ford)

Columbia University
in the City of New York

Bureau of Collegiate Educational Research
Columbia College

March 14, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAR 16 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

Many thanks for your memo, which I have scanned with pleasure and shall read more carefully and more pleasantly as soon as I get out from under the current rush.

Even a cursory reading shows that you have sliced through error and myth to the real core of the South's major problems and their rock bottom solutions. I am sending a verbatim copy to Dr. Francis T. Spaulding, President of the University of the State of New York, for whom I am "pinch hitting" in this study for the Ford Foundation. I know he will be deeply impressed and sympathetic, especially to your just and wise view of the Negro problem.

With thanks again,

Sincerely,

Ben

Ben D. Wood

BDW:GT

Ford Foundations
1 - Foundation Requests

Council for Cooperative Development

343 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET • CHICAGO 4, ILLINOIS
44 WEST 143RD STREET • NEW YORK 30, NEW YORK

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Educational Director
United Auto Workers—CIO

Arnold Zander, President
International, State, County & Municipal Employees—A.F. of L.

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Mrs. Halena Wilson
President, Women's Auxiliary
International Union Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters—A.F. of L.

Robert L. Smith
Eastern Cooperatives, Inc.

ACTING DIRECTOR:
C. J. McLanahan
Educational Director
Cooperative League of U.S.A.

941 Howard Street
Detroit 26, Michigan

July 7, 1949

George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am sorry that you did not make more progress with Kaplan but I think you can sense the situation. There are not only many appeals for money, but he is tremendously busy as a businessman. He hopes to get out of the heavy press of work within the year and be able to devote more time to his extra-curricular interests.

I will follow up each time I see him and it may very well be that he will come through with support.

Have you worked at all on the Ford Foundation? They have a tremendous amount of money to spend and a committee has been set up to study what they should do with it. Perhaps Morris has talked with you since he was at the Spring Conference in Chicago when this was discussed. Warren Seyfert at the University of Chicago is on the committee and if you should wish to address any communication to the committee, you could write to him. In the meantime, you might ask Morris about the discussion which took place at the Conference.

If Ford could be induced to do for the South what Rosenwald did - in a little different way - it would be quite a program, since I understand the amount available from the fund will run something around ten million dollars a year. It's worth a try any way.

We keep busy here trying to establish our program and prove that co-ops can operate successfully in cities.

Sincerely,

C. J. McLanahan

CJM:
CL/ewc

RECEIVED
JUL 11 1949
Southern Regional Council

Clearcopy Origin Stile
MADE IN U.S.A.

February 9, 1950

The Ford Foundation
Buhl Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Sirs:

This is an established southern interracial organization working effectively in the field of human relations within the South. Its membership and its Board of Directors are the cream of the leadership of both races.

We have done a lot; there is vastly more to do.

We have been building up our southern support, and with the greatest struggle last year were only able to get about fifteen thousand dollars from within the South. It takes fifty or sixty thousand a year to do even as much as we have been doing.

The Council wishes to apply to the Ford Foundation for a sum, substantial and life giving to us but small after all--fifteen thousand dollars a year for each of three years.

I append a memorandum on what the Council has done. I could send you a fat file of our publications, audits, details of projects, etc.

Would you be good enough to tell me the manner in which our request should be submitted in order for the Foundation's consideration to be put upon it?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

11- Foundation Requests - Ford

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BUHL BUILDING
DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN

February 28, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge your letter of February 9, in which you make application for a grant from this Foundation for the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

As you probably know, some months ago we engaged a Study Committee to make an analysis in order to determine the areas of human welfare in which the resources of this Foundation can be most effectively used. The Committee has completed its work, and the report is now in the hands of our Trustees for consideration. Our Board will use the Committee's report as a guide in formulating the Foundation's future policy and program, but as you can of course readily appreciate, consideration of specific new projects is being deferred until our future overall program is definitely decided upon.

We cannot say at this time whether or not your organization would come within the scope of our future activities, but if any such program could be included we will of course be glad to give consideration to your proposal.

Yours very truly,

Secretary & Treasurer

BJC:c

RECEIVED
MAR 2 1950
Southern Regional Council

Ford Foundation

March 6, 1950

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

We have at least raised the edge with the Ford Foundation, as you will see.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BUHL BUILDING
DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN

September 22, 1950

RECEIVED
SEP 23 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Enclosed is an advance copy of the "Report of the Trustees of The Ford Foundation," for release after 6 P.M., Tuesday, September 26th in morning newspapers of Wednesday, September 27th.

It is the first announcement of the areas in which the Foundation will seek, in accordance with its charter, to contribute to the advancement of human welfare.

As you will note, the areas are defined in Part III of the Report. Part II reviews the considerations leading toward this decision and Part I attempts to clarify the meaning which, in the opinion of the Trustees, should be given to the phrase "human welfare" as it appears in the Foundation's charter.

Knowing of your interest in the Foundation, this confidential copy of the Report is sent to you somewhat in advance of the actual publication date.

Sincerely yours,

Henry Ford II

Atl. Const. 9-27-50

Ford Fund Peace Bid Pledges $250 Million

Hoffman Wins Huge Powers In Dealing Sums in 5 Fields

By WALTER W. RUCH

Special to The New York Times and The Atlanta Constitution

DETROIT, Sept. 26—The Ford Foundation, largest public trust in the world, dedicated itself and pledged its assets of nearly a quarter of a billion dollars Tuesday to the elimination of war and to the improvement in a peaceful atmosphere of the common lot of man.

It will soon announce that the leadership in its comprehensive activities in the social sciences directed toward peace and the realization of democratic goals will be entrusted to Paul G. Hoffman, who resigned Monday as head of the Economic Co-operation Administration, which supervises Marshall Plan aid to Europe.

With Hoffman as its President at a salary reported to be about $100,000 a year, the foundation will move about the first of the year to make available its vast resources in five generally defined "areas for action."

It may spend either the principal or the earnings from its holdings of non-voting stock of the Ford Motor Company with a book value of $238,166,175, but all of its disbursements will be in the field of social sciences, with Hoffman to have "enormous powers" in apportioning the fund, it was said Tuesday night.

The announcement of its aims and purposes was the first comprehensive statement of the kind since the foundation was established in 1936 by the late Edsel Ford, son of the late Henry Ford, founder of the company. The original donation of $25,000,000 has been greatly augmented by further donations by Henry and Edsel Ford, by Mrs. Clara B. Ford, widow of Henry Ford, and by the company.

The trustees, in the report issued Tuesday by their chairman, Henry Ford II, son of Edsel Ford and now President of the company, summarized the foundation's "five areas for action" in headings as follows.

"The Ford Foundation will support activities that promise significant contributions to world peace and the establishment of a world order of law and justice.

"The Ford Foundation will support activities designed to secure greater allegiance to the basic principles of freedom and democracy in the solution of the insistent problems of an ever-changing society.

"The Ford Foundation will support activities designed to advance the economic well-being of people everywhere and to improve economic institutions for the better realization of democratic goals.

"The Ford Foundation will support activities to strengthen, expand and improve educational facilities and methods to enable individuals more fully to realize their intellectual, civic and spiritual potentialities; to promote greater equality of educational opportunity; and to conserve and increase knowledge and enrich our culture.

"The Ford Foundation will support scientific activity designed to increase knowledge of factors which influence or determine human conduct, and to extend such knowledge for the maximum benefit of individuals and of society."

Ford Millions Go to Research

Atl. Jour. 10-2-50

DETROIT, Oct. 2—(AP)—The Ford Foundation, America's richest philanthropic trust, announced grants totaling $3,500,000.

Of the total, $3,000,000 will be used for scientific research into human behavior. The remainder will be used to enlarge and accelerate private efforts in the fields of national and international administration.

The foundation, with resources estimated at close to $215,000,000, announced earlier this week the five fields in which it will seek to benefit human welfare: World peace, the strengthening of democracy, worldwide economic improvement, the expansion of education and a fundamental study of human conduct.

The biggest single grant—$500,000—will go to the Public Administration Clearing House of Chicago to expand its activities in the fields of national and international administration.

Atl. Constitution 11-7-50

Paul Hoffman Heads Ford Foundation

Special to The New York Times and The Atlanta Constitution

NEW YORK, Nov. 6—Paul G. Hoffman, former Economic Cooperation Administrator, was chosen Monday as President of the Ford Foundation with the specific task of directing the vast enterprise's new program to improve the common lot of man.

The election of Hoffman, at an annual salary of $75,000, to head the Foundation's board of trustees was announced by Henry Ford II, President of the Ford Motor Company, at a press conference in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

Hoffman will assume active duties on Jan. 1.

Cross-Reference

Ford Foundation
(10-11-50)

See letter from Paul Williams to GSM, 10-11-50, filed under:

Amer. Jewish Cttee

Ford Foundation

THE FORD FOUNDATION
BUHL BUILDING
DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN

November 15,
1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
NOV 20 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We have your letter of November 13, in which you give a resume of the ability and experience of Sheldon A. Robert, Jr., in connection with his application for a position with this Foundation.

We thank you for the information given in your letter and are enclosing herewith a copy of our reply to Mr. Robert which we believe is self-explanatory.

Yours sincerely,

THE FORD FOUNDATION

Secretary & Treasurer

BJC:adv
Encl.

C
O
P
Y

November 14,
1 9 5 0

Mr. S. A. Robert, Jr.
3380 North Dickerson Street
Arlington, Virginia

Dear Mr. Robert:

This is to acknowledge your communication of November 10, 1950, and to explain the current status of the Ford Foundation.

The Foundation's new President, Mr. Paul Hoffman, will have full authority and freedom for selection of his staff. Therefore, until he takes office early in 1951, your application for employment cannot be given proper consideration.

We shall, of course, file your application and call it to Mr. Hoffman's attention as soon as possible. If your qualifications are consistent with his personnel needs he will no doubt get in touch with you.

Yours sincerely,

THE FORD FOUNDATION

Secretary & Treasurer

BJC:jrs
adv

Ford Fund

Cross-Reference:

Cf. letter of Nov. 22, 1950, from Paul Williams to GSM, mentioning his conversation with Mr. May of the Ford Co.

(Filed in Ford Foundation file, Finance Files.)

JPF

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HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

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ARLINGTON

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NORFOLK

Nov. 22, 1950

Dear George,

Thanks for your letter of Nov. 20th. I'll be glad to go by to see Palmer on my next trip to New York, probably before Christmas, if Wheeler does not see him. Let me know.

Hope you were able to stir up some new enthusiasm with Ford. Aid while you were in N.Y.

I need the data on Chas. Johnson so please hurry it along.

What did you decide to do on the meeting of the Ex. Committee.

As I told you Fr. Maurice Sheen was fearful of the present leadership at Rock

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

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Hill concerning the Survey. I think you should investigate the situation there before things go too far in order to tighten up the loose ends.

We should be working on a full dress appeal to the Ford Foundation to submit before or right after Christmas. In the appeal we should ask for a chance to appear before the trustees (you, Chas. Johnson and myself) in order to answer questions and explain our work personally. At the time we send in our appeal we should have members of our Board write brief and personal appeals to any Trustees of the Ford Foundation where we have personal connections. For example Tilly should write Chas Wilson, Chas Johnson

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should write Karl Compton of M I T, Odum should write Donald David, Dean of Harvard Sch of Bus. Ad. That is, of course, if Johnson or Odum know these gentlemen. I have some close contact with Henry Ford II and Benson Ford which I'll pursue. I learned of these contact when I was in Detroit when I had a good session with Mr. May, a Jew I have known for 5 or 6 years. May, a lawyer, is director of human and racial relations for the Ford Motor Co. The whole thing has to be studied very carefully.

Hughes Spaulding said that David and Wilson are close friends and one ~~who~~ would probably convince the other. If the Woodruff people come through I'd be willing

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to ask Spaulding to put in a good word for us with David whom Spaulding knows quite well.

I'll be home until Sunday night. Next week I'll be in Cincinnati Monday and Tues (Netherland Plaza Hotel). Wed Thurs. & Friday I can be reached at Wentzen Bach & Co, 2210 South Park Way, Chicago.

Best always.

Sincerely,
Paul

Hutchins, Davis Get Fund Posts

Will Administer Ford Foundation

PASADENA, Cal., Dec. 19—(AP) Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins, of the University of Chicago, and Chester C. Davis, President of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, were named Tuesday as Associate Directors of the $238,000,000 Ford Foundation.

Paul G. Hoffman, former ECA Administrator, now President of the Foundation, made the announcement.

"Mr. Davis and Mr. Hutchins will join me in Pasadena shortly," said Hoffman in a statement, "and the three of us will be the officers responsible for further development of the progress of the Foundation and its execution."

The trio is expected to confer here early next year on plans for the multimillion foundation setup from the estates of the late Henry Ford, Sr., and Edsel Ford. Its huge backing will make it No. 1 in the philanthropic field, outstripping such giants as the Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations.

Foundation funds will be distributed for study and endeavor in five basic fields—peace, education, strengthening of democracy, economics and human relations.

Hoffman, who took the $70,000 president's job recently after resigning as ECA director, did not disclose the salaries of his new associates. Pasadena was named two weeks ago as the planning and grant-distributing center for the Foundation, with headquarters in New York and has Detroit as its fiscal hub.

Davis will retain his bank post, but Hutchins will take a leave of absence from Jan. 1, 1951 until the close of the academic year, June 30, when he will resign from the University. He plans to take no active part in the direction of the University after Jan. 1. He will make his home and office in Pasadena.

J.A.S. Jan 13. '51

MEMORANDUM CONCERNING A PLAN FOR A PROGRAM OF RESEARCH AND ACTION IN THE TEACHING OF HUMAN RELATIONS

I Purposes

A. Major Purposes

1. To promote a research program directed primarily at the question: How should we teach human relations in the South?

2. To plan an action program aimed at providing guidance, assistance, and materials in the teaching of human relations for persons in the South.

3. To stimulate social science research generally in the vicinity of Atlanta.

B. Secondary Purposes

1. To provide a framework for larger cooperation between certain institutions and agencies, such as Atlanta University, Emory University, and the Southern Regional Council (and possibly the Anti-Defamation League).

2. To find an adequate program upon which to base an appeal for funds from the Ford Foundation.

3. To provide an income-attracting program for the Southern Regional Council.

4. To partially implement the recommendation made at the annual membership and board meeting of the Southern Regional Council that the Council redefine its program and that the Council give particular attention to the public school program in the South.

II Limitations

A. The development of a program which will be acceptable to all the institutions and agencies concerned such as the Council, Atlanta University, Emory University, and others.

B. The development of a program which will have sufficient appeal to produce income in the form of grants; therefore, the development of a program which would seem to be consistent with the stated purposes of the Ford Foundation.

C. The limitations arising out of our uncertainty as to what research is needed and how research findings can be implemented.

D. The limitations imposed by the fact that so few of us have any real experience to guide and shape this program.

E. The necessity for the development of a program very quickly.

F. The uncertainty as to whether such a program as this is the one deserving top priority in the Council's plan. (For example, should the home town self surveys be given priority).

G. The inevitable limitations arising out of our interests in saving the Council.

III The Program

A. A problem census of persons working with related institutions and agencies.

B. A careful consumption of the existing literature relating to our general problem.

C. The staking out of areas of needed research.

D. Some tentative guesses on questions to be studied:

1. To what extent is the teacher a determinant in the shaping of attitude of students?

2. To what extent is the climate of the class room the focal point in the teaching of human relations?

3. How effective is the teaching of human relations in a segregated school pattern?

4. What special tools and resources are needed by teachers at various grade levels to facilitate the teaching of human relations?

5. Through what devices do we reach the teacher?

6. How effective is a class room in a program of human relations in the face of certain contradictory patterns in the regional culture?

7. How can human relations be taught, therefore, in such a fashion as to be creative and not destructive in the accommodation of the personalities involved to the over-all culture?

8. To what extent is it necessary to provide contact opportunities for teachers working in segregated school patterns?

9. Should human relation teaching in the South be concerned with human relations in general or with inter-group relations?

10. Should a program of human relations in the South focus primarily on efforts to modify general attitudes in the over-all culture rather than on efforts in the field of public education?

11. What are the techniques "selling" human relations programs to school administrators in the South?

12. How can group dynamics be employed in the teaching of human relations in the South?

13. How can the work of the action agencies and of the research agencies be facilitated?

14. The development of criteria for evaluating the significance of human relations education in meeting in the general social needs of the region.

15. Is human relation education in the South significantly different from that in other regions?

16. How can inter-agency cooperation in human relations education be facilitated?

E. Personnel

1. A board of control--either a separate board set up by the Southern Regional Council or a committee of the Southern Regional Council or a committee of the cooperating institutions and agencies.

2. Some guesses as to the kind of personnel needed:

   a. Administrative persons such as the staff members of the Southern Regional Council.

   b. Field personnel such as the field representatives of the Southern Regional Council.

   c. Research personnel including cultural anthropologists, sociologists, teacher education specialists, educational psychologists, psychiatrists, group dynamic specialists, communications specialists, and others.

F. The institutions and agencies to be employed

1. Southern Regional Council
2. Atlanta University
3. Emory University
4. Others

G. Some guesses as to the method to be employed in the research program:

1. Attitude studies
2. Actual experimentation with class room groups
3. Possibly some "depth interviews"
4. Statistical analysis
5. Others

IV Appraisal and Evaluation

A. The insistence from the first that the program is to be action-oriented research.

B. The insistence from the first on the intimate interaction between the field personnel and the research persons as a sort of continuing evaluation.

C. The setting up of an evaluation of the program by independent agencies.

John A. Griffin

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HUMAN RELATIONS AND THE SCHOOL

If we assume that education in America must be the education of free men, then it follows that as we strive to guide students toward maturity with the free man as our ideal, an essential area of our teaching is human relations. The importance of human relations has long been recognized, but for too long it was assumed that the young will gain such learning without formal guidance. It is now apparent that learning in the field of human relations must no longer be left to the informal and the extra-curricular experience of the young American, but should be included as we plan the organization of his formal educational experience.

Since the formalizing of education in human relations is a relatively new concept, only some beginning ideas have been developed on how to do the job in the classroom and in the schools. Certainly, a first step in the planning of adequate school experience in human relations is the recognition by the teacher, the principle, the school administrator, that he has a responsibility for providing learning situations in human relations for his students.

As the teacher comes to recognize his responsibility, he will find some resources to call upon. There is material which has been developed by various scholars and agencies, such as the American Council on Education and by other special agencies. Fortunately, for the Southeastern area much material, including audio-visual aids and some personnel, has been made available through the good offices of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. The thoughtful teacher will want to exploit these resources to the fullest. The Anti-Defamation League and other agencies offer much cooperation in assisting the teacher avail himself of the existing helps.

The teacher or administrator who begins to implement his recognition of

his own obligation in this field will find rich opportunity for his own pioneering. His own ingenuity may produce results which achieve his purpose and which indeed may in themselves become important contributions to the materials on the teaching of human relations. The teacher may perform a significant service not only through the ingenious methods used but also through raising questions about the problems in this area of his teaching. As these problems and needs are encountered in the classroom by the teacher, they can be passed on the Anti-Defamation League which may in turn direct them into research programs seeking the answers.

For the conscientious teacher, therefore, human relations teaching is a must in the democratic educational pattern which cherishes as its ideal the free man. It is a must in terms of obligations, and a challenge in terms of opportunity for individual initiative in helping to develop the "know how" now so urgently needed in human relations education.

John A. Griffin

AFTER 5 DAYS RETURN TO

EMORY UNIVERSITY

EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

EMORY UNIVERSITY, GA.
JAN 15
4 30 PM
1951

3 CENTS

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N E
Atlanta, Ga.

REPORT ON ROUND TABLE NO. 3

Education in Human Relations

Chairman: Fred H. Roth

Panelists:

Dr. Abraham N. Franzblau,
Dr. Martin W. Chworowsky

Public schools in a democracy must play a vital role in teaching good group relations. Good group relations depend on and include good individual relations.

Schools can help promote both good group relations and good individual relations in three basic ways: 1) The teaching of facts about different people; 2) the development of wholesome attitudes about different people; and 3) the provision of experiences from which individuals - be they minority or majority group members - can learn to deal constructively with racial, religious or cultural conflict situations.

The schools are likely to develop such programs only if sufficient community interest and assistance is provided. AJC chapter members as parents and as citizens have a role to play in seeing to it that their children grow up in a community in which the school system lays the foundation for democratic living.

The ballot can be as useful here as in other areas. Instances were cited where citizen groups have succeeded in changing the entire complexion of a school system through the election of members who have an interest and concern with the problem of better intergroup education.

Various projects in which AJC chapters have been involved were discussed, such as the Panel of Americans, Textbook Revision, the Art Project, the Rural School Project, etc. While many of these projects were regarded with favor, the need for checking and strengthening their effectiveness by means of research methods was stressed repeatedly. Research can also be used to help set up demonstration projects in order to test the effectiveness of existing intercultural education techniques and to develop newer and more effective techniques.

The teacher's crucial role in the process of educating children to effective and democratic living was noted and the need for adequate teacher training and teacher selection was emphasized. Intercultural education workshops, courses for alertness credit, i.e., training teachers on the job, curriculum changes in teacher colleges, all play a role in this process.

Finally, it was clearly seen that an AJC chapter must learn to know the needs of its community in the area of intergroup relations in order to seek out the gaps and to develop effective programs. Chapters cannot automatically apply a given project - which has worked well in another chapter city - and expect it to be appropriate in its own community. Here, chapters alone or with other organizations interested in better intergroup education can investigate their communities' needs and facilities for better intergroup education.

Therefore, the Round Table recommends the following:

1.- Chapters in cooperation with other community groups (such as community relations councils, mayors' committees, and local branches of the National Conference of Christians and Jews) should give support and encouragement to intergroup education workshops, post-graduate courses for teachers, and other training programs which help to inculcate teachers with the principles of better intergroup relations.

2.- Chapters should encourage its members to participate - as parents- in PTAs and other community organizations on a year-round basis where they should promote intercultural education. As citizens, chapter members should also take an active role in electing good school officials and should defend them against attacks by groups (such as Allen Zoll's pro-America movement) who do not favor intercultural education in the public schools.

3.- Chapters should consider and undertake, with other community organizations, surveys for determining the needs and facilities of local communities for better intergroup education.

4.- Since the AJC is particularly qualified to conduct research, it should concern itself increasingly with the need for developing the theories and techniques

of intergroup education. Research should also be applied to such ongoing chapter intergroup education programs as the Rural School projects, Textbook Revision, Panel of Americans, etc.

5.- Through its specialized and field services the national office must provide chapters with:

(a) General information about intergroup education practices in other communities; especially those involving parent-teacher cooperation;

(b) Consultation in dealing with specific problems;

(c) Assistance in setting up and conducting projects (e.g. a survey of intergroup education needs in a local community.)

6.- It is recommended, finally, that the national office should regard intergroup education as one of its important priorities during this and succeeding years and provide the appropriate resources for conducting this program.

- January 26, 1951

Ford Fund Gives Million for Center For 'World Brotherhood' Near U.N.

A $1,000,000 gift by the Ford Motor Company Fund to the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc., for the purchase and maintenance of a new permanent headquarters near the First Avenue site of the United Nations was announced yesterday by Dwight Palmer, president of the General Cable Company.

The gift is the largest received by the conference in its twenty-three years. Purchase of the site at 328-38 East Forty-sixth Street will be completed this week. Conversion of a two-story garage on the premises is to begin within thirty days.

Mr. Palmer — acting for Henry Ford 2d and Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, president of the conference, now in California—said at his office at 420 Lexington Avenue that the new headquarters would be ready three months after the start of the remodeling.

The $1,000,000 will provide $800,000 for purchase of the site, 145 by 100 feet, and renovation of the building. The remaining $200,000 will be invested for income to maintain the structure fifteen to twenty years.

To be known as "World Brotherhood Headquarters," the building will be across the street from the new twelve-story headquarters of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Conference spokesmen declared that together they would comprise "the most influential American and world organizations working for peace and improved human relations."

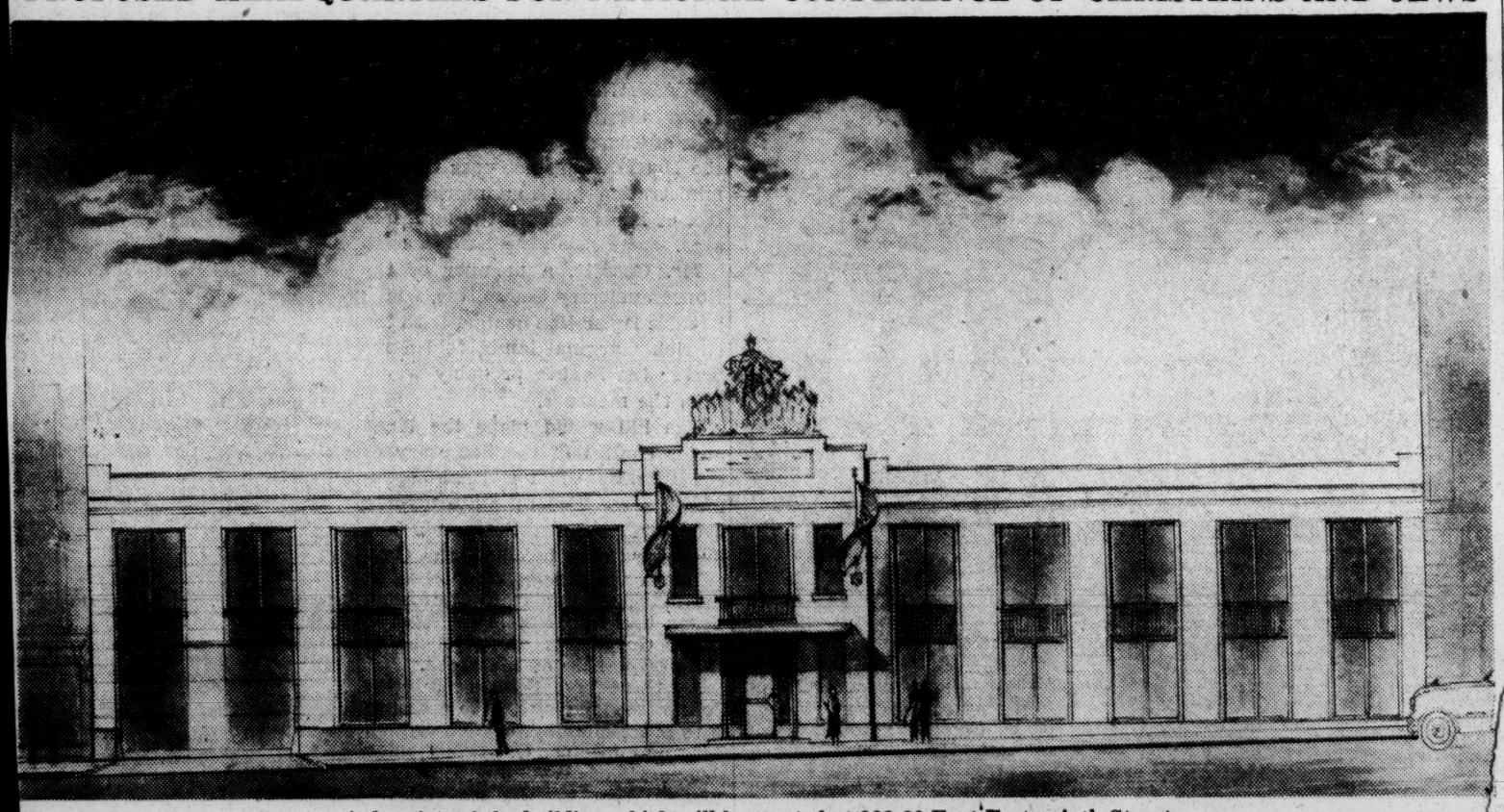
In a letter to Dr. Clinchy telling of the fund's decision to present the gift to the conference Mr. Ford wrote:

"The Ford Motor Company Fund, financed by contributions from the company, was established some time ago to help us meet our obligations as an industrial citizen. The general broad purpose of the fund is the alleviation of want and human suffering and the better-

Continued on Page 25, Column 6

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1951.

PROPOSED HEADQUARTERS FOR NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS



A drawing of the building which will be erected at 328-38 East Forty-sixth Street

FORD GIVES MILLION FOR 'BROTHERHOOD'

Continued From Page 1

ment and improvement of mankind through contributions to organizations such as yours.

"It seems to us that there are few causes more worthy of assistance today than one dedicated to the elimination of bigotry, of racial, religious and other differences in a free society."

The Ford fund originally had been told of the need for a permanent headquarters for the conference and then had reported its favorable action to Dr. Clinchy. On receipt of news of the gift he said:

"In this gift of $1,000,000 to the National Conference of Christian and Jews Mr. Henry Ford 2d and the Ford Motor Company make a contribution of major importance in the mobilization of science, education, industry and religion to set men free from the totalitarian chains."

Center for Education

Dr. Clinchy added that the headquarters would be used as a center for education in inter-group relations on an international scale.

The two-story structure will be built on the shell of the steel and concrete garage. The 29,000 square feet will provide for a 250-seat auditorium as well as parking facilities in the basement. A library and work and conference rooms will be included. The Religious News Service created by the conference also will have space in the building.

Activities in sixty-two cities will be tied into the conference headquarters when it replaces present offices at 381 Fourth Avenue.

Cushman & Wakefield, also brokers in the United Nations deal, arranged the purchase of the site from a syndicate headed by Jacob I. Lubin of New York. Ormonde A. Kieb of Newark was co-broker.

Meeting on Ford Foundation Appeal, 2/23/51

Present: Grace T. Hamilton
Morris Abram
John Griffin
George S. Mitchell
Harold C. Fleming

ABRAM: You can say to these people, Here is a task that could and should be done by one man. This is an example of the waste of segregation.

HAMILTON: The salaries should be moved up to $4,000. You can't get good people for less. [After some discussion] Move the salaries up to $5,000.

MITCHELL: The concensus here is that we are proposing to shave the program off too soon; it won't be picked up locally. But I don't think the Ford Foundation people are going to carry the program for five years.

HAMILTON: The program should be set up for five years; leave out any mention of hoping to subsidize the program locally. This kind of program is never going to be carried locally. At the end of five years, let it fold. It the program is set up properly to meet the real needs, the situation is going to be completely changed at the end of five years.

GRIFFIN: The appeal should state that frankly.

ABRAM: The first question is whether on the basis of experience you can expect to raise money locally for this kind of program. All our experience shows that you can't.

HAMILTON: Some money will be raised, but whatever is raised should be used to strengthen specific projects in the States.

GRIFFIN: You just don't raise money locally on this kind of program. But the need is urgent for having a professional program for five years. At the end of the first two years, perhaps, you should look at what has been

accomplished and decide whether the results justify continuing the program.

MITCHELL: Set the program up for three years for sure, and at the end of two look at it. If it is justifiable, then continue it for the five years.

ABRAM: My feeling is that this isn't going to start off with a bang. The South still remains the nation's number one political, economic, and moral problam. The emphasis should be that it is a national problem and not a regional one. The solution can never be in terms of indigenous money, but has to be in terms of indigenous people: there are the people and the will, but the people are not within the economic structure and are not going to be, so the money has to come from outside, and it has to be private and not government money.

GRIFFIN: Stress the fact that the energy and the people are here. They haven't the money, but they have the skills.

MITCHELL: The men in the States in five years would make a whopping big plan for a Point Four in the South.

FLEMING: That might scare the Ford people, because there is a feeling that we haven't got a lot of funds for national needs just now.

Organization of the Appeal

HAMILTON; It is tood difficult to grasp the idea. In the revised form we need to think about arranging it so that there is a very strong impact in the first page, then an outline of the proposed project, and all the detail in addenda. The cost of the program should appear on the first page, and the details on costs should be at the end in an appendix.

GRIFFIN cited a University of Chicago brochure used in appealing for funds for atomic research.

There was some discussion of whether the appeal should be printed, but the idea was rejected. ABRAM thought the money that printing would cost would be much better used to send representatives to a meeting with the Ford people.

It was agreed that organizational background should go into an appendix.

The suggestions made at this meeting are to be incorporated into the needs section.

ABRAM: The point should be made also that, historically, the majority of this nation has sent representatives to Congress who have been for things that will strengthen democracy, etc. Yet the will of the whole nation remains stymied because of these recalcitrants which the South puts into Congress. Make the point that millions are being spent for bad causes in the South; some money should be spent for good ones.

There was some feeling that the political aspect should not be brought in too strongly, though it is bound to be there in the background.

On Education and Research

HAMILTON: I have some objection to spelling out specific projects too concretely. If the action program in the States and the central office have to be related to the research, it is not possible for us to say at this time what those projects should be. What we should specify is that there shall be created a committee representing the Council, the States, and research specialists from the centers of scholarship in the South whose function shall be to determine priorities and to make arrangements about where research should be carried on, to arrange contracts, to review periodically, and perhaps make recommendations, and report to the Council's executive body.

There was general agreement on this.

~~ABRAM: One important thing for the Council to do in would be to call~~

ABRAM urged that a fund be set up so that the Council can pay travel expense to bring together for Special Purpose Conferences, both within the States and on a regional basis, the people who think alike. He pointed out the enervating effect of the feeling of isolation that many people of good will have, and thought that much good could be done psychologically with this plan.

There was general agreement.

Back to the problem of the research, GRIFFIN thought the appeal could be this specific: the Ford Foundation has announced human realations as one of its seven major areas of interest; we feel that there is urgent need for the teaching of human relations in the South, and think that this would have a high priority among our research problems.

There was agreement also that the appeal should point out that, though research in many Southern institutions is action-related in a sense, none is bi-racial; there can be no effective action which leaves out half the population.

It was thought that the amount requested for research was far too low, and that expert advice on the amount to ask for should be sought.

It was thought that the subsidizing, for the first time, of research in the social sciences in the South would help materially in breaking down the provincialism of Sothern institutions.

Raising Money in the States

After discussion, it was agreed that, the amount of energy required to raise money to carry the program might better be applied to the program itself, and that the States should not be asked to raise any major part of the money. MITCHELL urged that some of the money-raising

responsibility be placed on the States, since the contacts made are important. It was agreed, however, that the Ford Foundation would not want to see a major program endangered by the failure of a state to raise even rent money. The final decision was that those States which could, should raise money for rent, office equipment, etc., but that the Foundation funds would pay for such expenses in States that failed to do so.

Presentation of Appeal

ABRAM urged the use of pictures among the exhibits.

Discussion of the personnel of the committee to approach the Foundation followed. The following were agreed upon:

Ralph McGill -- to be asked by George Mitchell & Grace Hamilton
Archbishop Gerald O'Hara -- to be asked by Msgr. McNamara
Charles Johnson
Morris Abram
George Mitchell

ABRAM urged that Frank Graham be included, and that Phil Hammer be asked to talk to him.

ABRAM strongly pressed the idea that the Foundation would be sold by the people who went in person as a committee, and that the written appeal would serve merely as a basis for discussion, and to fill in members of the Foundation not present at the meeting with the committee.

FLEMING suggested that the appeal be supplemented by leters from carefully selected people, though they should not be part of the exhibit but should go separately.

HAMILTON urged that the appeal be supplemented by an outline map of the region, and an introductory description of the State programs with an outline map of each State. Dr. Mitchell should then do his map speech before the members of the Foundation to give them the nature of the population, something about the political history of each State.

Mrs. Hamilton suggested that Helen Bullard be called on for consultation about the form of presentation.

ABRAM: This program should be urged on the Foundation as the first thing to be done in the South. Ralph McGill should approach them ahead of time and ask for a day of their time, saying ~~that~~ we assume that the Foundation is going to do something in the South, ~~and~~ that it will undoubtedly want to consult Southerners for advice as to what should be done, and that as Southerners we think this is the first thing that should be done.

The meeting then adjourned.

Ford Foundation - GSM's revision following Abram-Hamilton-Griffin meeting of 2/23/51

An active program of this kind should not go forward without constant interplay with research people in the social sciences. The State Secretaries, working to get things done, should be in close association with college and university faculties. Special problems will arise, the right answer to which can only be had by fresh research. A leading example is in the whole field of education in human relasions. How introduce this teaching within a still segregated school system? What are the patterns of parent and of school child reaction? What special tools and resources can be provided teachers at various grade levels? Through what devices is the teacher to be reached? How contrive successful interracial experiences for school-age children?

To go over to another whole area of inquiry: What devices will settle into appropriate areas of the South new and suitable industrial improvement? What are the consequences in human relationships of a broadly based farm ownership as against the surviving and changing plantation pattern?

Alternatively, in civic participation, in which particular governmental services to the people is broad participation most rewarding in civic improvement?

We would seek an interplay of research and action. Results of college inquiries would be tested in actual local situations through the work of the State Secretaries. These persons, and informed local citizens, cooperating with them, would be brought into consultation with the research personnel, and the research people could plan ~~xxxxxxx~~ their work to fit in with real local needs as thus cast up. In most of the States, it would be possible to work out arrangements in which the local university or college is unravelling

a research problem in its own area in the delineation of which the State Secretary will have a hand.

The Council should be able to pay by contract for the work done. Some would be done in the North, most in the South, and the work could be divided between institutions traditionally white and institutions traditionally Negro, with provision for full cooperation. For preparing research projects in this area of study, the Council would set up a special committee made up mainly of faculty people from leading universities and colleges, but representing also the kind of citizenry who make up the Council's heads of State Divisions. It would be necessary to pay travel and per diem for members of this special committee, which ought to meet at least twice a year. The Council's main office would engage special personnel to serve as a Secretariat for coordinating the work under way in the various institutions.

When the Southern Regional Council was established, it was intended that interrelated research of this general kind should be one of the Council's functions. The view was that within so rigidly segregated a college system as the South then had it would be necessary to provide in the Council an independent private base for inquiry done by members of both races, working together. That plan contemplated a budget greatly in excess of anything we have ever had. In actual practice, the Council has been able to do no more than bring together scattered research findings, and from time to time put out popular versions of the new knowledge about the South. We think the South is now at a stage where research of this kind can be done in a coordinated way at existing institutions without any need for building a parallel staff of social scientists attached directly to the Southern Regional Council.

A sum sufficient to enable to South to be advantaged in this way would be $_____.

Ford Fund

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

February, ~~1950~~ 1951

MEMORANDUM ON THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

The walls of sectionalism behind which the South has barricaded itself for so long are beginning to crumble. The pressure of world opinion has brought in this country a new awareness of the flaws in our democracy. And along with that have come increasing demands on the South to bring its human relations up to the standards of the nation as a whole, both in law and in custom. Southern Negroes are, rightfully, impatient with the crushing limitations on their citizenship, and they are no longer willing to wait for slow, evolutionary improvement. The last decade has seen momentous Supreme Court decisions, pressure for civil rights legislation, and legal attacks on segregation. As segregation begins to crack, slowly and with the fiercest opposition from entrenched forces, tensions increase day by day.

We are entering a period of national emergency -- if not World War Three, then World War Two-and-a-Half. This time, we are in for years of strain as this mainly Caucasian country pits its way of life against Communist revolution among dark-skinned people. Strain will grow apace at home. And ultimate peace and success will be greatly influenced by the way these strains within the South find release. The adjustments are going to be severe, and they will be made in many fields: politics, education, government (including state and local), entertainment and recreation, private and public services to an unsegregated army, employment, travel, agriculture; in all these there will be innovation, growth, friction. The effects will need skilled attention, especially in this region, which has the largest minority-group population in the United States.

This ferment brings stress and bitterness, but it also brings remarkable new opportunity for progress -- if the necessary resources and leadership can be brought to bear. More white Southerners than ever before are concerned about doing the right thing in race relations. Some of them -- the small group from whom leadership must come -- are informed, clearsighted, and determined. But most of them are simple people who have no profound understanding of social change. They lack the background needed to see the "race problem" in the broad context of a nation and world in crisis. They are, in varying degrees, confused, fearful, and easily misled. They are assailed daily by the demagoguery of reactionary politicians, who know very well how to blend fear and confusion into an antidote to progress. Hate organizations like the Ku Klux Klan stand ready, as always, to reap the profits of prejudice and violence.

This demagoguery must be counteracted by positive guidance if the potential good will of the Southern people is to be converted into progress. The strains in today's changing South demand a tremendous effort to keep open channels of mutual trust, respect, and understanding between the two races. The Southern Regional Council is the only Southwide membership organization -- which cuts across creedal and racial lines -- working primarily at that task. The Council's singular effectiveness lies in its ability to unite the people of the South, white and Negro, who understand and want the full practice of democracy, and at the same time know intimately the old evils that burden the South, and their causes. Being natively Southern, the Council escapes the stigma of "outside interference." Being truly representative of both races, it works for honest agreement that does not violate principle or self-respect. Being closely in touch with the best modern thought in this field, it avoids the errors of a shortsighted vision that ends at the Mason and Dixon line.

It can truthfully be said that the Southern Regional Council is serving at a vital area of human relations which cannot be reached with the

same effectiveness by any other agency.

Organization

The Southern Regional Council has by now some respectability in years. It goes back to the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1920 out of the racial troubles which came after the first World War. In the civic restlessness which accompanied the onset of the second World War, the friends of the old Commission's work, with many others, set up in 1944 the Southern Regional Council. Its stated goal is to obtain by research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all the people of the region.

The Council is, first and foremost, a practical organization. It works within a region having the broadest range of conditions, from plantation feudalism to Oak Ridge industrialism. It is composed for the most part of middle-class people -- some 3100 dues-paying members. They are nearly all well educated, and they hold responsible positions in their own communities. They are ministers, or teachers, or college presidents, leading church women, or business men, or doctors, and so on. Such responsible leaders as Dr. Will W. Alexander, Dr. Charles Johnson, Dr. Howard Odum, and Ralph McGill have been intimately associated with the growth and work of the Council. Probably about half of our members are white and half are Negro.

Our members are widely scattered over the South. In nine of the states they have come together as State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council. In three others we work in close association with surviving quasi-independent state interracial committees. Thus, in twelve Southern states, we can rely on an organized body of people of our opinions. With more resources, our work in the states and in local places could be made to yield infinitely greater effectiveness.

Ford Million For NCCJ

Atl. Journal 2-14-51

NEW YORK, Feb. 14—(AP)—The Ford Motor Co. has given $1,000,000 to the National Conference of Christians and Jews for a new headquarters.

The gift—largest ever received by the 23-year-old conference—was announced Tuesday.

Henry Ford II said in a letter to Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, conference president:

"It seems to us that there are few causes more worthy of assistance today than one dedicated to the elimination of bigotry, of racial, religious and other differences in a free society."

The Southern Regional Council is governed by an able and representative board, with quarterly meetings of the board's executive committee. We are strictly non-political and enjoy the U. S. Treasury's official letter of tax exemption, dated July 28, 1947.

Activities

The day-to-day activities of the Council, both the Atlanta office and the local membership, have covered a broad range. A monthly publication, New South, keeps members and friends informed about current problems and progress. In addition, the Council has prepared and distributed pamphlets, running to hundreds of thousands of copies, which set out the facts about Southern health, housing, education, law enforcement, race relations, etc.; many of these are widely used in schools and colleges throughout the region. We have made our files available to the press, to public and private agencies, and to individuals who need to be informed; hardly a week goes by that we are not called upon to provide the background for an article or news story that will reach a large public. We have published, too, the results of careful investigations of incidents involving mob violence.

The Council's members are useful in their communities in countless ways. They press for better schools and recreational facilities, impartial justice, fairer administration of public services, and the other things which make for a common citizenship. Quite importantly, they provide a Southwide network of conscientious people who are alert to the signs of violence and know what to do to avert it.

These are some of the steady, continuing functions of the Council. Added to them are the specific projects which are developed to meet special need or special opportunity. In the past, the Council has kept an ear close

to the ground. Whenever it has seen a chance to speed growth and equality, it has pushed hard at that point. Here are examples out of the last few years:

Among the most important of the Southern Regional Council's special programs is its work with the church women of the South. (See exhibit attached.) It follows the pattern set by the Interracial Commission's affiliate, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. That organization worked long and fruitfully to reduce the number of lynchings and to see justice done; it played an important part in bringing down the annual number of these atrocities from thirty or forty in the 1920's to the one or two of today. But with the decline of formal lynching, new, though related, problems have come to the forefront: discrimination in the courts, police brutality, and official intimidation. Under the leadership of Mrs. M. E. Tilly — a member of the Council's staff who served on the President's Civil Rights Committee — church women of many denominations from all parts of the South have been brought together as a "Fellowship of the Concerned." Thousands of them have pledged themselves to visit their local courts and work for fair and impartial justice; to inspect conditions in their local jails; and to be alert for preventive action at the first threat of interracial violence. This organized body of conscience and moral courage is one of the most promising developments in the South today.

The old Interracial Commission pushed Southern towns and cities to take on Negro policemen. The betterment is obvious. Politics and prejudice stood in the way. In 1947, after correspondence with chiefs of police all over the South, we published a table of Southern places that use Negro police. There were 41 cities in 10 states, and a total of about 125 Negroes on the police forces. We printed also comments from police chiefs in various cities and the story of how it had worked out in Greensboro, North Carolina. (Ex-

hibit attached.) That publication has been circulated in city after city over the South as the issue came to decision. By September 1950, the figures were 427 Negro policemen in 77 cities, with every Southern state represented. Other factors played their part in getting this practice adopted -- most importantly, the growing Negro vote. But we supplied the facts, we robbed the prejudiced opposition of their arguments, and in place after place we converted a hope into a documented case for progress. It has been interesting to see the regularity with which people in the towns where the issue comes up write to us and ask us for the materials which will enable them to persuade a reluctant police committee of their city council.

On civil rights, the Report of President Truman's Committee had a hostile and inaccurate press in the South. Yet the document was certainly one whose lessons the South had to learn. We went patiently about the job. We prepared a simple digest of the Report and have sold many thousands of copies of it each year. We did an accompanying manual called "The Condition of Our Rights" to back up points in the Report with facts from Southern places. (Exhibits attached.) The Report has been the main subject of two Southwide meetings of church women which we arranged; one of them, featuring Eleanor Roosevelt as guest of honor, drew nationwide attention. We did some hard thinking and printed "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy" as an expression of our executive committee. Several Southern papers carried the whole long document in full, and most noticed it. We have not calmed the tempest, but we have played a significant part in getting a sane point of view clearly put before the South. Given added resources, the Council could greatly increase and intensify the impact of its work in this field.

A share in policy making. In 1949 the Governor of North Carolina took the unprecedented step of appointing a Negro to the State School Board. He happened to be the former Associate Executive Director of the Southern Re-

gional Council. The appointment was of the very greatest significance, as the precedent, if followed, could work wonders in releasing the civic energies of the Negroes of the South, and in building among both races a responsible and understanding common citizenship. Our executive committee wrote in praise of this act to each of the Southern Governors, and published the letter widely. Many of our members took on the task of getting the practice adopted. In other states, and in various cities, the precedent broadens. We cherish each gain, list them all, and preach to the whole South the justice and wisdom of building in this way true democracy.

Self- Self-surveys. The local fact-finding survey is an old device, but the Council has added a new twist, and it works. We get our friends in a town to form, with the greatest care, a local, bi-racial committee. The committee then itself goes out and counts the houses and views the plumbing. It writes up the schools and the parks and the busses and the sewers. It prints a report (which the town really notices) and it makes itself a follow-up committee, to meet every six months, cross off the recommendations that have been accomplished, and decide on the next things to push for. Read what the Chairman said in Greenville, South Carolina, when the committee there had just finished its survey: (Exhibit attached.)

"The best thing about the survey was that it got people together. We didn't know each other well enough. Now we do. Meeting and working together -- not as people of two races, but as citizens with a common purpose -- has been a release and a relief."

We have published a manual for such surveys, and we work through our staff and our members to get new towns to take it up. Rock Hill, South Carolina, is about to do one. Jacksonville, Fla., Madison, Ga., Greenville, S.C., Earlington, Ky., and Shreveport, La., have completed self-surveys, and their

experience has shown the unique value of the method. The Southern Regional Council offers technical assistance and guidance at every point.

Race in the News. A couple of years ago we saw signs that some Southern newspapers would like to do a decent job in handling news about Negroes. None of the papers quite knew how. We got an able young journalism teacher to analyze some one thousand representative clippings, from which he sifted out the five main ways of doing harm with a newspaper in a bi-racial society. The result was a booklet, called "Race in the News." (Exhibit attached.) It is in newspaper language, and it is persuasive, and it has a helpful dash of wit. When it had been in print three days, the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association asked us for enough copies for them to send one to every daily paper in the South. We complied! Time and Newsweek took it up. We sent a copy of the booklet to each of the 2000 county weekly newspapers in the South. Then we got local committees of our friends to call on editors and be sure the pamphlet got read.

The change, in a year's time, is remarkable. The papers frequently print pictures of Negroes not in the hands of the law. They use courtesy titles. They say "Negro" and not "negro." They hunt for news of Negro activities. They accord dignity. Many papers do as they always did, but in most cities one or the other of the papers has ceased to be a daily fountain of prejudice, and is spreading acquaintance and respect.

Professional associations. We have watched for years the slow broadening of the principle that profession knows no color. The social workers saw it first, then the nurses, then the librarians. Last year the Florida Medical Society opened up. We wrote out to people we could trust, and found the facts on each of seven major professional associations in each of the 13 Southern states. Then we made it into a simple chart, printed it, and got it

out to our members and to the papers. (Exhibit attached.) There is evidence already that this spotlighting of the facts will do quite a lot to speed the letting down of that heavy barrier to equality.

School facilities. Two years ago a series of Federal court decisions in Virginia made it perfectly clear that the law required entirely equal facilities wherever a state tried to maintain separate schools -- that delay and evasion will no longer work. We got the dramatic events in King George County, Virginia, carefully described by the Secretary of the race relations department of the Virginia Council of Churches. Then we calculated the cost of equal facilities, state by state, and printed that with the King George story. (Exhibit attached.) We sent it to every County Superintendent of Schools in the South. It put them on notice that they had a very heavy expense coming up, and it argued also for agreement with Negro citizenship as to a program to follow. It was the law and the judge and the able Negro attorneys who set the legal precedent. What we did was to get the facts out, to the right people, in a way they could understand. Only in that way can the South be brought to learn the new and difficult lessons with a minimum of bitterness and strife.

Financial Support

The Southern Regional Council, since its beginnings in 1944, has lived as to perhaps two-thirds of its budget on foundation grants. In average years it spent about $55,000, of which thirty-five or forty thousand came from foundations, while the rest was raised from small contributions, churches, membership dues, or sale of literature and subscriptions. Since the loss of our main foundation support -- through the termination of the Rosenwald Fund -- the Council has been hard at work to get individual contributors to fill the

Half-Billion Fund in Ford Foundation

All Constitution 3/25/51

DETROIT, March 22—(AP)—The huge Ford Foundation is worth approximately half a billion dollars.

It reported Thursday that after deducting $18,272,522.07 for unpaid appropriations and $21,431.17 in accounts payable its net assets last Dec. 1 totaled $492,678,255.

The bulk of the Foundation's assets consisted of 3,089,908 shares of non-voting stock in the Ford Motor Company. It carried the valuation of this stock at $135 a share. That was the valuation set for estate tax purposes in settlement of the estate of Henry Ford, who died April 7, 1947.

Aside from these holdings, the report said, the Foundation's assets included $6,474,901 in real estate received or to be received from the estates of Henry Ford and his son Edsel B. Ford. It added that $87,085,800 of the total assets represented cash and the value of Government securities at cost. The report continued:

"After allowance for grants made prior to Dec. 31, 1950, but payable after that date, and for miscellaneous accounts payable, the liquid assets of the Foundation were $68,791,847.

"With business and earnings in the automobile industry at record levels, the income of the Foundation from dividends on Ford Motor Company stock was relatively large in 1949 and 1950. In 1951 and the foreseeable future, a reduction in such income is anticipated because of the national emergency, with reduced volume of automobile production and substantially higher rates of corporate taxation."

The Foundation, a philanthropic educational and non-profit organization, was created in 1936. Its stock holdings are non-taxable.

The Foundation's itemization of all its assets including the Ford Motor Company stock, real estate, cash and Government securities along with miscellaneous securities and "other assets" shows a total of $510,972,208.03.

DILLARD UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 22, LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 9, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter and a copy of the request to the Ford Foundation from the Council. Dr. Dent is out of the city at the present time and I have placed the material in his correspondence for him to see when he returns to the University.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs) Davis B. Bell

Acting Secretary to the
President

AWD:db

RECEIVED
APR 10 1951
Southern Regional Council

Oth Daily Ufored 4/22/57

Dr. Bunche Named To Ford Fund Post

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche was named one of the directors of the Ford Foundation's new Fund for the Advancement of Education. The purpose of the fund is to aid in meeting the foundation's aims in the field of formal education.

The head of the organization, which is to be non-profit, is Dr. Clarence Faust, former dean of the

(Continued on page 4 Column 6)

Dr. Bunche

(Continued from Page One)

humanities and sciences of Stanford University, according to Foundation president, Paul G. Hoffman, the trustees have approved a budget of $7,154,000 for the fund which will have its headquarters at 575 Madison Avenue, New York.

Other directors are: Barry Bingham, publisher; Charles D. Dickey, director and vice-president of J. P. Morgan and Co.; C. Scott Fletcher, former president of Encyclopedia Brittanica Films and Mrs Mildred McAfee Horton, former commander of the WAVE and former president of Wellesley College.

April 23, 1951

Mr. Marion Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Yours was by a lot the most careful set of suggestions that reached us on the Ford request. We went through the whole thing again one day last week and put in nearly all your verbal changes. We used the first insert in its entirety. The last one was tempting (and had persuaded Paul Williams) but the style differed a good deal from anything else in the manuscript and it seemed to us that the idea had been tolerably worked into the statement elsewhere. So in the end we left insert 2 and 3 out.

Odum wrote a hasty note saying we weren't asking for enough money and that we ought to detail a long list of positive programs, many of them to be things that state and Federal government ought to do. He is to be in Atlanta the end of this week for the Southern Sociological Conference and will tell us his views. He foreshadows some sort of supplementary document to the request.

Most people sent back word that everything was grand and let her ride. We are much the more grateful for your hard-thinking improvements.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

(43)

Fund Raising - Ford Found.

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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TU ATLANTA

DR GEORGE S MITCHELL=

.68 63 AUBURN AVE NORTH EAST TU ATLA=

SUGGEST YOU RUN OFF EXTRA COPIES OF FORD FOUNDATION APPEAL LETTER FOLLOWS=

PAUL D WILLIAMS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

J. H. WHEELER
VICE PRESIDENT-CASHIER

RECEIVED
APR 30 1951
Southern Regional Council

April 28, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge receipt of a copy of the request to the Ford Foundation.

I have read all of it and wish to commend you and your staff for the thoroughness which seems to have gone into its preparation. There is nothing which I could add to the statement as prepared and I can see no reason why it should not produce favorable results for us.

Very truly yours,

J. H. Wheeler
Vice President-Cashier

JHW/r

RECEIVED
APR 13 1951
Southern Regional Council

REQUEST

to the

FORD FOUNDATION

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

April, 1951

The introduction has little power or originality but may appeal to the Foundation

Conferring II Needed agenda:
appeal for (1) unity of the southern whites
(2) unity of white and Negro
(3) unity of the Nation
(4) agenda for negotiations (even or with moral conflicts)
(5) specifications

II. Amount seems too small

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Outline of Appendices — Page 29

as specifications

Interpretation

Financial and

*Administrative specifications

*These are structurally important than routine state work

V *Agenda for Negotiation with Federal & voluntarist National agencies and persons

I

INTRODUCTORY: THE SOUTH IN A WORLD OF CRISIS

1 A hundred and fifty years ago the nation began to build two economies, two social and political systems, increasingly separated until the time of the Civil War. In 1865 the legal institution of slavery was made to give way and the country prepared itself, in law, for the adoption throughout the South of the institutions of the general American society. The process of adoption has advanced in industry and commerce. It has lagged in agriculture, and it has lagged dangerously in political arrangements and human relations.

2 This lag seriously weakens the nation as a whole. Most obvious perhaps is the disproportionate influence of the South in the nation's government. The narrow electorates of the Southern States have pushed to prominence men ill-conditioned to cope with modern problems. Their defense of racial inequality and injustice has made itself heard throughout the world; their skill at parliamentary delay and obstruction hamstrings our whole legislative process. Time and time again, the expressed will of the American people has been thwarted by this unrepresentative minority.

3 A second problem of national scope is posed by the increasing migration of Southerners to other parts of the country. Among these migrants is the cream of the South's human resources — able, well-educated persons of both races who are dissatisfied with their region's economic and social backwardness. Their talents, skills, and leadership, so sorely needed at home, find their richest expression elsewhere.

4 A far greater number bear with them from the South the burdens of poverty, poor health, limited education, and a stunted view of society. They arrive in large cities of the North and West ill-equipped for the specialized demands of urban industrial life. Worst of all, they are followed by the same

1 problems that have contributed so heavily to the South's underdevelopment. It is disturbing to see how readily the conventional white Southern attitudes on matters of race take root in other regions. Even where discrimination has no sanction in law, an extra-legal pattern of inequality has asserted itself. Negroes are crowded into substandard neighborhoods, are denied employment opportunities, and are forbidden access to a substantial number of public and private facilities. Such conditions inevitably breed interracial friction and violence.

2 These problems are not new, and in ordinary times they might seem no more pressing than they have been for some years. But these are not ordinary times. As anyone sensitive to world opinion must realize, the hope for peace, the very hope for survival of our civilization, depend largely on the vitality of America's democratic institutions. Communist propaganda, which exploits to the full every evidence of second-class citizenship in this country, can be effectively refuted only by vigorous, everyday application of our country's ideals. Notoriously, the undemocratic arrangements in the South and their manifestations in the rest of the country breed for us distrust among the two-thirds of the world's people who are dark-skinned and whose bringing over to democratic institutions and personal liberty is an all-compelling task. Ours is mainly a Caucasian country; that makes all the more pressing our obligation to demonstrate, at home and abroad, that American democracy knows no preferred race.

3 That task is equally essential to our own unity as a people. The present state of national emergency, which promises to endure for a period of years, puts unusual strains on intergroup relations. Negro citizens are needed more and more in our productive manpower. As soldiers, as production workers, as private citizens, they are called on to bear their part of sacrifice and devoted effort. There is no doubt that Negroes will fulfill this

1 obligation, as they have before, to the extent that they are permitted to do so. But the qualities of loyalty, ability, and creative talent required for this performance are precisely those which have been crushed down by the weight of the South's outworn traditions. This ceiling on initiative and skill must be removed with all the speed and expertness compatible with the orderly functioning of our society.

2 Negroes themselves are no longer patient with the restrictions on their citizenship, and they are challenging those restrictions with increasing vigor. The last decade has brought heightened pressure for civil rights legislation, legal attacks on segregation, and momentous Supreme Court decisions. As a result, segregation is beginning to crack — though slowly and with the fiercest opposition from the South's most powerful elements. Welcome as today's legal gains are, they are accompanied by demagoguery and division which gravely threaten our national well-being. The final test is how quickly and effectively legislation and judicial rulings can be converted into justice for the individual in his everyday life.

3 The adjustments are going to be severe and they will be made in many fields: politics, education, government (including state and local), entertainment and recreation, private and public services to an unsegregated army, employment, travel, and agriculture; in all these there will be innovation, growth, friction. The effects will need skilled attention, especially in this region, which has the largest minority group population in the United States.

4 For these reasons and more, it is imperative that those who have faith in a common Southern citizenship be enabled to put their thought and energy to full service. This is a proposal to make that possible.

II

SUMMARY OF PROPOSAL

1 The Council proposes flexible machinery designed to bring maximum improvement in a region which has within itself great diversity, which presents special and complex problems in human relations, and in which little of this kind has yet been attempted.

2 The advantages of the structure outlined below are its adaptability to local conditions and its susceptibility to growth and change in the light of additional knowledge and experience;

3 1. A network of trained, competent, professional persons of both races working in each Southern state as agents of improvement in public life.

4 2. Staff in the Atlanta office of the Southern Regional Council to direct and service the field people.

5 3. Interpretation of appropriate research findings from universities and other centers to the practical situations with which the action program will be concerned.

6 4. A continuous program of public education and information, in which the Southern Regional Council will draw on the experience and findings of both the action program and independent research in human relations.

7 The particulars of this approach and its special validity for the South will be discussed in the succeeding sections.

III

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL: ORGANIZATION

1 The Southern Regional Council was in large measure an outgrowth of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 out of the racial troubles which came after the first World War. In the civic restlessness which accompanied the second World War, the friends of the Commission's work, with many others, set up in 1944 the Southern Regional Council. Its stated goal is to obtain by research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people of the region.

2 The Council works within a region having the broadest range of conditions, from plantation feudalism to Oak Ridge industrialism. It is composed for the most part of middle-class people — some 3100 ~~dues-paying~~ members. They are nearly all educated persons and hold responsible positions in their communities. They are ministers, teachers, college presidents, leading church women, business men, doctors, and the like. By and large, they are circumspect people who, out of conscience, reject the Southern taboos on interracial effort. Probably half of them are white and half are Negro.

3 Members in nine states have come together as State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council. Those bodies elect their officers and governing committees and work out their own policy and program within the broad objectives of the Council as a whole. Their treasuries are made up mainly from the return to them of half of the $3.00 annual dues paid to the Council. In three other states, the Council works in close association with surviving quasi-independent state interracial committees.

4 The Council is governed by an able and representative board, with quarterly meetings of the board's executive committee. Such distinguished leaders as Dr. Will W. Alexander, Dr. Charles Johnson, Dr. Howard Odum, Ralph

1 McGill, and many others, have been intimately associated with the growth and work of the Council. The organization is strictly non-political and enjoys the U. S. Treasury's official letter of tax exemption dated July 28, 1947.

2 As to whether the Southern Regional Council is a suitable base upon which to build a major program of human relations in the South, we offer the following points:

3 1. The Council is a going organization with staff, books, files, experience, and reputation. An entirely new organization would need many months, probably a year or more, merely to get under way.

4 2. The Council is the only organization of its kind in the South. It is genuinely inclusive. Its membership draws no lines of race, color, or class. Its board of directors includes persons distinguished in all of the main religious groups, in industry, commerce, agriculture, and labor. It draws strength from every state in the South. There is no other body in the South which ties together in this way Protestants, Catholics, and Jews; Negroes, Indians, and whites; professors and preachers; industry and organized labor.

5 3. The Council has deep roots in the South. As successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, in friends and in standing it goes back thirty years. Across the region in every state, the people who have been active in this movement are the people whose support would be necessary to any program of this general kind. The Council receives considered attention from influential persons in the press (white and Negro), in Federal and state and local government, in business, in organized labor, in the agricultural services, in church bodies, in the colleges and universities, in the public school systems, and in professional social welfare circles. Settled and trusted friendships of this kind have always heretofore been a prerequisite of success in the human relations field.

6 4. The Council has always worked responsibly and in good faith. It

1 has stayed away from resounding, self-righteous statements and has tried in every situation to reach a solution which would bring gain to the region as a whole. It has constantly been in touch both with developing modern thought about the problems of intergroup relations and with people in communities where ideas and practices in this field have changed little in many years.

2 5. The Council has watched and studied and collected facts about and has taken part in the sweeping changes in the South in industry, in farming, in education, in housing, in health, in labor organization, and so on. That gives the organization a background from which to judge the use of new trends, new problems, and new events.

3 6. The Council has put out a long series of publications which have a reputation of trustworthiness. They are widely used in schools and colleges and churches — which is to say that our imprint is established and accepted.

4 7. The Council has been scrupulous about its tax-exempt status as an educational and non-political organization. It does not lobby, organize campaigns to support specific bills, or praise or denounce candidates for public office.

5 In summary: Being natively Southern, the Council escapes the stigma of "outside interference"; being truly representative of both races, it works for honest agreement that does not violate principle or self-respect; being closely in touch with the best modern thought in this field, it avoids the errors of a shortsighted vision that ends at the Mason and Dixon Line.

IV

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL: ACTIVITIES

1 The day-to-day activities of the Council, both the Atlanta office and the local membership, have covered a broad range. A monthly publication, New South, keeps members and other interested persons informed about current problems and progress. In addition, the Council has prepared and distributed pamphlets, running to hundreds of thousands of copies, which set out the facts about Southern health, housing, education, law enforcement, race relations, etc. It has made its files available to the press, to public and private agencies, and to individuals who need to be informed; hardly a week goes by that the Council is not called upon to provide the background for an article or news story that will reach a large public. It has published, too, the results of careful investigations of incidents involving mob violence.

2 The Council's members are useful in their communities in countless ways. They press for better schools and recreational facilities, impartial justice, fairer administration of public services, and the other things which make for a common citizenship. Quite importantly, they provide a Southwide network of conscientious people who are alert to the signs of violence and know what to do to avert it.

3 These are some of the steady, continuing functions of the Council. Added to them are the specific projects developed to meet special need or special opportunity. Whenever the Council has seen a chance to speed growth and equality, it has pushed hard at that point. Here are examples out of the last few years.

4 Among the most important of the Southern Regional Council's special programs is its work with the church women of the South. This activity follows the pattern set by the Interracial Commission's affiliate, the Associa-

1 tion of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. That organization worked long and fruitfully to reduce the number of lynchings and to see justice done; it played an important part in bringing down the annual number of these atrocities from thirty or forty in the 1920's to the one or two of today. But with the decline of formal lynching, new, though related problems have come to the forefront; discrimination in the courts, police brutality, and official intimidation. Under the leadership of Mrs. M. E. Tilly — a member of the Council's staff who served on the President's Civil Rights Committee -- church women of many denominations from all parts of the South have been brought together as a "Fellowship of the Concerned." Thousands of them have pledged themselves to visit their local courts and work for fair and impartial justice; to inspect conditions in their local jails; and to be alert for preventive action at the first threat of interracial violence. This organized body of conscience and moral courage is one of the most promising developments in the South today.

2 The Interracial Commission encouraged Southern towns and cities to employ Negro policemen. The advantages are obvious, but politics and prejudice have usually stood in the way. In 1947, after correspondence with police authorities over the South, the Council published a table of Southern places that use Negro police, comments by police chiefs, and an account of Greensboro's (N.C.) experience with the practice. There were then 41 cities in 10 states, and a total of about 125 Negroes on the police forces. That publication has been circulated in city after city as the issue came to decision. By September 1950 the figures were 427 Negro policemen in 77 cities, with every Southern state represented. Other factors played their part in getting this practice adopted — most importantly, the growing Negro vote. But the Council supplied the facts, robbed the prejudiced opposition of their arguments, and in place after place converted a hope into a documented case for progress. It has been

1 interesting to see the regularity with which people in the towns where the issue comes up write to the Council and ask for the materials which will enable them to persuade a reluctant police committee of their city council.

2 As to civil rights, the Report of the President's Committee had a hostile and inaccurate press in the South. Yet the document was certainly one whose lessons the South had to learn. The Council went patiently about the job. It prepared a simple digest of the Report, of which many thousands of copies have been sold each year, and an accompanying manual called "The Condition of Our Rights" which backs up points in the Report with facts from Southern places. The Report has been the main subject of two Southwide meetings of church women arranged by the Council; one of them, featuring Eleanor Roosevelt as guest of honor, drew nationwide attention. In September 1948 the executive committee issued a constructive statement titled "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy." Several Southern newspapers carried the lengthy statement in full and most others used the wire-service stories on it. The Council has not calmed the tempest, but it has been successful in getting a sane point of view clearly put before the South. Given added resources, the Council could greatly increase and intensify the impact of its work in this field.

3 A share in policy making. In 1949 the Governor of North Carolina took the unprecedented step of appointing a Negro to the state school board. He happened to be the former Associate Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. The appointment was of the very greatest significance, as the precedent, if followed, could work wonders in releasing the civic energies of the Negroes of the South, and in building among both races a responsible and understanding common citizenship. Our executive committee wrote in praise of this act to each of the Southern Governors, and published the letter

1 widely. Many Council members took on the task of getting the practice adopted. In other states, and in various cities, the precedent broadens. The Council cherishes each gain, keeps a public record of them all, and continues to urge on the South the justice and wisdom of building in this way true democracy.

2 Self-Surveys. There is no better device for fostering local democratic practices than this process of fact-finding and corrective follow-up by representative persons in the community itself. The Council urges and assists Southern towns to form, with the greatest care, local bi-racial committees. Once formed, the survey committee itself, with the aid of local volunteers, goes out and counts the houses and views the plumbing. It writes up the schools and the parks, the busses and the sewers. It publishes a report — which the town really notices — and it forms a follow-up committee to meet periodically, cross off the recommendations accomplished, and plan continuing action. This is what the chairman said in Greenville, S. C., when the survey there was completed:

3 "The best thing about the survey was that it got people together. We didn't know each other well enough. Now we do. Meeting and working together — not as people of two races, but as citizens with a common purpose — has been a release and a relief."

4 The Council makes available a manual for such self-surveys, works through its staff and members to get new towns to undertake them, and offers technical assistance and guidance at every stage.

5 Race in the News. Two years ago there were signs that many Southern newspapers would like to do a more decent job of handling news about Negroes. None of them knew quite how. The Council got an able young journalism teacher to analyze some one thousand representative clippings, from which he sifted out the five main ways of doing harm with a newspaper in a bi-racial

1 society. The result was a booklet, called "Race in the News." It is in newspaper language, is persuasive, and has a helpful dash of wit. When it had been in print three days, the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association requested enough copies to send one to every daily paper in the South. Such periodicals as Time and Newsweek helped make it widely known through their columns. The Council sent a copy to each of the two thousand county weekly newspapers in the South. Local committees of Council members called on their editors and urged the adoption of the standards set forth in "Race in the News."

2 The change in eighteen months' time is remarkable. A great many papers are, for the first time, printing pictures of Negroes not in the hands of the law. They use courtesy titles. They say "Negro" and not "negro." They seek out newsworthy Negro activities. They accord dignity. Many papers, of course, do as they always did, but in most cities one or the other of the papers has ceased to be a daily fountain of prejudice and is spreading acquaintance and respect.

3 Professional associations. The Council has long nurtured the slow broadening of the principle that profession knows no color. The social workers first adopted the principle, then the nurses, then the librarians. Last year the Florida Medical Society abolished its racial qualifications. The Council gathered the facts on each of seven major professional associations in each of the thirteen Southern states. These were published in New South and distributed to our members, the newspapers, and appropriate leaders in the professions. There is evidence already that this spotlighting of the facts will do quite a lot to speed the letting down of that heavy barrier to equality.

4 School facilities. Three years ago a series of Federal court decisions in Virginia made it perfectly clear that the law required entirely

1 equal facilities wherever a state tried to maintain separate schools -- that delay and evasion would no longer work. The Council had the dramatic events in King George County, Virginia, carefully described by the Secretary of the Race Relations Department of the Virginia Council of Churches. This account, together with an estimate of the cost of equal facilities state by state, was published and sent to every state and county superintendent of schools in the South. It put them on notice that they had a very heavy expense coming up, and it argued also for agreement with Negro citizenship as to a program to follow. The Council thus got the facts out to the right people in a way they could understand.

2 These are examples, briefly described, of the kind of activity which the Southern Regional Council has carried on in the past few years. More detailed material and concrete evidence of effectiveness may be found in the appendices.

V

STATE ACTION PROGRAMS

1 More white Southerners than ever before are concerned about doing the right thing in race relations. Some of them — the small group from whom leadership must come — are informed, clearsighted, and determined. But most of them are simple people who have no profound understanding of social change. They lack the background needed to see "the race problem" in the broad context of a nation and world in crisis. They are, in varying degrees, confused, fearful, and easily misled. They are assailed daily by the demagoguery of unscrupulous politicians who know very well how to blend fear and confusion into an antidote to progress. Hate organizations like the Ku Klux Klan stand ready, as always, to reap the profits of prejudice and violence.

2 This demagoguery must be counteracted by positive guidance if the potential good will of the Southern people is to be converted into progress. The strains in today's changing South demand an unremitting effort to keep open channels of mutual trust, respect, and understanding between the two races. The Council's singular effectiveness at this job lies in its ability to unite the people of the South, white and Negro, who understand and want the full practice of democracy, and at the same time know intimately the old evils that burden the South, and their causes.

3 As the previous sections detail, each of twelve Southern states has in it a body of such people long accustomed to meet and work together on matters of public concern. With few exceptions, these state memberships have lacked funds for the employment of even part-time personnel. They have been, for the most part, dependent on the Council's regional staff for clerical work, professional fact-finding, and the many services generally which re-

1 quire trained persons. The Council's small staff, over-burdened by its regional functions and handicapped by distance, has been able to meet only a fraction of the state program needs. As a consequence, opportunities for productive activity daily go begging for want of skilled assistance.

2 The remedy is paid personnel in the states who can give leadership and continuity to those efforts. That would make possible gains not accessible to any other approach.

3 It is proposed that the Southern Regional Council be enabled to employ an executive secretary, an associate executive secretary, and a clerical person in each of these states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia; and in Kentucky a lesser staff.

4 This state personnel would, of course, be charged with implementing in their respective states the program of the Council as described generally in the preceding section. However, four main tasks merit specific mention:

5 1. To strengthen the membership and organization of the forces in the state devoted to this general cause. That includes systematic organization of local groups meeting and working interracially, adaption of program to local and state needs, and following-up to get corrective action.

6 2. Fact-finding, consultation, and persuasion to foster more democratic practices in public and private agencies. Many inequalities and discriminations in the South's institutions are practiced thoughtlessly, as a matter of unquestioning custom. The experience of the Southern Regional Council has shown convincingly how very much can be accomplished by informed and judicious prodding of such arrangements. Often the mere pointing out of injustice -- if done objectively and without recrimination -- is sufficient to bring about more enlightened policies. What this central office, sparingly staffed, has been able to achieve in this way could be expanded infi-

1 nitely by the presence of able, full-time personnel in the states. The situations susceptible to such an approach can already be found in great numbers in every state. With the unfolding of new defense and mobilization activities, they multiply every day.

2 3. The development each year of about 24 home town self-surveys — two in each state. The effectiveness of this device has been remarkably illustrated in two such surveys completed at Jacksonville, Fla., and Greenville, S.C., and in others now in process. The device is described in another part of this memorandum and in the literature appended. Here it need only be said that experience teaches us that bringing a town around to where its leading people are willing to tackle the work of a survey is a slow business which can stretch over as much as two or three years. But the results bring a new quality of impartiality in public service and in local democratic understanding in each community. A few such communities in each state will, we believe, set a standard which other towns will come up to.

3 4. Exploring and getting into action a program of education in human relations. This is a particularly difficult field within a still segregated school system. Some would say, leave it untouched until a day when segregation is gone. But it seems to us the part of wisdom to find what can be done now and to do it. Partly it is a matter of preparing and supplying text material suited to the ways of teachers and of children of different age groups. Partly it is a matter of working to get the interest of parents and of teachers brought to bear on the problem in an organized way over the barriers of race. Largely, of course, it is a matter of educating public opinion. If these things are to be done in the South, they will have to be done through the sort of people who look to the Southern Regional Council for stimulus and guidance.

VI

RESEARCH INTERPRETATION

1 The organizational structure provided for in the preceding sections gives an opportunity to get into the hands of influential people of both races all through the Region the unfolding modern knowledge coming out of the universities and other research agencies. More than that, it provides test by implementation. And it makes possible the organization of a backflow from action people to research people.

2 It seems reasonable to suppose that from present and prospective philanthropic effort the amount of original inquiry into matters affecting human relations will expand greatly. It is to be hoped that much of this expansion will take place in the South. What is already known is more than is being used, but it is still the case that what is known is not yet enough to enable a satisfactory professional job in human relations to be done in the South. And what has been or will be worked out in research circles, North and South, will need translating into materials usable by people perplexed by workaday situations in the South.

3 It is therefore proposed that the Southern Regional Council be enabled to employ a small staff of social science people, to keep in touch both with the literature of their fields and with the State Secretaries over the South. Such a staff would include a sociologist, an anthropologist, a social psychologist, and perhaps an economist. It would have two or three clerical assistants. It would not undertake basic research, but would constantly be casting up actual needs for further information and passing them on to independent faculties or agencies doing research work. In time it should prove possible for this small staff to take a respected place in the world of Southern social science, appearing at professional meetings for

1 consultation on research planning, and otherwise coordinating what is done in this general field.

2 Meanwhile, the main function of the Council's research group would be translation. It would bring to bear on our field people and on the general public what existing knowledge has to contribute to present and local problems in human relations. And it would make available in understandable form the fresh work that comes out.

3 By far the greater proportion of the past and present work in this field originates in the North or the West, in societies which operate upon other premisses. The principle is there, and is valid, but the material is seldom in a form in which it can be successfully and widely used in the South. Here is the job for a central Southwide staff. Truth in these matters can be disseminated in the South. But it requires interpretation, restatement, and new and altered emphasis, in order to reach minds ready to bang shut at this or that linkage of words. This is the famous peculiarity of the South; no great mystery to people who know the distribution for the time being of prejudice and enlightenment.

4 The need is for staff enough to do this work with thoroughness, and in close relationship to the people who will use the knowledge. It will take not only the trained social scientists, but money for printing and for getting out a journal that will steer the whole enterprise, and a good deal of travel to the places where new things are being done. For lack of a service of this kind, a rich literature of social advance rolls out elsewhere, little known in the South, and seldom heeded. Here is a remarkable opportunity, in which a few people can serve nobly to strengthen thousands who yearn for simple justice, and have not the strength that comes from knowledge and understanding.

5 It is proposed that the research staff direct its attention heavily

1 to the problem of improved teaching on matters of race in the public and private schools of the South as touched on in the preceding section. For most of the white people of the South it is still the case that what pass for ideas about race are really thought-lodgments worked out in slave-times, when white people in fear and ill-conscience contrived a mythology to justify their privileges. And these prejudices, interwoven now with regional pride, survive as an underworld of thought, sustaining segregation and discrimination and winning preferment for demagogues. They have their counterpart also in Negro life.

2 Our school systems skirt this folklore. Countless teachers believe it themselves, and expound it, openly or subtly. Textbooks barely touch these delicate subjects, having a wary eye on political-minded Southern textbook commissions. Though we have had universal education in the South for fifty years and more, who will claim that the common schools have diminished perceptibly the strength of the old racial contempt?

3 There are many unanswered questions as to how this is to be corrected. In a segregated school system, how teach interracial understanding? What is the value of text material in general, and just what kind of text material is best? What are the methods and facts which will help most in persuading teachers, parents, and school authorities? What non-segregated experiences are available, or can be acceptably provided, for pupils, teachers, or both? Here is room for research and action, interrelated, of a most rewarding kind.

4 Turn to another whole field of action. Segregation will almost certainly continue its present course of piecemeal disappearance. But in each new area — employment, busses, railroad stations, public meetings, religious activities, and so on — new perplexities will arise. Some towns will handle these matters well; others, left alone, will make grievous mis-

1 takes. It would be a great service to the South, and to the nation, to provide an up-to-date knowledge of how these matters are worked out in the better places, and in the worse, in order that the better examples might be given maximum opportunity to spread.

2 All this amounts to a major change in Southern life, and one that will carry portentous threats in inhumanity and even in disorder. It is surely wise to provide, in advance, the people and the knowledge to bring out of each situation the best that is possible. For such a purpose, free time of trained observers and evaluators is a necessity. The Council's staff would have this job, too, and (again) access to the people who could cause the findings to be profitably used.

VII

THE COST

1 One of the main advantages of the state programs proposed in the previous section is the stimulus they would provide for local initiative and civic vitality. This is particularly important in a region where defensiveness breeds abnormal distrust of "outside influences." By the same token, it would seem desirable that such activity be financed by indigenous money. Unfortunately, that is not likely to be the case for some time to come. The very economic and social structure which gives rise to the South's pressing and unique problems is a mighty barrier to adequate Southern financing of such an effort. Few Southern persons who could make large gifts are inclined to be actively in sympathy with even a temperate human relations program. Such money as can be raised in the South for this purpose — as well as most of the skill and leadership — must come mainly from persons of modest means.

2 From its inception in 1944, the Southern Regional Council has depended for perhaps two-thirds of its budget on foundation grants. In average years it has spent approximately $55,000, of which thirty-five or forty thousand came from foundations, the remainder being raised from small contributions, church sources, membership dues, sale of literature, and subscriptions.

3 Following the loss of its chief foundation support through the termination of the Rosenwald Fund, the Council has put much of its energy into a search for individual contributions sufficient to sustain activity at the same level. Though the effort has been great, it has met with only partial success. Measured in terms of a program commensurate with the needs of the region, the results have been grievously inadequate. If this crucial work is to be done, major assistance must come from sources outside the region

1 which recognize the importance to the whole nation of sound progress in the South.

2 For a five-year period, the Southern Regional Council requests a grant from the Ford Foundation in the following amount:

CONSOLIDATED BUDGET

FIVE YEAR HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAM IN THE SOUTH

State Action Programs	$ 904,505
Research Interpretation	228,890
Central Organization	253,500
TOTAL	$ 1,386,895

3 It may be wondered at that an organization which has operated for seven years on a minimal budget requests aid in this substantial amount. It should be observed, however, that the object is to extend the area rather than increase the scale of present operations. From the consolidated budget and the more detailed budgets which follow, it can be seen that the greatest part of the sum asked is for the development of activity in the states. Relatively little is requested for the existing central organization, and that largely for supervisory purposes. In preparing this request, the Southern Regional Council has had advice from a number of persons who have special knowledge of the South. It was their opinion, as it is ours, that a critically needed next step is activity that will do in detail, in the states and in communities, the kind of work which has been carried on regionally by the central office of the Council. The nature and cost of the program here proposed were determined accordingly.

4 We in the South have watched with interest and with envy the way in which states and cities across the North and West have found it possible in the past five or six years to apply to their mounting racial problems the corrective of paid staff. Connecticut, for one example among many, has a Negro population of not over 60,000 — smaller for the whole state than that of many Southern cities by themselves. Yet Connecticut supports at state

1 expense a Connecticut State Interracial Commission with a legislative appropriation of $54,000 a year. Today, most non-Southern states have such official statewide bodies, while scores of cities support such agencies as Mayors' Friendly Relations Committees. That is not to mention the many agencies and organizations of similar kind supported by private funds. By contrast, we in the South, at the very source of the problem of race, make shift with the good offices of untrained voluntary persons, who do what they can in odd moments to spread understanding and right action.

2 Despite its meager resources, the Southern Regional Council has achieved remarkable effectiveness and considerable recognition. But no one is more painfully aware than we of the gigantic task which remains undone; it calls for the leveling of a veritable mountain of prejudice, reinforced by law and by custom, sustained by political opportunists and professional bigots. The resources brought to bear on this task have as yet been pitifully slight. There is abundant evidence that the mountain can be leveled, but meanwhile it casts a perilous shadow across the whole of our democracy. The grant requested here for adequate skills and tools is a modest investment when measured against the size of the task and the potential returns in human betterment.

A

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR FIVE-YEAR STATE ACTION PROGRAM

Annual Budget for Each of Eleven Southern States[1]		$ 18,200
Salaries[2]		
Secretary and Associate Secretary	$ 12,000	
Clerical	3,000	
Office		
Rent	900	
Communications	500	
Supplies	200	
Travel	1,600	
Annual Budget for Kentucky[3]		10,150
Salaries	8,000	
Office		
Rent	600	
Communications	500	
Supplies	150	
Travel	900	
Total for State Action Program for One Year		$ 210,350
Total for State Action Program for Five Years		1,051,750
Less Allowance for Lapses[4]		147,245
NET TOTAL FOR FIVE YEARS		$ 904,505

NOTES ON BUDGET A

1. Eleven of the twelve Southern States will need the typical staff here provided for. They are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

2. This provides for the employment of both a white and a Negro secretary, at approximately equal salaries. It is the penalty of working in a divided society that obtaining the cooperation of both races requires nearly double expense. The Council proposes to meet this, for the first time in the South, and to furnish in each state leadership, working together, which all can trust and freely assist.

3. Kentucky, because of its smaller Negro population and the Negro's fuller integration in the public life of that state, should be able to work with less than a complete office.

4. In any such program, lapses would be considerable. Some of the people will begin work well along in the calendar year, and there will be short-run vacancies. We estimate the lapses for the first two years at 20%, and for each of the last three years at 10%, thus reducing the amount requested to the following yearly totals:

First Year	$ 168,280
Second Year	168,280
Third Year	189,315
Fourth Year	189,315
Fifth Year	189,315
TOTAL	$ 904,505

B

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR RESEARCH INTERPRETATION

This will require a staff of four social science persons, with appropriate clerical help and sufficient funds for books and periodicals, for publication, and for travel.

Annual Budget		$ 48,700
Salaries of Professional Personnel (four @ $8,000)	$ 32,000	
Clerical (two at $3,000)	6,000	
Travel	5,000	
Books and Subscriptions	700	
Publication	5,000	
Total for Research Interpretation for Five Years		$ 243,500
Less Allowance for Lapses (30% of first year)		14,610
NET TOTAL FOR FIVE YEARS		$ 228,890

C

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR CENTRAL ORGANIZATION[1]

Salaries per Year		$ 55,000
Executive Director and Associate	$ 17,000	
Secretary-Treasurer	5,000	
Director of Information	6,000	
Clerical	12,000	
Legal Counsel[2]	15,000	
Office Expenses per Year		3,700
Rent	$ 1,500	
Communications	1,200	
Supplies	1,000	
Travel per Year		7,000
Total for Central Supervision per Year		$ 65,700
Less Amt. to Be Raised Annually from Misc. Sources[3]		15,000
Net Total per Year		50,700
NET TOTAL FOR FIVE YEARS		$253,500

NOTES ON BUDGET C

1. So widespread and active a program could not succeed without able and painstaking coordination by a central office. Employment of all professional personnel in the state offices would need to be done in consultation with the Council's central office, and policy and action would need frequent review and a great deal of travel.

2. This amount to be available centrally, for the needs of the various states.

3. Experience proves that this amount can be found without undue diversion of effort from program.

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

May, 1951

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I

INTRODUCTORY: THE SOUTH IN A WORLD OF CRISIS

A hundred and fifty years ago the nation began to build two economies, two social and political systems, increasingly separated until the time of the Civil War. In 1865 the legal institution of slavery was made to give way and the country prepared itself, in law, for the adoption throughout the South of the institutions of the general American society. The process of adoption has advanced in industry and commerce. It has lagged in agriculture, and it has lagged dangerously in political arrangements and human relations.

This lag seriously weakens the nation as a whole. Most obvious perhaps is the disproportionate influence of the South in the nation's government. The narrow electorates of the Southern states have frequently pushed to prominence men ill-conditioned to cope with modern problems. Their defense of racial inequality and injustice has made itself heard throughout the world; their skill at parliamentary delay and obstruction sometimes paralyzes our whole legislative process. Time and time again, the expressed will of the American people has been thwarted by this unrepresentative minority.

A second problem of national scope is posed by the increasing migration of Southerners to other parts of the country. Among these migrants is the cream of the South's human resources — able, well-educated persons of both races who are dissatisfied with their region's economic and social backwardness. Their talents, skills, and leadership, so sorely needed at home, find their richest expression elsewhere.

A far greater number bear with them from the South the burdens of poverty, poor health, limited education, and a stunted view of society. They ar-

rive in large cities of the North and West ill-equipped for the specialized demands of urban industrial life. Worst of all, they are followed by the same problems that have contributed so heavily to the South's under-development. It is disturbing to see how readily the conventional white Southern attitudes on matters of race take root in other regions. Even where discrimination has no sanction in law, an extra-legal pattern of inequality has asserted itself; Negroes are crowded into substandard neighborhoods, are denied employment opportunities, and are forbidden access to a substantial number of public and private facilities. Such conditions inevitably breed interracial friction and violence.

These problems are not new, and in ordinary times they might seem no more pressing than they have been for some years. But these are not ordinary times. As anyone sensitive to world opinion must realize, the hope for peace, the very hope for survival of our civilization, depends largely on the vitality of America's democratic institutions. Communist propaganda, which exploits to the full every evidence of second-class citizenship in this country, can be effectively refuted only by vigorous, everyday application of our country's ideals. Notoriously, the undemocratic arrangements in the South and their manifestations in the rest of the country breed for us distrust among the two-thirds of the world's people who are dark-skinned and whose bringing over to democratic institutions and personal liberty is an all-compelling task. Ours is mainly a Caucasian country; that makes all the more pressing our obligation to demonstrate, at home and abroad, that American democracy knows no preferred race.

That task is equally essential to our own unity as a people. The present state of national emergency, which promises to endure for a period of years, puts unusual strains on intergroup relations. Negro citizens are needed more and more in our productive manpower. As soldiers, as production workers, as private citizens, they are called on to bear their part of sacrifice and devoted effort. There is no doubt that Negroes will fulfill this obligation, as

they have before, to the extent that they are permitted to do so. But the qualities of loyalty, ability, and creative talent required for this performance are precisely those which have been crushed down by the weight of the South's outworn traditions. This ceiling on initiative and skill must be removed with all the speed compatible with the orderly functioning of our society.

Negroes themselves are no longer patient with the restrictions on their citizenship. They are challenging those restrictions with increasing vigor. The last decade has brought heightened pressure for civil rights legislation, legal attacks on segregation, and momentous Supreme Court decisions. As a result, segregation is beginning to crack — though slowly and with the fiercest opposition from the South's most powerful elements. Welcome as today's legal gains are, they are accompanied by demagoguery and division which gravely threaten our national well-being. The final test is how quickly and effectively legislation and judicial rulings can be translated into justice for the individual in his everyday life.

The uninterrupted tenor, the truly imposing array, of judicial decisions upholding Negro rights, may be met by the white South in one of two ways: complete and unreserved acceptance or grudging compliance to the extent only that public officials are not jailed for contempt of court. The latter course would amount to guerilla warfare long continued and fought over every sector of rights of minorities. Shrewd and cunning men may conduct rear guard actions for as long as such a course yields spoils of war — in this case, votes and power. There should exist in the South a powerful and articulate voice of conscience, capable of guiding and informing public opinion to the end that such sordid maneuvers are sternly and promptly rebuked.

In any event, the adjustments are going to be severe. They will be made in many fields: politics, education, government (including state and local), entertainment and recreation, private and public services to an unsegregated

army, employment, travel, and agriculture; in all these there will be innovation, growth, friction. The effects will need skilled attention, especially in this region, which has the largest minority group population in the United States.

For these reasons and more, it is imperative that those who have faith in a common Southern citizenship be enabled to put their thought and energy to full service. This is a proposal to make that possible.

II

SUMMARY OF PROPOSAL

The Southern Regional Council proposes flexible machinery designed to bring maximum improvement in a region which has within itself great diversity, which presents special and complex problems in human relations, and in which little of this kind has yet been attempted.

The advantages of the structure outlined below are its adaptability to local conditions and its susceptibility to growth and change in the light of additional knowledge and experience. The proposal comprehends:

1. A network of trained, competent, professional persons of both races working in each Southern state as agents of improvement in public life.

2. Staff in the Atlanta office of the Southern Regional Council to direct and service the field people.

3. Interpretation of appropriate research findings from universities and other centers to the practical situations with which the action program will be concerned.

4. A continuous program of public education and information, in which the Southern Regional Council will draw on the experience and findings of both the action program and independent research in human relations.

The particulars of this approach and its special applicability to the South will be discussed in the succeeding sections.

III

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL: ORGANIZATION

The Southern Regional Council was in large measure an outgrowth of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 out of the racial troubles which came after the first World War. In the civic restlessness which accompanied the second World War, the friends of the Commission's work, with many others, set up in 1944 the Southern Regional Council. Its stated goal is to obtain by research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people of the region.

The Council works within a region having the broadest range of conditions, from plantation feudalism to Oak Ridge industrialism. It is composed for the most part of middle-class people -- some 3100 dues-paying members. They are nearly all educated persons and hold responsible positions in their communities. They are ministers, teachers, college presidents, leading church women, business men, doctors, and the like. By and large, they are circumspect people who, out of conscience, reject the Southern taboos on interracial effort. Probably half of them are white and half Negro.

Members in nine states have come together as State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council. Those bodies elect their officers and governing committees and work out their own policy and program within the broad objectives of the Council as a whole. Their treasuries are made up mainly from the return to them of half of the $3.00 annual dues paid to the Council. In three other states, the Council works in close association with surviving quasi-independent state interracial committees.

The Council is governed by an able and representative board, with quarterly meetings of the board's executive committee. Such distinguished leaders

as Dr. Will W. Alexander, Dr. Charles Johnson, Dr. Howard Odum, Ralph McGill, and many others, have been intimately associated with the growth and work of the Council. The organization is strictly non-political and enjoys the U. S. Treasury's official letter of tax exemption dated July 28, 1947.

The Southern Regional Council is a suitable base upon which to build a major program of human relations in the South for the following reasons:

1. It is a going organization with staff, books, files, experience, and reputation. An entirely new organization would need many months, probably a year or more, merely to get under way.

2. It is the only organization of its kind in the South. It is genuinely inclusive. Its membership draws no lines of race, color, or class. Its board of directors includes persons distinguished in all of the main religious groups, in industry, commerce, agriculture, and labor. It draws strength from every state in the South. There is no other body in the South which ties together in this way Protestants, Catholics, and Jews; Negroes, Indians, and whites; teachers and clergymen; industry and organized labor.

3. The Council has deep roots in the South. As successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, in friends and in standing it goes back thirty years. Across the region in every state, the people who have been active in this movement are the people whose support would be necessary to any program of this general kind. The Council receives cordial attention from influential persons in the press (white and Negro), in Federal and state and local government, in business, in organized labor, in the agricultural services, in church bodies, in the colleges and universities, in the public school systems, and in professional social welfare circles. Settled and trusted friendships of this kind have always heretofore been a prerequisite to success in the human relations field.

4. It has always worked responsibly and in good faith. It has stayed

away from resounding, self-righteous statements and has tried in every situation to reach a solution which would bring gain to the region as a whole. It has constantly been in touch both with developing modern thought about the problems of intergroup relations and with people in communities where ideas and practices in this field have changed little in many years.

5. The Council has watched and studied and collected facts about, and has taken part in, the sweeping changes in the South in industry, in farming, in education, in housing, in health, in labor organization, and so on. That gives the organization a background from which to judge the use of new trends, new problems, and new events.

6. The Council has put out a long series of publications which have a reputation of trustworthiness. They are widely used in schools and colleges and churches — which is to say that its imprint is established and accepted.

7. The Council has been scrupulous about its tax-exempt status as an educational and non-political organization. It does not lobby, organize campaigns to support specific bills, or praise or denounce candidates for public office.

In summary: Being natively Southern, the Council escapes the stigma of "outside interference"; being truly representative of both races, it works for honest agreement that does not violate principle or self-respect; being closely in touch with the best modern thought in this field, it avoids the errors of a shortsighted vision that ends at the Mason and Dixon line.

IV

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL: ACTIVITIES

The day-to-day activities of the Council, both the Atlanta office and the local membership, have covered a broad range. A monthly publication, New South, keeps members, other interested persons, and the public informed about current problems and progress. In addition, the Council has prepared and distributed pamphlets, running to hundreds of thousands of copies, which set out the facts about Southern health, housing, education, law enforcement, race relations, etc. It has made its files available to the press, to public and private agencies, and to individuals who need to be informed; hardly a week goes by that the Council is not called upon to provide the background for an article or news story that will reach a large audience. It has published, too, the results of careful investigations of incidents involving mob violence.

The Council's members are useful in their communities in countless ways. They press for better schools and recreational facilities, impartial justice, fairer administration of public services, and the other things which make for a common citizenship. Quite importantly, they provide a Southwide network of conscientious people who are alert to the signs of violence and know what to do to avert it.

These are some of the steady, continuing functions of the Council. Added to them are the specific projects developed to meet special need or special opportunity. Whenever the Council has seen a chance to speed growth and equality, it has pushed hard at that point. Here are examples out of the last few years:

Among the most important of the Southern Regional Council's special programs is its work with the church women of the South. This activity follows the pattern set by the Interracial Commission's affiliate, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. That organization worked long and fruitfully to reduce the number of lynchings and to see justice done; it played an important part in bringing down the annual number of these atrocities from thirty or forty in the 1920's to the one or two of today. Though formal lynching has declined, related problems persist: discrimination in the courts, police brutality, and official intimidation. Under the leadership of Mrs. M. E. Tilly — a member of the Council's staff who served on the President's Civil Rights Committee — church women of many denominations from all parts of the South have been brought together as a "Fellowship of the Concerned." Thousands of them have pledged themselves to visit their local courts and work for fair and impartial justice; to inspect conditions in their local jails; and to be alert for preventive action at the first threat of interracial violence. This organized body of conscience and moral courage is one of the most promising developments in the South today.

The Interracial Commission encouraged Southern towns and cities to employ Negro policemen. The advantages are obvious, but politics and prejudice have usually stood in the way. In 1947, after correspondence with police authorities over the South, the Council published a table of Southern places that used Negro police, comments by police chiefs, and an account of Greensboro's (N.C.) experience with the practice. There were then 41 cities in 10 states, and a total of about 125 Negroes on the police forces. That publication has been circulated in city after city as the issue came to decision. By September 1950 the figures were 427 Negro policemen in 77 cities, with every Southern state represented. Other factors played their part in getting this

practice adopted — most importantly, the growing Negro vote. But the Council supplied the facts, robbed the prejudiced opposition of their arguments, and in place after place converted a hope into a documented case for progress. It has been gratifying to observe the regularity with which people in the towns where the issue comes up write to the Council and ask for the materials which will enable them to persuade a reluctant police committee of their city council.

As to civil rights, the Report of the President's Committee had a hostile and inaccurate press in the South. Yet the document was certainly one whose lessons the South had to learn. The Council went patiently about the job. It prepared a simple digest of the Report, of which many thousands of copies have been sold each year, and an accompanying manual called "The Condition of Our Rights" which backs up points in the Report with facts from Southern places. The Report has been the main subject of two Southwide meetings of church women arranged by the Council; one of them, featuring Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt as guest of honor, drew nationwide attention. In September 1948 the executive committee issued a constructive statement titled "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy." Several Southern newspapers carried the lengthy statement in full and most others used the wire-service stories on it. The Council has not calmed the tempest, but it has been successful in getting a sane point of view clearly put before the South. Given added resources, the Council could greatly increase and intensify the impact of its work in this field.

A share in policy making. In 1949 the Governor of North Carolina took the unprecedented step of appointing a Negro to the state school board. He happened to be the former Associate Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. The appointment was of the very greatest significance, as the

precedent, if followed, could work wonders in releasing the civic energies of the Negroes of the South, and in building among both races a responsible and understanding common citizenship. The Council's executive committee wrote in praise of this act to each of the Southern Governors, and published the letter widely. Many Council members took on the task of getting the practice adopted. In other states, and in various cities and counties, the precedent broadens. The Council cherishes each gain, keeps a public record of them all, and continues to urge on the South the justice and wisdom of building in this way true democracy.

Self-Surveys. There is no better device for fostering local democratic practices than the process of fact-finding and corrective follow-up by representative persons in the community itself. The Council urges and assists Southern towns to form, with the greatest care, local bi-racial committees. Once formed, the survey committee itself, with the aid of local volunteers, goes out and counts the houses and views the plumbing. It writes up the schools and the parks, the busses and the sewers. It publishes a report — which the town really notices — and it forms a follow-up committee to meet periodically, cross off the recommendations accomplished, and plan continuing action. This is what the chairman said in Greenville, S. C., when the survey there was completed:

"The best thing about the survey was that it got people together. We didn't know each other well enough. Now we do. Meeting and working together — not as people of two races, but as citizens with a common purpose — has been a release and a relief."

The Council makes available a manual for such self-surveys, works through its staff and members to get other towns to undertake them, and offers technical assistance and guidance at every stage.

Race in the News. Two years ago there were signs that many Southern newspapers would like to do a more decent job of handling news about Negroes. None of them knew quite how. The Council got an able young journalism teacher to analyze some one thousand representative clippings, from which he sifted out the five main ways of doing harm with a newspaper in a bi-racial society. The result was a booklet, called "Race in the News." It is in newspaper language, is persuasive, and has a helpful dash of wit. When it had been in print three days, the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association requested enough copies to send one to every daily paper in the South. Such periodicals as Time and Newsweek helped make it widely known through their columns. The Council sent a copy to each of the two thousand county weekly newspapers in the South. Local committees of Council members called on their editors and urged the adoption of the standards set forth in "Race in the News."

The change in eighteen months' time is remarkable. A great many papers are, for the first time, printing pictures of Negroes not in the hands of the law. They use courtesy titles. They say "Negro" and not "negro". They seek out newsworthy Negro activities. They accord dignity. Many papers, of course, do as they always did, but in most cities one or another of the papers has ceased to be a daily fountain of prejudice and is spreading acquaintance and respect.

Professional associations. The Council has long encouraged the broadening of the principle that profession knows no color. The social workers first adopted this principle, then the nurses, then the librarians. Last year the Florida Medical Society abolished its racial qualifications. The Council gathered the facts on each of seven major professional associations in each of the thirteen Southern states. These were published in New South and distributed to our members, the newspapers, and appropriate leaders in the pro-

fessions. There is already evidence that this spotlighting of the facts will do much to speed the letting down of that heavy barrier to equality.

School facilities. Three years ago a series of Federal court decisions in Virginia made it perfectly clear that the law required entirely equal facilities wherever a state tried to maintain separate schools -- that delay and evasion would no longer work. The Council had the dramatic events in King George County, Virginia, carefully described by the Secretary of the Department of Interracial Cooperation of the Virginia Council of Churches. This account, together with an estimate of the cost of equal facilities state by state, was published and sent to every state and county superintendent of schools in the South. It put them on notice that they had a very heavy expense coming up, and it argued also for agreement with Negro citizenship as to a program to follow. The Council thus got the facts out to the right people in a way they could understand.

These are examples, briefly described, of the kind of activity which the Southern Regional Council has carried on in the past few years. More detailed material and concrete evidence of effectiveness may be found in the accompanying exhibits.

V

STATE ACTION PROGRAMS

More white Southerners than ever before are concerned about doing the right thing in race relations. Some of them -- the small group from whom leadership must come -- are informed, clearsighted, and determined. But many of them are people who have no profound understanding of social change. They lack the background needed to see "the race problem" in the broad context of a nation and world in crisis. They are, in varying degrees, confused, fearful, and easily misled. They are assailed daily by the demagoguery of unscrupulous politicians who know very well how to use fear and confusion in thwarting progress. Hate organizations like the Ku Klux Klan stand ready, as always, to reap the profits of prejudice and violence.

This demagoguery must be counteracted by positive guidance if the potential good will of the Southern people is to be converted into progress. The strains in today's changing South demand an unremitting effort to keep open channels of mutual trust, respect, and understanding between the two races. The Council's singular effectiveness at this job lies in its ability to unite the people of the South, white and Negro, who understand and want the full practice of democracy, and at the same time know intimately the old evils that burden the South, and their causes.

As the previous sections detail, each of twelve Southern states has in it a body of such people long accustomed to meet and work together on matters of public concern. With few exceptions, these state memberships have lacked funds for the employment of even part-time personnel. They have been, for the most part, dependent on the Council's regional staff for clerical work, profes

sional fact-finding, and the many services generally which require trained persons. The Council's small staff, over-burdened by its regional functions and handicapped by distance, has been able to meet only a fraction of the state program needs. As a consequence, opportunities for productive activity daily go begging for want of skilled assistance.

The remedy is paid personnel in the states who can give leadership and continuity to those efforts. That would make possible gains not attainable by any other approach.

It is proposed that the Southern Regional Council be enabled to employ an executive secretary, an associate executive secretary, and a clerical assistant in each of these states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia; and in Kentucky a lesser staff.

This state personnel would, of course, be charged with implementing in their respective states the program of the Council as described generally in the preceding section. However, four main tasks merit specific mention:

1. To strengthen the membership and organization of the forces in the state devoted to this general cause. That includes systematic organization of local groups meeting and working interracially, adaption of program to local and state needs, and following-up to get corrective action.

2. Fact-finding, consultation, and persuasion to foster more democratic practices in public and private agencies. Many inequalities and discriminations in the South's institutions are practiced thoughtlessly, as a matter of unquestioning custom. The experience of the Southern Regional Council has shown convincingly how very much can be accomplished by informed and judicious prodding of such arrangements. Often the mere pointing out of injustice -- if done objectively and without recrimination -- is sufficient to bring about more enlightened policies. What the Council's central office, sparingly staffed, has

been able to achieve in this way could be expanded infinitely by the presence of able, full-time personnel in the states. The situations susceptible to such an approach can already be found in great numbers in every state. With the unfolding of new defense and mobilization activities, they multiply every day.

3. The development each year of about twenty-four home town self-surveys -- two in each state. The effectiveness of this device has been remarkably illustrated in two such surveys completed at Jacksonville, Fla., and Greenville, S. C., and in others now in process. The device is described in another part of this memorandum and in the literature appended. Here it need only be said that experience demonstrates that bringing a town around to where its leading people are willing to tackle the work of a survey is a slow business which can stretch over as much as two or three years. But the results bring a new quality of impartiality in public service and in local democratic understanding in each community. A few such communities in each state will, we believe, set a standard which other towns will come up to.

4. Exploring and getting into action a program of education in human relations. This is a particularly difficult field within a still segregated school system. Some would say, leave it untouched until a day when segregation is gone. But it would seem that the part of wisdom is to find what can be done now and to do it. Partly it is a matter of preparing and supplying text material suited to the ways of teachers and of children of different age groups. Partly it is a matter of working to get the interest of parents and of teachers brought to bear on the problem in an organized way over the barriers of race. Largely, of course, it is a matter of educating public opinion. If these things are to be done in the South, they will have to be done through the sort of people who look to the Southern Regional Council for stimulus and guidance.

VI

RESEARCH INTERPRETATION

The organizational structure provided for in the preceding sections gives an opportunity to get into the hands of influential people of both races throughout the region the unfolding modern knowledge coming out of the universities and other research agencies. More than that, it provides test by implementation. And it makes possible the organization of a back-flow from action people to research people.

It seems reasonable to suppose that from present and prospective philanthropic effort the amount of original inquiry into matters affecting human relations will expand greatly. It is to be hoped that much of this expansion will take place in the South. What is already known is more than is being used, but it is still the case that what is known is not yet enough to enable a satisfactory professional job in human relations to be done in the South. And what has been or will be worked out in research circles, North and South, will need translating into materials usable by people perplexed by workaday situations in the South.

It is therefore proposed that the Southern Regional Council be enabled to employ a small staff of social scientists, to keep in touch with the literature of their fields and with the state secretaries over the South. The staff would include such personnel as a sociologist, an anthropologist, a social psychologist, and perhaps an economist. It would have two or three clerical assistants. It would not undertake basic research, but would constantly be casting up actual needs for further information and passing them on to independent faculties or agencies doing research. In time it should prove possible for

this small staff to take a respected place in the world of Southern social science, appearing at professional meetings for consultation on research planning, and otherwise coordinating what is done in this general field.

Meanwhile, the main function of the Council's research group would be translation. It would bring to bear on the field staff and on the general public what existing knowledge has to contribute to present and local problems in human relations. And it would make available in understandable form the fresh work that comes out.

By far the greater proportion of the past and present work in this field originates in the North or the West, in societies which operate upon other premises. The principle is there, and is valid, but the material is seldom in a form in which it can be successfully and widely used in the South. Here is the job for a central Southwide staff. Truth in these matters can be disseminated in the South. But it requires interpretation, restatement, and new and altered emphasis, in order to reach minds ready to bang shut at this or that linkage of words. This is a famous peculiarity of the South; no great mystery to people who know the distribution for the time being of prejudice and enlightenment.

The need is for staff enough to do this work with thoroughness, and in close relationship to the people who will use the knowledge. It will take not only the trained social scientists, but money for printing and for getting out a journal that will steer the whole enterprise, and a good deal of travel to the places where new things are being done. For lack of a service of this kind a rich literature of social advance rolls out elsewhere, little known and seldom heeded in the South. Here is a remarkable opportunity, in which a few people can serve ably to strengthen thousands who yearn for simple justice, and have not the strength that comes from knowledge and understanding.

It is proposed that the research staff direct its attention heavily to

the problem of improved teaching on matters of race in the public and private schools of the South as touched on in the preceding section. For most of the white people of the South it is still the case that what pass for ideas about race are really thought-lodgments worked out in slave-times, when white people in fear and ill-conscience contrived a mythology to justify their privileges. And these prejudices, interwoven now with regional pride, survive as an underworld of thought, sustaining segregation and discrimination and winning preferment for demagogues. They have their counterparts also in Negro life.

Our school systems skirt this folklore. Countless teachers believe it themselves, and expound it, openly or subtly. Textbooks barely touch these delicate subjects, having a wary eye on political-minded Southern textbook commissions. Though we have had universal education in the South for fifty years and more, who will claim that the common schools have diminished perceptibly the strength of the old racial contempt?

There are many unanswered questions as to how this is to be corrected. In a segregated school system, how teach interracial understanding? What is the value of text material in general, and just what kind of text material is best? What are the methods and facts which will help most in persuading teachers, parents, and school authorities? What non-segregated experiences are available, or can be acceptably provided, for pupils, teachers, or both? Here is room for research and action, interrelated, of a most rewarding kind.

Turn to another whole field of action. Segregation will almost certainly continue its present course of piecemeal disappearance. But in each new area -- employment, busses, railroad stations, public meetings, religious activities, and so on -- new perplexities will arise. Some towns will handle these matters well; others, left alone, will make grievous mistakes. It would be a great service to the South, and to the nation, to provide an up-to-date knowledge of how these matters are worked out in the better places, and in the

worse, in order that the better examples might be given maximum opportunity to spread.

All this amounts to a major change in Southern life, and one that will carry portentous threats in inhumanity and even in disorder. It is surely wise to provide, in advance, the people and the knowledge to bring out of each situation the best that is possible. For such a purpose, free time of trained observers and evaluators is a necessity. The Council's staff would have this job, too, and (again) access to the people who could cause the findings to be profitably used.

VII

THE COST

One of the main advantages of the state programs proposed in the previous section is the stimulus they would provide for local initiative and civic vitality. This is particularly important in a region where defensiveness breeds abnormal distrust of "outside influences." By the same token, it would seem desirable that such activity be financed by indigenous money. Unfortunately, that is not likely to be the case for some time to come. The very economic and social structure which gives rise to the South's pressing and unique problems is a mighty barrier to adequate Southern financing of such an effort. Few Southern persons who could make large gifts are inclined to be actively in sympathy with even a temperate human relations program. Such money as can be raised in the South for this purpose -- as well as most of the skill and leadership -- must come mainly from persons of modest means.

From its inception in 1944, the Southern Regional Council has depended for perhaps two-thirds of its budget on foundation grants. In average years it has spent approximately $55,000, of which thirty-five or forty thousand came from foundations, the remainder being raised from small contributions, church sources, membership dues, sale of literature, and subscriptions.

Following the loss of its chief foundation support through the termination of the Rosenwald Fund, the Council has put much of its energy into a search for individual contributions sufficient to sustain activity at the same level. Though the effort has been great, it has met with only partial success. Measured in terms of a program commensurate with the needs of the region, the results have been grievously inadequate. If this crucial work is to be done, ma-

jor assistance must come from sources outside the region which recognize the importance to the whole nation of sound progress in the South.

The Southern Regional Council requests from the Ford Foundation grants over a five-year period totaling:

CONSOLIDATED BUDGET

FIVE-YEAR HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAM IN THE SOUTH

State Action Programs	$ 862,435
Research Interpretation	228,890
Central Organization	253,500
TOTAL	$1,344,825

From the consolidated budget and the more detailed budgets which follow, it can be seen that the greatest part of the sum asked is for the development of activity in the states. Relatively little is requested for the existing central organization, and that largely for supervisory purposes. In preparing this request, the Southern Regional Council has had advice from a number of persons who have special knowledge of the South. It was their opinion, as it is ours, that a critically needed next step is activity that will do in detail, in the states and in communities, the kind of work which has been carried on regionally by the central office of the Council. The nature and cost of the program here proposed were determined accordingly.

We in the South have watched with interest and with envy the way in which states and cities across the North and West have found it possible in the past five or six years to apply to their mounting racial problems the corrective of paid staff. Connecticut, for one example among many, has a Negro population of not over 60,000 — smaller for the whole state than that of many Southern cities by themselves. Yet Connecticut supports at state expense a Connecticut State Interracial Commission with a legislative appropriation of $54,000 a year. Today, many non-Southern states have such official statewide bodies, while scores of cities support such agencies as Mayors' Friendly Rela-

tions Committees. That is not to mention the many agencies and organizations of similar kind supported by private funds. By contrast, we in the South, at the very source of the problem of race, make shift with the good offices of untrained voluntary persons, who do what they can in odd moments to spread understanding and right action.

Despite its meager resources, the Southern Regional Council has achieved remarkable effectiveness and considerable recognition. But no one is more painfully aware than we of the gigantic task which remains undone; it calls for the leveling of a veritable mountain of prejudice, reinforced by law and by custom, sustained by political opportunists and professional bigots. The resources brought to bear on this task have as yet been pitifully slight. There is abundant evidence that the mountain can be leveled, but meanwhile it casts a perilous shadow across the whole of our democracy. The grant requested here for adequate skills and tools is a modest investment when measured against the size of the task and the potential returns in human betterment.

A

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR FIVE-YEAR STATE ACTION PROGRAM

Gross Annual Budget for Eleven States[1]			
Salaries[2]			
Secretary and Associate Secretary	$12,000		
Clerical	3,000	$15,000	
Office			
Rent	900		
Communications	500		
Supplies	200	1,600	
Travel		1,600	
Gross Annual Budget for One State		$18,200	
Gross Annual Budget for Eleven States			$200,200
Gross Annual Budget for Kentucky[3]			
Salaries		8,000	
Office			
Rent	600		
Communications	500		
Supplies	150	1,250	
Travel		900	10,150
GROSS TOTAL FOR STATE ACTION FOR ONE YEAR			$210,350
Estimated Actual Need After Allowance for Lapses[4]			
First year, lapses at 40%		$126,210	
Second year, lapses at 20%		168,280	
Third year, lapses at 10%		189,315	
Fourth year, lapses at 10%		189,315	
Fifth year, lapses at 10%		189,315	
NET TOTAL FOR FIVE YEARS			$862,435

NOTES ON BUDGET A

1. Eleven of the twelve Southern states will need the typical staff here provided for. They are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

2. This provides for the employment of both a white and a Negro secretary, at equal salaries. It is the penalty of working in a divided society that obtaining the cooperation of both races requires nearly double expense. The Council proposes to meet this, for the first time in the South, and to furnish in each state leadership, working together, which all can trust and freely assist.

3. Kentucky, because of its smaller Negro population and the Negro's fuller integration in the public life of that state, should be able to work with less than a complete office.

4. A program covering so wide an area, and working in so difficult a field, will have to be organized slowly and soundly. In the first year it will be months before the key personnel can be on the job, and at any time there are likely to be short-run vacancies. The lapses shown are calculated with this in mind.

B

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR RESEARCH INTERPRETATION

This will require a staff of four social scientists, with appropriate clerical help and sufficient funds for books and periodicals, for publications, and for travel.

Annual Budget

Salaries of Professional Personnel (four @ $8,000)	$32,000	
Clerical (two @ $3,000)	6,000	
Travel	5,000	
Books and Subscriptions	700	
Publication	5,000	
Total for Research Interpretation for One Year	$48,700	
Total for Research Interpretation for Five Years		$243,500
Less Allowance for Lapses (30% of first year)		14,610
NET TOTAL FOR FIVE YEARS		$228,890

C

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR CENTRAL ORGANIZATION[1]

Salaries per Year			
Executive Director and Associate	$17,000		
Secretary-Treasurer	5,000		
Director of Information	6,000		
Clerical	12,000		
Legal Counsel[2]	15,000	$55,000	
Office Expenses per Year			
Rent	1,500		
Communications	1,200		
Supplies	1,000	3,700	
Travel per Year		7,000	
Total for Central Supervision for One Year		$65,700	
Less Amount to Be Raised Annually from Miscellaneous Sources[3]		15,000	
Net Total for One Year		$50,700	
NET TOTAL FOR FIVE YEARS			$253,500

NOTES ON BUDGET C

1. So widespread and active a program could not succeed without able and painstaking coordination by a central office. Employment of all professional personnel in the state offices would need to be done in consultation with the Council's central office, and policy and action would need frequent review and a great deal of travel.

2. This amount to be available centrally, for the needs of the various states.

3. Experience proves that this amount can be found without undue diversion of effort from program.

LIST OF SUPPORTING EXHIBITS

1. Financial

   Audit

   U. S. Treasury Letter of Tax Exemption

2. Some Fields of Work of the Southern Regional Council

   a. Self-Survey

   b. Race in the News

   c. Negro Police

   d. Negro Veterans

   e. Equal Education

   f. Negroes in Government

   g. Civil Rights

   h. From the Files

Fund Raising - Ford Foundation

CC: Mrs. Leonard Haas

May 11, 1951

Miss Anna Lord Strauss
27 East 69th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Miss Strauss:

Here is a copy of the request we expect to be making to the Ford Foundation.

There are several volumes of exhibits to go along when the formal request is made. They mostly show what we have done in the past.

Harold Fleming and I enjoyed the conversation with you this morning and are grateful for your time and interest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

Atl. Jour 5-28-5

University Shares In $160,000 Grant

The Atlanta Division, University of Georgia, will share with 75 other evening schools in a $160,000 grant for research in adult education. The grant is from the Ford Foundation.

Dr. George Sparks, president of the Atlanta division, said the fund was secured through the Association of University Evening Colleges which early in April secured a $3,000,000 interim research grant from the foundation.

6/1/51

THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES: CHATTAN

FORD FOUNDATION BACKS 4-H ACTION

Farm Youth Exchange Set-Up Gets $70,000 Grant—90 Have Visited Abroad

By New York Times News Service.

WASHINGTON, May 31—The Ford Foundation today granted $70,000 to the National 4-H Club Foundation of America, Inc., to aid its international farm youth exchange program.

The program, designed to develop "cultural understanding," is a co-operative project between local 4-H clubs and other youth groups in the United States, and similar ones overseas.

Delegates from the United States, "commissioned" as "grass-roots diplomats" under an agreement with the State Department, spend from three to six months during the growing and harvest season on foreign farms.

Was Financed By 4-H

Until now, the operation was financed by funds raised by 84,000 local 4-H clubs. During the first three years of the project 19 American farm boys and girls have lived with farm families in 16 countries.

The purpose of the Ford Foundation grant is to support these international programs, as supervised by the Department of Agriculture. The funds will make it possible to send and receive young people from more distant areas, such as the Far East, Australia and New Zealand.

The Institute of International Education of New York City will act as co-ordinating agency for the Ford Foundation in administering the grant.

6/3/51

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

FORD FUND GRANTS EMPHASIZE 'DEEDS'

Hoffman Subordinates 'Words' as Instruments of Policy for Huge Foundation

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PASADENA, Calif., June 2—The handful of men who control the largest foundation in the world, the $500,000,000 Ford Foundation, told today how they are beginning to use the money.

They have an income of $25,000,000 a year to spend. On the basis of a 40-hour week, that means about $3.33 every time the clock ticks a second, $200 every minute, $96,000 every day or $480,000 every week.

Paul G. Hoffman, president, said:

"We've already had applications for $160,000,000 for education institutions alone and untold tens of millions for philanthropies of other types.

"In this first year we're concentrating on programs to help maintain peace, contribute to an enduring peace or alleviate crises growing out of the present tension."

He declared that the foundation would follow the policy he used in administering Marshall Plan billions overseas — deeds first and words afterwards.

"You can't really promote an understanding of America without the deed," he commented. "There must be the deed plus the word."

Project Typifies Aims

Instead of merely beaming something like Voice of America broadcasts to Russia the Ford Foundation will begin with projects such as its Free Russia Fund, Inc., started two weeks ago with a subsidy of $200,000.

It granted $5,000 each this week to ten activities to help fit exiles of Soviet areas into American life. All these grants will be used inside the United States to aid displaced persons, Russian students, youth groups and publications.

In charge of this work is George F. Kennan, former State Department counselor, who is working at the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton.

In referring to various allocations made since he took over as president of the foundation in September, Mr. Hoffman said:

"If you're really going into a bold and imaginative program you're going to be lucky if you succeed one time in three."

Henry Ford's Peace Ship of World War I had floundered, he cited, "but the idea behind it was good."

"I figure if we send out three ships and one reaches port that's good," he added.

Henry Ford II, he asserted, had assured him "great freedom" in management of the $500,000,000, which represents about 90 per cent of the non-voting stock of the Ford Motor Company. The fund was established through Ford family philanthropies and settling of the estates of Henry and Edsel Ford.

Avoids "Retail" Field

"We're looking for institutions to which we can subcontract operations," Mr. Hoffman stated. "We are not operators. We are wholesalers and we do not expect to become retailers. We are trying to avoid setting up a new bureaucracy.

"We don't want to set up a number of little empires as I have seen set up in government—the kind that go on and on long after they're needed."

Major projects established thus far, besides the Free Russia Fund, are the Fund for the Advancement of Education and the Fund for Adult Education.

Dr. Clarence H. Faust, former dean of the humanities and sciences at Stanford University, is president of the Fund for the Advancement of Education, and Frank W. Abrams, board chairman of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, is its board chairman.

This $2,280,000 fund will award fellowships to increase the teaching skill of young college instructors. This program will help colleges keep a substantial number of promising young instructors they might have to drop because of the prospective slump in the number of students.

The Fund for Adult Education is headed by C. Scott Fletcher, recent president of Encyclopedia Britannica Films and former executive director of the Committee for Economic Development. Board chairman is Alexander Fraser of St. Louis, who has just resigned as executive committee chairman of the Shell Oil Company.

Mr. Fletcher said that this fund was using its $3,000,000 budget in many ways. It is aiding the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, which represents 107 stations owned and operated by educational institutions. It will stimulate discussions of economic problems and international relations.

Educational TV Promoted

At Ames, Iowa, it is aiding the only educational television station in the nation to make films that may be kinscoped for use elsewhere and to utilize other films in experimental work.

The fund will work with the new Adult Education Association of the U. S. A. in publishing a magazine for men's and women's clubs and organizations and in making a motion picture.

It also intends to help the spread of programs such as that of the Cleveland Council of World Affairs.

"We won't tell people what to think," Mr. Hoffman declared. "We'll help to get them to think and first get all the facts."

Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins, former chancellor of the University of Chicago and now a foundation official, told how $1,700,000 would be allocated in the next two autumns for scholarships to enable boys and girls under 16½ years of age to enter college if they are in the top 20 per cent in their classes.

In this experimental program, a youth of 14, 15 or 16 may enter college at the end of his sophomore or junior year in high school if he qualifies. He must apply to the director of admissions of the college, not to the Ford Foundation.

Yale, Columbia, Chicago and Wisconsin were the first universities proposing this plan. Goucher and Oberlin College and the Universities of Louisville and Utah have joined. Lafayette College will use it for engineers only. Most of the schools will take twenty-five to fifty students in the experiment.

Ford Foundation

June 11, 1951

Mr. Francis S. Harmon
464 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Harmon:

At the suggestion of Miss Josephine Wilkins, I am sending you separately various materials of the Southern Regional Council. Most of the publications referred to in our appeal to the Ford Foundation are included.

We are grateful for your interest in the Council's program -- doubly so since your experience in this field reaches back to the work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

If I can furnish further information or be of any other service, I should welcome the opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Fighting Communism With Dollars . . .

Ford Blueprints Peace

By Bill Becker

PASADENA, CALIF.—The largest private money-giving organization the world has ever known—the $500,000,000 Ford Foundation—is getting up steam to throw its capitalistic weight into winning the peace.

An old hand at fighting Communism with a well-placed dollar is at the controls. Foundation President Paul G. Hoffman, former head of the Economic Co-operation Administration, hopes the automobile millions ultimately may prove as vital as the Marshall Plan billions.

"Our scope can be much broader than ECA's," he says. "ECA helps economies; we aim to help social and cultural understanding between nations."

Sixty-year-old Hoffman, vigorous as a college fullback, is plugging peace as hard as he previously sold Studebakers and the American way of doing business. He and a team of distinguished aides, including former Chancellor Robert Maynard Hutchins of the University of Chicago, are steering initial projects into two main channels: peace promotion and the relief of tensions at home.

The foundation's first year outlay will be a comparatively modest $25,000,000. Allotments to date total $15,300,000, mostly for educational purposes.

"We are just getting warmed up," Hoffman says. Substantial grants in the field of international relations are expected this Summer.

What's it like, giving away $25,000,000 a year—$3.33 every second?

Even to Hoffman, who doled out $10,000,000,000 for ECA in two and one-half years "it's a strange business."

He explained it this way at a conference:

"We are not investment bankers, nor are we operators. We wish to find competent subcontractors. The foundation will operate through existing institutions or those we create. We wish to remain wholesalers and not get into the retail end."

Here Hutchins put in: "Our slogan is: People don't apply to foundations—foundations apply to people."

But that doesn't keep the applications from pouring in. More than 150 requests totaling $300,000,000 have been received since the foundation set up shop here last January 1.

The foundation, established from the estates of the late Henry and Edsel Ford, includes 89 per cent of the ownership (3,089,908 non-voting stock shares) of the Ford Motor Company. It dwarfs the previous Goliaths in the philanthropic field, the Rockefeller and Carnegie organizations. The Rockefeller Foundation has assets valued at more than $226,000,000. The Carnegie Corporation, of New York, has assets worth about $190,000,000.

A special committee outlined five broad areas for Ford Foundation work: world peace, democracy, economic welfare, education and scientific studies dealing with human and social conduct.

To Hoffman these are not abstract terms. His bedrock approach:

"The best way to promote understanding of America and its freedom is through deeds. The words can follow later."

At 52, Hoffman's right-hand man, Dr. Hutchins is somewhat grayer but still the "Peck's Bad Boy of education" who threw pedagogues into a tizzy with his innovations at the University of Chicago for two decades. Hoffman, a former Chicago board member, says Hutchins was the first man he thought of when the search began for "the best brains available."

In his new post, Hutchins is still the push-ahead visionary.

"The object of the Ford Foundation," he declares, "is to help support those experiments which give some promise of achieving the true ends of education." To him, "It is clear that, though this country does not lack trained hands, it does suffer from a want of responsible citizens."

He believes United States education needs to be prodded at both ends. Bright young students should be encouraged to move ahead. More opportunities should be given adults to continue studies.

"Most of the subjects which might help us to become intelligent citizens can be fully comprehended only by adults," Hutchins holds. "To study economics, politics, history and literature in youth and never study them again is never to comprehend them.

The foundation has set up two funds to achieve Hutchins' goals: the Fund for the Advancement of Education, headed by Dr. Clarence H. Faust, formerly of Stanford University, and the Fund for Adult Education, headed by C. Scott Fletcher, ex-president of Encyclopedia Brittanica films.

Faust's fund hopes to ease the military service versus college tension with special scholarships for bright students under 16½. Boys or girls younger than that in the top 20 per cent of their class can jump right out of high school, regardless of the grade they're in, and go to any one of nine colleges or universities under the fund's $1,200,000 program.

Hutchins would like to see the program expanded to reach all of the nation's top high school students.

'Responsibilities of Freedom'

Hoffman backs up this streamlining idea: "Under present world conditions, it's important that boys, by the time they're 19, understand what the responsibilities of freedom are and have the background to meet them."

The Faust fund also is putting $2,250,000 into fellowships for teachers who wish to speed up their training. The fund, which started with a $7,000,000 budget, has received more than $10,000,000, two-thirds of the foundation's grants to date.

The Adult Education Fund has received $3,000,000 and is working on radio, television and movie programs to promote public awareness and discussion of civic, national and international problems.

Most of the foundation activities are controlled from Pasadena headquarters. An exception is the Fund for Free Russia directed from New York by George F. Kennan, former State Department expert on the Soviet, who also acts as foreign policy consultant for the foundation.

Starting with a grant of $200,000, the Free Russia Fund is aiding groups to reestablish displaced persons from behind the Iron Curtain.

"I'll be surprised if within the next two years Kennan doesn't give us a new rationale for a foreign policy," Hoffman said. "He is in a fine position (at the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton) to explore and formulate new ideas for foreign relations."

Another consultant is James Webb Young, former advertising executive, who is heading TV and movie experiments that may in time produce a corollary to the government's Voice of America broadcasts. About $90,000 has gone into this so far.

Other grants include $1,000,000 to the International Institute for education, largely for an exchange student program; $500,000 to the International Rescue Committee and $90,000 to the International Press Institute.

Under study are nearly 100 projects, embracing aid to the Schuman plan, world codification of commercial law, universal disarmament, and resettlement of displaced persons.

Medical grants are not being considered because the foundation at present is limited to projects for which public or other private funds are not readily available.

Besides Hutchins, Faust and Fletcher, Hoffman's high-powered staff includes Associate Directors Chester C. Davis, ex-president of the Federal Reserve Bank in St. Louis, and H. Rowan Gaither, Jr., San Francisco attorney, and Assistant Director Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr., former Northwestern University dean.

Hoffman draws a salary of $70,000 and his combined staff represents probably $200,000 worth of talent. Educators believe it took $50,000 to lure Hutchins away from Chicago.

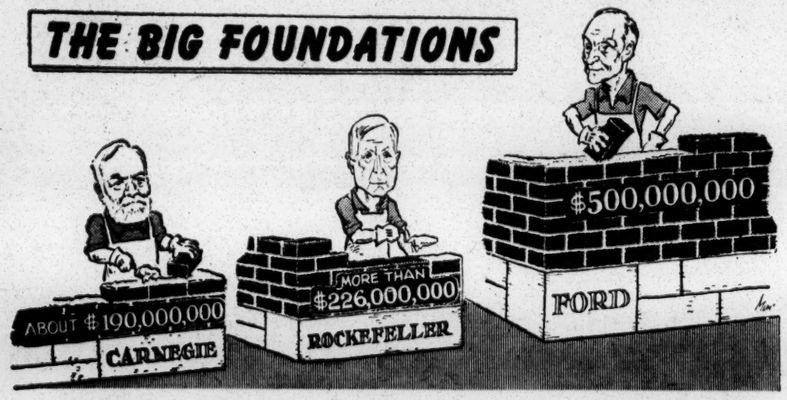
Despite the salary—$50,000 more a year than he got from ECA—Hoffman says he wasn't too keen about the position when Henry Ford II first approached him.

"I told young Henry we would have to have the best brains available if those high-sounding goals were to be realized," Hoffman recalled. "I told him you're going to be lucky if you are right one time out of three.

Hoffman took the job when young Ford assured him that he would have a free hand to pick his own men and courses of action, and could locate his office in his old home town, Pasadena.

The trouble is that Hoffman—a man addicted to reaching goals—has been too busy chasing "courses of action" to enjoy Pasadena. He's been away from home most of the time since January 1.

From The Associated Press



—Wide World Sketch

How the $500,000,000 Ford Foundation dwarfs its predecessors, the Rockefeller and Carnegie organizations, is shown in sketch.

—Wide World Photo

Officials of the Ford Foundation, shown at a meeting in Pasadena, Calif., are (left to right) Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr.; Dr. Clarence H. Faust, Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, Paul G. Hoffman.

Britain's Richest Trust Aids Amateur Pollsters and Science

LONDON—Britain's richest charitable trust is giving away money to amateur pollsters; to one of the few scientists who has seen evolution actually happen in a butterfly, and to the inhabitants of an English town to study themselves.

These are among the series of new grants announced by the $30,000,000 Nuffield Foundation, established six years ago by Automobile Magnate Lord Nuffield to support activities contributing to human welfare and scientific learning.

An allitional $3,500 has been paid to the London School of Economics—which has already had $28,000 from the foundation—for a field survey to test the reliability of public opinion polls.

A team of untrained interviewers is put into the field taking sample of public opinion. Simultaneosly two professional organizations are hired to work on the same assignment. All three teams use the same questionnaires.

The study is expected to throw light on many factors influencing the success of public-opinion surveys as well as indicating where amateurs fall down on the job.

The scientist is Dr. E. B. Ford, of Oxford University. As a boy of 40 years ago he began studying a species of British butterfly—the euphydryas Aurinia. The foundation is paying $28,000 to Ford, who it said has witnessed "the most considerable evolutionary change" ever seen by man in any animal or plant—the gradual change of English moths in the neighborhood of grimy industrial cities. The moths have turned black—and the black moth is now well established in smoke-polluted areas, and still spreading.

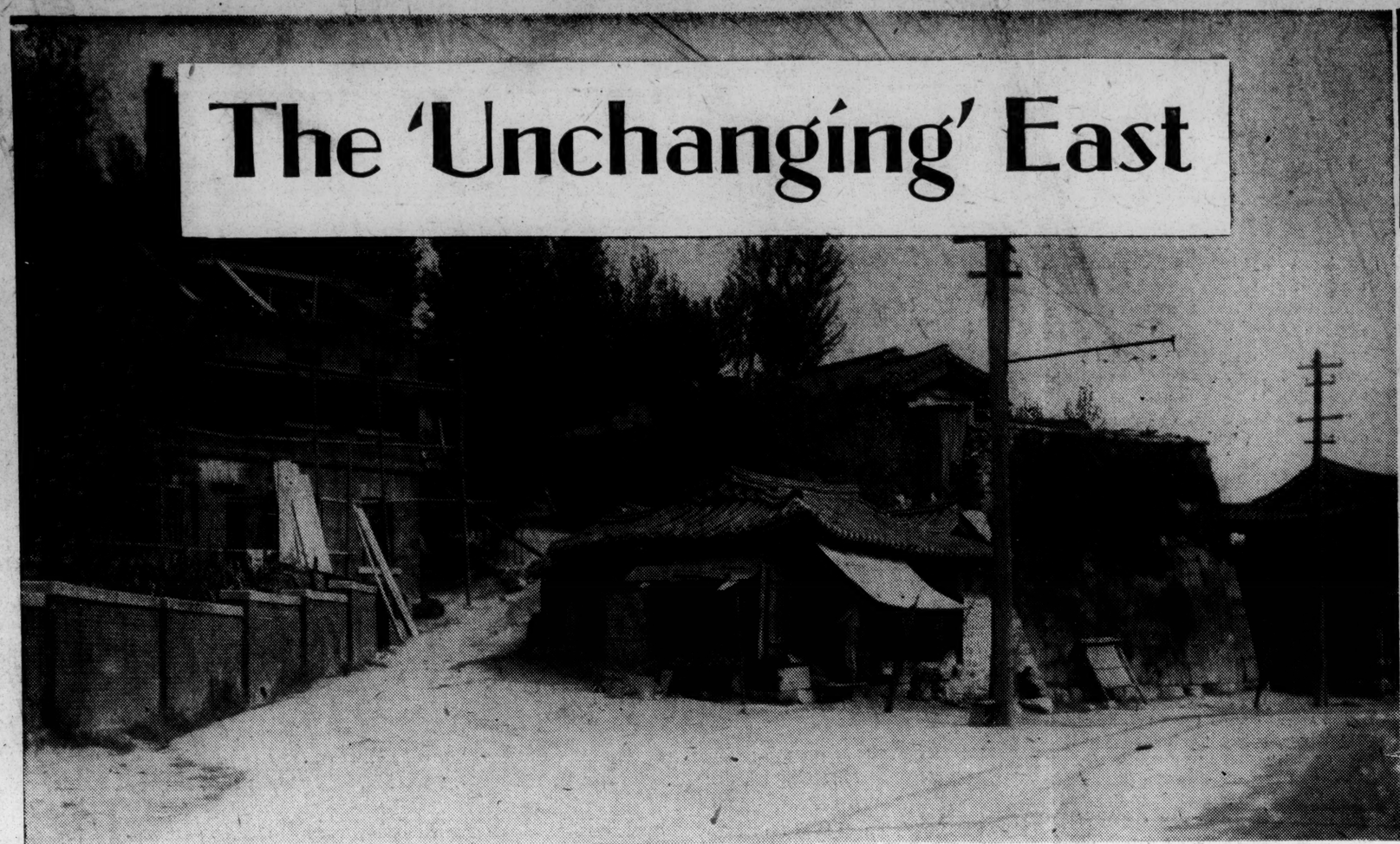
Residents of an England Midlands market town received $5,600—but the foundation did not name the city, in order not to disturb the job of quietly studying themselves. Announcing the grant, the foundation said the city has expanded by one-third since a new industry and new workers moved in from the outside. Aim of the self-study is to see the effect of the new arrivals on the town's 18,000 inhabitants.

From The Associated Press

Sunday Magazine

THE RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH
SUNDAY, JULY 8, 1951—SECTION A

The 'Unchanging' East



Confusion shown in the Millet picture is temporary and constructive. It records a phase in the building of a European hospital in Seoul. The old capital city of Korea is also shown at right in an Associated Press photograph by Max Desfors.

A YEAR of war in Korea—whatever the outcome of armistice negotiations which start today—has had the effect of killing many of the cliches about the Orient. Young men who have been shifting earth with bulldozers after high-explosive shelling of enemy-held cities, who have seen homes, temples and public buildings razed by fires set by unquenchable incendiary bombs don't come home talking about the "unchanging East." Kipling's line about "never the twain shell meet" is seldom heard in the conversation of men who have met Red Chinese at bayonet-length.

The East does change. Korea has changed. Whether the change is for the better, the future will say. Meantime, the accompanying pictures show some of the changes a half-century has wrought in what once was called "the hermit nation."

"I have in my possession forty photographs of 'old Korea' taken by my father, the late J. B. Millet, when he was a guest of the South Manchurian Railway, soon after the Japanese took over Chosen, as Korea was then called," Mrs. Hilda M. Booth, of Urbanna, wrote recently to The Times-Dispatch. "He published in 1904 one most authoritative work on China and Japan (32 volumes in the de luxe edition)."

Millet knew many of the eminent Japanese statesmen of that era and was a personal friend of President Theodore Roosevelt, whose mediation led to the settlement of the Russo-Japanese War. This war gave Japan control over Korean affairs, though annexation by Japan was delayed until 1910. A book "What the Japanese Stood For in the World War" (the first one, that is), was the product of a collaboration between Roosevelt and Millet. Millet was a week-end guest at Oyster Bay when the family received the news that Quention Roosevelt had been killed in France.

The range of the Millet photographs is from Pusan, in the south, past Inchon, on the Yellow Sea, to the Yalu River, Korea's northern border. Curious contrasts are shown between these pictures and the photographs of Korea, 1951.

Whatever else is indicated, the obsolescence of the epithet "unchanging" with reference to the East seems certain.

THE FORD FOUNDATION

FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

as of

DECEMBER 31, 1951

Ford

November eighteen, 1953

Honorable Brooks Hays
United States Capitol
Washington, D C

Dear Brooks:

Good to talk to you yesterday.

When the Ford Foundation first announced its interest in fields that embraced race relations, we got busy and in May, 1950, sent them a great, thick, formal application for substantial assistance. We reviewed the history of the old Interracial Commission and of the Southern Regional Council and showed the great dearth of any continuing, full-time, ameliorative staff in the field of race relations in the Southern states. We asked them to provide enough to cover for a total period of five years salaries of a white and Negro person in each state and a clerk in each state, plus a minute staff in Atlanta to coordinate the work of the state staffs.

We would turn over our scattered membership to state organizations which we hope would rapidly build up their own memberships and which through boards of directors within their own states would control the work of the paid staff. This office would write the pay checks of the staffs and in that way have what I think would be adequate control to keep the state organizations out of the temptation of politics. The state organizations thus added would work out compliance with whatever may be the forthcoming decision of the Supreme Court in the matter of the schools, housing, health, agricultural betterment, administration of justice, prison and welfare care, local self surveys, and so on, and increased civic participation on the part of Negro citizens. By this latter I mean a public atmosphere which would be favorable to additional Negro appointments and elections to state and local offices.

The whole thing for five years came to a little less than a million and a half dollars. This is emphatically not an inflated budget but is a sober counting of the cost of providing on really a minimum scale a going race relations service in each Southern state. Under the plan, the Southern Regional Council itself

becomes merely a Board of Directors handling the grant and any other monies it can raise and coordinating policies of all of the state groups. I have provided nothing for Oklahoma which is too far for us to reach and only a half a program for Kentucky which is further along than most of the others.

As the Ford Foundation's organization developed, it seemed apparent that the right Fund for our application to rest before would be the Fund for the Republic. Probably two years ago our application was moved over to them and has been actively before them ever since. They have spent a lot of time in getting organized and only lately, as you well understand, with the taking over of Congressman Case as their President, have they been finally in position to move. We hear some whispers meetings are to occur quite soon that will take action on the Southern Regional Council's application.

A little history needs to be reviewed:

Dr Will, as we both understand, worked out in these Southern states the techniques of interracial adjustment. With the migration of Negroes and the strains of World War II, it became apparent that such a service as had been provided by volunteers in the Southern states ought to be lodged professionally in Northern communities affected. The Rosenwald Fund and other groups put up money for what was called The American Council on Race Relations which, beginning about 1944, fathered the groups which within a few months began to pick up as "Mayor's Committee on Race Relations" or "State Committee on Human Relations", and so on. By this time, sixty or seventy Northern or Western cities have such municipally official committees, perhaps forty with paid staffs, and at a guess eighteen or twenty states in the North and West have organizations of this general kind. In addition, there is the old business of State Fair Employment Practises Committees which are now in existence in twelve or thirteen states.

For obvious reasons, it was not possible in 1944 to get organizations of that kind going in the Southern states. This whole area has remained almost a vacuum for the movement. There are not as yet any Southern states which in my judgement would pay for an honest race relations staff. Neither have our best efforts been able to uncover any well-to-do individuals or corporations or foundations within the South which would shell down for the establishment of a genuine, forward-looking service of this kind. People will pay to help to build up the dykes but few will pay to help to pierce the dykes.

So Dr Will's old Interracial Commission, revamped as the Southern Regional Council, has held the field and done what it could. But we have never had more than thirty-five or forty thousand dollars a year and, with a single tiny office in one city, have not been able really to reach out into the South as a whole. And the problem now becomes a problem in detail. Our small voice, summarizing developments and urging proper attitudes and plans, has been useful, but the times call for detailed follow-up action in cities, towns and counties, state by state.

We are convinced that if the Fund for the Republic will pay for the conduct of a service of this kind in each Southern state for a five year period, within five years the lines of the service will have been so well grooved that the service can be picked up publicly or privately with greatly increased local support and move forward in a way to command the respect of both white and Negro citizens. But somebody has to break the circle and give the South a five year experience of such a service.

Now of course the Fund for the Republic is reluctant to swell great resources into what has always been a small organization. But we think we are the true vine and can bear fruit.

I could send you, and gladly will if you want, a copy of the original application to the Ford people, and exhibits and budgets and articles, and so on. I doubt if you want them, but if you do you are welcome.

Do write Mr Case and tell him that in your experience we have always been level-headed people. A letter from you will do a great deal of good.

By the way, when I talked to Miller yesterday he ordered 250 copies of QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS right away and said he would probably get some more later on. I will therefore not write to Witherspoon as Miller is already moving.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

Return the copy

CABLE ADDRESS: FORDFOUND

THE FORD FOUNDATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES DIVISION

June 2, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming
Deputy Director, Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The Ford Foundation is interested in how the behavioral sciences might be helpful (or helped) in connection with the current situation involving educational desegregation in the South and I am writing to invite you to attend a one-day meeting in New York for an informal exploration of this matter. The meeting will be held at the headquarters of the Foundation, 655 Madison Avenue, 8th Floor, beginning at 9:30 on the morning of Wednesday, June 23. We are inviting both social scientists knowledgeable about this field and others who are concerned with the problem from the standpoints of the educational system or the general community.

As you know a report on the educational aspects of desegregation was recently published by the University of North Carolina Press: "The Negro and the Schools" by Harry S. Ashmore. This report is a summary of a large number of specific studies carried forward over the past months with the support of The Fund for the Advancement of Education. We wish to discuss some of the broader problems of human relations in the South.

The questions for our agenda are essentially three: (1) What have the behavioral sciences (or the social sciences) to offer in the present situation? That is, what do behavioral scientists have, in knowledge or in skills, that can be put to the service of school systems, community agencies, local governments, etc.? (2) What can the present situation contribute to the behavioral sciences? That is, what types of research or study opportunities are presented by the situation? And (3) who are the most qualified people available for any activities which might be recommended and how should the activities best be carried forward?

I should add that while we are interested in the possible contributions of the present situation to the development of the behavioral sciences, that is not our primary concern. Rather, we are primarily interested in discussing what the behavioral sciences can now do to help in easing and facilitating the social transition that will be underway in the South in the next months and years.

We are suggesting to each participant that he put down on only two or three pages his major ideas about this matter (preferably in outline fashion). We at the Foundation shall circulate these statements to all the participants some days before the meeting and we shall organize the agenda around them. Accordingly, if you can accept, and we hope very much that you can, I would be grateful if you would send me such a statement by June 15. If you cannot accept, may I ask you to let me know as soon as possible so that we may consider inviting others.

The Foundation recognizes the possibility that our consultations may not develop appropriate or feasible activities. Accordingly, we wish to keep this meeting completely informal and, of course, we are not giving it any public notice.

For your information, the other people being invited to the meeting are the following:

Donald Young, Director, Russell Sage Foundation
Kenneth Clark, Department of Psychology, City College of New York
Robin Williams, Department of Sociology, Cornell University
Edward Suchman, Department of Sociology, Cornell University
Gordon Blackwell, Director, Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, University of North Carolina and Member, Advisory Board, Southern Educational Reporting Service
Albert Reiss, Chairman, Department of Sociology, Vanderbilt University
Truman Pierce, George Peabody College for Teachers
Charles Johnson, President, Fisk University
Edward McCuistion, Director, Division of Negro Education, Little Rock Arkansas
Logan Wilson, President, University of Texas
C. A. McKnight, Editor, Charlotte News, Charlotte, North Carolina
Philip H. Coombs, Director of Research, The Fund for the Advancement of Education
David Freeman, Secretary, The Fund for the Republic

The Foundation will, of course, pay travel and other expenses involved. I hope very much that you can attend this meeting and I look forward to meeting you there.

Sincerely yours,

Bernard Berelson

Bernard Berelson
Director

June 4, 1954

Mr. Bernard Berelson
Director
Behavioral Sciences Division
The Ford Foundation
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Berelson:

Thank you for your invitation to the one day planning session of June 23. I shall be delighted to come.

Within the next week or so, I will try to get down on paper any ideas I may have that would contribute to the agenda.

In the course of the Ashmore Project, I often heard Phil Coombs speak of you. I will look forward to our getting acquainted.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

CF/eab

THE FORD FOUNDATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES DIVISION

June 8, 1954

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am delighted to know that you are able to attend our meeting.

I look forward to receiving your ideas and to meeting you on the 23rd.

Sincerely yours,

Bernard Berelson

Bernard Berelson
Director

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1954
Southern Regional Council

June 14, 1954

Mr. Bernard Berelson
Director, Behavioral Sciences Division
The Ford Foundation
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Berelson:

Here are several hasty and very general ideas that I should like to put in the hopper for the June 23 conference:

(1) It is commonplace by now to deplore the gap between research and action programs in the field of human relations. Some of us in the South have long been groping for means of getting an orderly two-way flow between the research centers and the various regional, state, and local groups that are concerned with interracial improvement. Obviously a sizable part of the job is providing for translation of research findings into language that can be readily understood and applied by laymen. So far discussion has led to no suitable machinery. The new situation created by the Supreme Court decision may give the necessary impetus to the idea. Perhaps a group of the kind assembled for this conference could serve as a continuing committee to further helpful communication between research and action people.

(2) The Ashmore Report and the research material behind it contain many propositions, some explicit, some implicit. Because of the speed with which the project had to be carried out, few of these were adequately tested in varying community situations. One would suppose that the relative validity of a given proposition -- e.g., that teachers of both races should be handpicked for an initial experience in faculty integration -- would vary according to a number of local factors. In the months ahead Southern communities should provide excellent "laboratory" situations in which these principles can be further refined and qualified. This is another way of saying that future community research in this field might fruitfully maintain continuity with the Ashmore project.

(3) There appears to be some interest in providing special training for educators who might serve in state education departments as consultants to local school systems undertaking desegregation. Such persons would be in an unusually advantageous position to study community processes. As consultants they would have an excellent opportunity to observe without arousing undue hostility or defensiveness. This assumes, of course, that they would be sufficiently versed in behavioral science methods to serve as competent observers. It also assumes that the inter-institutional cooperation necessary for combined consultation-observation could be worked out.

(4) In a climate conditioned by court decisions and executive orders, a great deal of change has taken place in Southern racial practices in the last ten years. Much of this change at the community level has been taken voluntarily -- employment of Negro policemen, desegregation of public libraries, admission of Negroes to professional associations, and so on. The influence of Negro political participation in these situations is generally conceded. But much more detailed knowledge of the origin and evolution of these community changes is badly needed. There may be a spate of professional literature on the subject, but if so the people concerned with community action are almost wholly ignorant of it. The behavioral sciences could do much to point the way to effective action in the present situation by making available studies of analogous changes in selected communities during recent years.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

CONFERENCE ON

PROBLEMS OF EDUCATIONAL DESEGREGATION

June 23, 1954

Preliminary Outline of Suggested Activities

Guidance

"Propaganda
How to analyze your comm.
Inventory what is known

1. Translation of research findings into popular materials, handbooks, etc. (Fleming, Blackwell, Suchman)

Clearing House — 2. Training of or consultation to educators guiding desegregation (Fleming) — INSERVICE TNG FOR TEACHERS + others.

3. Behavioral scientists as consultants to sch bodies + others, religious Eds, labor

Research 4. Spot studies

0. Inventory of ignorance.

1. **Community studies** a. Soc. Scientists b. Practitioners

Checkpoints

A. Analysis of process of integration (Williamsubrg, Point 6 Berelson memorandum of June 18, Fleming, Blackwell, Reiss, Suchman) ~~Checkpoints~~ labor

B. Experimentation with community solutions (Reiss, Suchman, Clark)

✓ C. Influence of deseg on other commun. institutions [labor, church]

D. Legal + polit. state vs. local [illegible]

E. Voluntary seg - how + why

2. **Studies of School integration**

A. Studies in military posts (Point 6 Berelson memorandum June 18)

✓ B. Effect of desegregation on students (Blackwell) + teachers + families.

C. Evaluation of "Collections project" of Fund for the Advancement of Education (Reiss) [condemn + non-academ.]

3. **Studies of public opinion**

A. Changes over time (Florida suggestion, Blackwell)

B. Effects of communication channels (Blackwell, Suchman) ✓

C. Analysis of tension levels (Reiss)

D. Interaction studies (Suchman)

E. How measure opinion?

4. **Studies of educational personnel**

X A. Effect of desegregation on Negro teachers (Blackwell)

X B. Effect of desegregation on "educational social system" (Reiss)

X C. Evaluation of training for intergroup workers (Suchman)

5. **Population studies**

✓ A. Updating of census figures (Williamsburg) School pop. increase; statistical aids for prediction, etc.

B. Manpower utilization and economic development (Williamsburg)

C. Urban residential development (Williamsburg) + influence

~~6. The Church + deseg. + labor~~

1. Info materials
2. State gps + EVS
3. Coordination

6. INSV TNG FOR SOC SCIENTISTS.

MEMORANDUM

June 18, 1954

To: Participants in the June 23 Meeting

Dr. Gordon Blackwell, Director, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina
Dr. Kenneth Clark, Department of Psychology, CCNY
Mr. Philip Coombs, Director of Research, The Fund for the Advancement of Education
Mr. Harold Fleming, Deputy Director, Southern Regional Council
Mr. David Freeman, Secretary, The Fund for the Republic
Mr. John Ivey, Director, Southern Regional Education Board
Dr. Charles Johnson, President, Fisk University
Mr. Ed McCuistion, Director, Division of Negro Education, Arkansas
Mr. C. A. McKnight, Editor, Charlotte News
Dr. Truman Pierce, Director, Southern States Cooperative Program in Educational Administration
Dr. Albert Reiss, Chairman, Department of Sociology, Vanderbilt University
Dr. Edward Suchman, Sociologist, Cornell University
Mr. Donald Young, Director, Russell Sage Foundation

From: Bernard Berelson BB
Director, Behavioral Sciences Division
The Ford Foundation

The meeting will be held as scheduled beginning 9:30 a.m., Wednesday, June 23, 8th Floor, 655 Madison Avenue. We plan to have lunch together and to adjourn the meeting about 4:30 or 5:00 that afternoon.

Enclosed are those statements received to date. We in the Foundation will attempt over the weekend to build an agenda around these materials and we shall submit it and any other papers received the first of the week to the group on Wednesday morning.

In addition to these suggestions the following ideas have come to our attention from one or the other source during the past few weeks.

1. A follow-up study every four months for the next year and a half of attitudes and behavior related to desegregation of a sample of about 300 white persons in Tallahassee, Florida originally interviewed in November-December, 1953.

2. (From the Williamsburg meeting of May 1954) Provision for further and more detailed population data. The purpose of this proposal would be to provide accurate figures on population in the South for the period between censuses and current analyses of changes in the residence, composition and characteristics of the Southern population by race.

3. (Williamsburg Meeting)

Behavioral Science study of community processes in school integration:

The anticipated move toward school integration in hundreds of Southern communities, gradual as it may often be, presents a unique opportunity for behavioral science research. This opportunity is of two kinds.

In the first place, it is tremendously important for the region and the nation that the transition take place as rapidly and as smoothly as possible without rekindling of prejudice, resort to new kinds of discriminatory practices, and perhaps even violence. If ever there were need for guidance from behavioral science, it is now. Yet most ideas about this kind of community change are as yet unproven.

This leads to the second facet of the opportunity. As communities take steps toward integration in the near future, behavioral scientists will have almost ideal laboratory situations for testing their most likely hypotheses. Research of this kind can thus provide helpful guidelines for local action, while at the same time basic contributions can be made to the sociology and social psychology of community processes.

4. (Williamsburg Meeting)

A study of manpower utilization in the South as related to the structure and development of the South's economy.

There would be four purposes of this study: (1) to reach a definitive understanding of the economic development in the South and the functional relation of the Southern economy and the national economy; (2) on the basis of this understanding to isolate the problems of manpower use in the region and to analyze the effects of current practices upon economic development in both the South and the non-South; (3) to indicate the economic implications of specific changes in manpower integration practices in the South, including their effects on population shifts, industrial expansion, productivity, personal income, and public receipts and expenditures within the region; (4) to indicate the specific types of enlargement opportunities for Negroes in the South that would appear to offer the best opportunities and most practical economic advantages to the region in the immediate future.

5. (Williamsburg Meeting) A study of the implications for human relations of urban residential development and patterns in the South. This research project would attempt to provide a clear understanding of the economic and social effects and costs of the new patterns of urban residence by race that are emerging in the region. The overall farm-to-city population shift has already been analyzed in the Maclachlan population study. This new project would analyze data on racial patterns <u>within</u> the fast growing urban areas and the implications of these patterns for public policies related to human relations. The analysis would be directly tied in to the location of schools and the interrelation of school attendance and residential patterns, and hence the results can be directly useful to local policy makers.

6. There actually are a number of schools, located in the South, that have been integrated within recent years. These schools are for children of the personnel of military posts, and many of these, of course, are Southern. Second, a number of communities - notably Washington, D.C. - have already announced plans for immediate desegregation of their schools, without awaiting the Court's decisions as to implementation. Such communities provide a rare opportunity for direct study of the process of desegregation.

Within each of these settings, studies of different types could be carried out. For example:

A. Schools on military posts

1. A descriptive survey of posts where schools have already been integrated, posts where schools are still segregated, and posts in process of transition(i.e., where the change from segregated to integrated schools occurs in the fall of 1954). Such a survey would take the form of social-psychological "case studies" of a number of such posts.

2. A more intensive comparison of attitudes and behavior of individuals at posts with integrated schools and posts with segregated schools. This would take the form of systematic interviews with a representative sample of white Southern children attending schools, with their parents, and perhaps with citizens of the neighboring communities.

3. A detailed study of attitudes and behavior of individuals at one or more posts before and after the post schools have been desegregated. Such a study is made possible by the Defense Department order that schools on all military posts must be integrated by September 1955; there are 21 posts where such a change will take place. Here again the study would take the form of systematic interviews with children, parents, and perhaps citizens of neighboring communities.

B. Communities where public schools are in process of desegregation.

1. A descriptive study of the process of transition, the problems which arise, the methods of handling them. This study would take the form of periodic interviews with school administrators and faculty members throughout the school year, plus direct observation from time to time in schools throughout the community.

2. A detailed study of changes in attitudes and behavior during the year in which the change is introducted. Interviews with children and parents would be carried out at the beginning of the school year (that is, immediately after the occurrence of desegregation), and again at the end of the school year.

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr Bernard Berelson
Director, Behavioral Sciences Division
The Ford Foundation
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, N Y.

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Sincerely yours,

s/ Harold C. Fleming
Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

TO: Mr. Bernard Berelson

FROM: Philip H. Coombs DATE: June 22, 1954

SUBJECT: Ideas for June 23 Meeting

I have been much interested and encouraged by the papers that have come in for the June 23 meeting.

There seems to be general agreement: (1) that the social sciences already possess a fund of knowledge, theory, and propositions which, if translated into simple terms, could immediately be useful to responsible community leaders in appraising their own local situation and developing a constructive plan of action; (2) that the present situation offers a rare opportunity for the social sciences to firm up various tentative propositions and to get better founded answers to important basic questions.

This suggests to me that the following two "next steps" might be fruitful:

(1) Make a systematic inventory of social science principles, propositions, findings, etc., relevant to the desegregation process, on the basis of which a "primer" for lay use might be prepared. (Social scientists might be asked: if you were running a four weeks seminar for 20 Southern school superintendents with the aim of equipping them to do a more intelligent job of understanding and handling the situation in their respective communities, what basic ideas would you seek to get across?)

(2) Make a systematic "inventory of ignorance" of the social sciences pertaining to the process of desegregation and community adjustment. This should be in the form of questions to which social scientists would like to have better answers than they now have. Not until these "areas of ignorance" are systematically arrayed and rated as to their relative importance, will it be possible to make good judgments about the desirability of particular community studies, methodology, etc

I suggest you consider the possibility of putting two teams of social scientists to work for the next 2 or 3 months to make the above two inventories. Toward the end of the period they should get together and compare ideas. You might consider a third team of "practitioners" who could make an inventory of the questions to which they would like better answers from the social scientists.

If these steps were taken immediately, I have considerable confidence that by early fall there would be an abundance of interesting ideas flowing in and we would all have a better basis for appraising them and formulating some fruitful projects.

Gordon Blackwell
Institute for Research
in Social Science
University of North Carolina

PLANS REGARDING THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES AND EDUCATIONAL DESEGREGATION IN THE SOUTH

1. What have the behavioral sciences to offer?

   A. General theories of community structure and processes

      (1) Institutional change, value systems
      (2) Stratification, vertical mobility
      (3) Leadership (Nominal and real)
      (4) Power structure
      (5) Communication networks (formal and informal)
      (6) Ecology

   B. General theories of attitude formation and change

   C. General theories of communication (factors influencing effectiveness of communication)

   D. General theories of cultural change

   E. Research techniques for empirical studies bearing on the above theories

2. What are some of the research opportunities in the situation?

   A. Intensive study of selected communities (sample to reflect range of racial situation in the South)

      (1) Analysis of community structure
      (2) Predictions of how the community will move or fail to move in desegregation; which groups, agencies, and individuals will do what and with what results?
      (3) Reach generalizations on basis of field observations over time; identify relevant community variables, including differential effects of specific ways of handling the problem.
      (4) Preparation of popular handbook for use by school officials and others

   B. Study of cultural change in selected subregions of the South

      (1) Predictive hypotheses based on present knowledge and theory of cultural change
      (2) Analysis of events relative to desegregation, perhaps using data from Southern Education Reporting Service (clipping service and materials from field reporters)
      (3) Generalizations relative to significant subregional cultural variables influencing rate and direction of cultural change re desegregation
      (4) Preparation of popular handbook for use by school officials and others

C. Study of attitude formation and change relative to desegregation

(1) Predictive hypotheses based on present knowledge and theory concerning attitudes
(2) Measurement of attitudes in selected communities at repeated intervals
(3) Analysis of personal and situational factors in attitude change; generalizations
(4) Preparation of popular handbook for use by school officials and others

D. Study of patterns of communication (formal and informal, mass media and personal contacts) as related to issue of desegregation in one or more selected communities

(1) Predictive hypotheses
(2) Panel interviews weekly with sample of informants to ascertain all communication channels through which individual receives information or opinions re desegregation
(3) Analysis of data to chart all communication networks and to estimate relative effectiveness

E. Study of the impact of educational desegregation on the economics and professional status of Negro school teachers as among the higher paid Negro occupational groups

(1) Predictive hypotheses concerning (a) impact on morale of a pro fessional group, (b) impact on utilization of the manpower of a region
(2) Collection of data over time from State Department of Statistics on teacher personnel; minutes and observation of Negro educational organizations; interviews with a sample of Negro teachers
(3) Analysis of data as bearing on the hypotheses

F. Study of achievement and retardation of white and Negro pupils in selected school systems, as relevant to the rate of desegregation

3. (a) Who are some of the qualified behavioral scientists in the region who might help on this problem?

Atlanta University - Mozell Hill
Fisk University - Preston Valien
Kentucky - C. A. Anderson and Irvin Sanders
Mississippi State - Harold Kaufman
North Carolina - John Gillin, Guy B. Johnson, Floyd Hunter, Daniel O. Price.
Texas - Walter Firey and Harry Moore
Tulane - John Rohrer
Vanderbilt - Al Reiss

(b) How should activities best be carried forward by behavioral scientists?

A. Research through University research centers within the region, singly or in some instances in cooperatively planned projects
B. Consultation - directly to State and local school officials
C. Participation in workshops and institutes - developed by colleges of education, state education associations, state and local school officials
D. Popular articles - in press, state education journals, other periodicals
E. Lectures-educational conventions, meetings of school administrators, meetings of school trustees, club meetings

Albert J. Reiss, Jr.
Sociologist
Vanderbilt University

I assume several things in the following discussion: (1) that the opportunities for contributing to the educational aspects of desegregation are primarily focused at the local level; this does not deny an extra-local aspect, but the remarks are directed to the local level; (2) that the specific foci are the community system, the educational system and the local government system; (3) that reliance is to be placed more on current methods and techniques of investigation, rather than upon the development of such methods and techniques; (4) that the problems are directed toward how change comes about as well as upon a description of them.

I. Specific Problems: Contribution of Behavioral Sciences to the Present Situation

A. Measurement of Tension levels in various kinds of communities and prescription of techniques for dealing with tension levels.

B. Experimentation with modes of effecting solution to the problem in various types of communities.

1. Knowledge of ways of meeting problems in various types of communities as dealt with by various communication and media forms.

2. Specific modes of organization are introduced to deal with the problem

3. Several actual experiments with predicted outcomes for various kinds of communities.

C. Evaluation of the "Collections Project" sponsored by the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

1. Effectiveness of project for local action groups under proposed and actual conditions of dissemination.

2. Effectiveness of materials when introduced through varioud media and organizational techniques -- maximum effectiveness criteris

II. Specific Problems: Contribution of Present Situation to Behavioral Sciences

A. Advantages offered by natural experimental qualities of situation - an opportunity to test many change oriented hypotheses; in fact opportunities exist to test nature, direction and form of change where the experimental variable is introduced in a wide variety of situations.

1. Selection of forms of communities, school systems, and local government systems to derive comparisons for change oriented hypotheses.

B. Community--Perhaps most important is an investigation of how the community forms of organization are affected by an extra-community set of decisions. This should deal not only with the question of how do the communities "carry out" or "circumvent" the decision, but how can the decision affect the organizational mode of community itself.

1. What is the relationship between residential, psychological and social segregation under these conditions? Does residential segregation increase as educational and other forms of segregation decrease? Are communal ties weakened as school system boundaries are set? Does the movement of the minority manifest itself in a growing "rootlessness" of the non-minority population--local communities disintegrate in the flight from minorities? (It is my judgment this has been the characteristic pattern in northern communities, whether it is the immigrant, the Jew, the Negro, and their institutions from which flight is made. It, also, is my judgment that the sense and organization of community has been stronger in the South. Will this now change more rapidly under the impact of the decision?) Correlatively, will the Negro communities, particularly in urban settings, become more or less cohesive and more or less organized?

2. Which communities are most affected by the decision and how are they affected? Does the community of the lower class white follow a cycle of intensification of community identity and organization followed by rather complete disintegration when the middle and upper class whites give no supporting organizational forms? What are the problems in communities of various ratios of color composition?

C. Attitude and Opinion Formation and Change

1. Toward the arena of race relations, but more specifically as it deals with situational contacts.

2. Toward community, local government and educational systems--changes in forms of allegiance (increasing or decreasing, identification with or disaffection with these systems and their representatives).

3. Toward extra-local forms--government, national parties, figures, etc.

D. Educational social system--the Kellog Foundation has been interested in various aspects of the organization of the educational social system; need to examine here how these forms change under the impact of the decision.

E. Local government systems--particularly how force is organized at the local level to deal with problems arising in connection with desegregation; the effectiveness of various kinds of power structures, etc.

F. Leadership roles exist in institutional systems in the community and for community situation. Other roles will arise or may need to be created to deal with problem arising in connection with desegregation. Undoubtedly local leadership will be very important in determining local policy and action both in experimental or non-experimental situations involving desegregegration. How to study the effect of local leadership to facilitate or retard change is problematic.

1. We might learn how "militants" and "non-militants" in various groups bring about or retard change, or lead to changes of certain kinds.

Note: It seems to me quite important to gather information over time (perhaps utilizing the panel technique) in a series of communities so that we may more systematically explore hypotheses about social change (the effect of legal forms on change; effect of local vs. extra-local forms of decision; the effect of extra-local vs. local participation in the system--problems at the elementary, secondary and higher educational levels, etc.). We need not only to interview the adult population but to study populations at the elementary and secondary school level. We should learn more of what modes students utilize in meeting the problem within the schools as well as what modes their parents take within the larger organizational systems available to them. This must be examined for both dominant and minority groups. What is the role of religious institutions in effecting orderly change? How does one shift from a stable moral order under the "old set of conditions" to a stable moral order under the "new set of conditions" in an orderly fashion, i.e., with a minimum of disruption?

Kenneth Clark
Sociologist
CCNY

PROPOSED COMMUNITY-ACTION RESEARCH TESTING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF VARIOUS APPROACHES TO THE DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

I Introduction

A. The United States Supreme Court has unanimously ruled that racial segregation in public education has no place in American life. Between now and October, when the Court will hear briefs and arguments on specific procedures for implementation of this decision, communities across the border and southern regions will be faced with desegregation of their public school systems.

B. This immediate situation offers spectacular opportunities for the applied social sciences to forward the constructive processes of desegregation in American life.

1. Desegregation of public schools is a relatively new area of community action and, therefore, there is little precise knowledge about procedures, methods, and techniques.

2. Systematic and peaceful local efforts to desegregate can gain greatly in effectiveness once tested techniques have been made available and are understood.

II Purpose of Proposed Community Action Research

A. To develop and evaluate methods and techniques of community action and education which would effectively implement the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court with a maximum of community acceptance and a minimum of social disturbance

1. To avoid haphazard trial and error which may result in exaggerated hatreds and prejudice and in extreme cases overt non-violent or violent resistance

B. To make the evaluated findings of such a constructive cooperative community program available to local and state education officials and all other persons responsible for or concerned with desegregation of public schools.

III Proposed Community Action Research

A. Overall policy

1. Action aspect of the program to be controlled by an experienced agency or agencies.

2. Research aspect of the study to be controlled and coordinated with action program by committee of social scientists who have worked in this field.

a. Composed of social scientists of northern and southern universities.

b. To guide and advise action research teams, to interpret findings and make widely applicable recommendations, pointing up not only practical but also significance for social theory and development of the behavioral sciences.

B. Selection of Communities

1. To select two communities where action research projects will be conducted at the invitation of local groups.

2. At least in the initial stages of research the selection of these communities should be determined by their applicability to other communities, relative absence of interior mobility bringing about school segregation through residential concentration, attitudes of core community leadership, access to pivotal elements, recent history, continuity of tradition and likelihood of favorable results for both desegregation programs and research findings.

C. Working Action - Research Team

1. Organization

a. A team of five persons will work full-time on each project: two action research workers, one research associate and two research assistants.

b. The two action research workers will be community organization specialists

c University social science faculty members on leave are visualized as serving as associates.

2. Functions

a. Action research persons

1. To stimulate and guide development of an indigenous local program which enlists participation of all appropriate community agencies and individuals and where necessary or feasible to participate in such community programs.

b. Research Associate and Assistants

1. To study the communities intensively, gathering data on existing patterns and their modification during social change in action. The primary function of these workers is to study and evaluate the activities of the action workers and to determine the factors responsible for the effectiveness of ineffectiveness of a given program. They should not become involved in the actual community processes.

3. Coordination

a. Data collected will be made freely available to action research during the study, but the evaluating personnel shall not have any functional responsibilities for implementation of the action program nor will the program workers be concerned with measurement or analytic factors seeking applicability to situations elsewhere.

D. Availability of Evaluated Material

1. Immediate Availability

a. Insofar as the research material lends itself to immediate evaluation, it will be analyzed and interpreted by a research coordinator and the committee of social scientists. It will then be placed in the hands of communication specialists for effective transmission to the general public.

b. This can then be made available to groups in other areas seeking orderly desegregation

2. General Publication

a. Following completion of field program and evaluation of research associates, material will be made available in a form for the general public and also published for use by students in the behavioral sciences.

Edward Suchman
Dept. of Sociology
Cornell University

HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH: SOME SELECTED ASPECTS

FOR DISCUSSION

I. What do behavioral scientists have to offer?

1. Existing "scientific" knowledge drawn from sociology and anthropology (social change, social control, community action, intergroup relations, etc.); general and social psychology (perception, motivation, learning; communication, public opinion, propaganda) and political science (pressure groups, legislative action, law enforcement).

It is proposed that a careful compilation be made from the above fields bringing together specific plans and propositions applicable to the problem of desegregation.

2. Principles of social action. The main methods today consist of: education, exhortation, negotiation, participation, contention The relative advantages and disadvantages of these different methods require careful evaluation.

3. Specific findings on desegregation.

A. Process of desegregation

1. Acceptance usually follows legal sanctions
2. Anticipated conflict seldom materializes
3. Relatively slight effects on non-school integration
4. Importance of "gatekeepers" in establishing acceptance
5. Unevenness and gradual acceptance
6. Resolution of conflict as learning process

B. Factors affecting desegregation

1. Current state of integration
2. Previous experiences with integration
3. Active leadership
4. Organized opposition
5. Public opinion and attitudes

4. Policy and procedures with specific suggestions for implementation

a. Support of leaders (Governors Conference, Citizens' Committees, official advisory committees)
b. Minority participation
c. Support of national organizations and local affiliates
d. Aid to local law enforcement (training sessions, policy information)
e. Preparation of material aids (bulletins, discussion pamphlets, case studies and conferences)
f. Clear and firm policy announcement
g. Commitment of community officials and leaders

h. Joint planning and discussion
i. Anticipation of trouble and setting up of procedures for meeting trouble
j. Identification of opposition and plans to counteract
k. Good communication between majority and minority

The above findings are suggested by existing data but require more detailed documentation.

B. Skills of Behavioral Scientists

1. Leadership skills

a. In community organization
b. In group discussion
c. Intergroup workshops

2. Professional skills

a. Compilation of existing knowledge
b. Research for new knowledge
c. Evaluation of ongoing programs

. . . . . .

II. What research opportunities are presented?

1. Research on intergroup interaction (analysis of factors determining interaction between majority and minority members and the relationship of such interaction to prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behavior.

2. Research on success and failure in desegregation (comparison of relative success of various types of desegregation -- immediate vs. gradual, voluntary vs. involuntary, planned vs. unplanned, partial vs. total, segmental vs. general, passive vs. active -- and the factors determining such success.

3. Research on social change through legislation. Analysis of pressure group activities, court cases.

4. Studies of community organization. Community self surveys and audits, collection and analysis of community records.

5. Analysis of propaganda, communication and public opinion - the role of the mass media. Forms of propaganda and effectiveness of opposition.

6. Personality studies of both majority and minority group members

7. Analysis of conflict situations

8. Experimental studies of various methods of integration

9. Research on effectiveness of principles of desegregation

10. Evaluation of training procedures for intergroup workers

The above research would be carried out by means of community observation and record collection, cross-sectional surveys, and experimental studies.

. . . . . .

III. How should the program be carried out?

The following organizations would seem the most probable vehicles for carrying out this program:

1. Existing intergroup organizations, i.e., Southern Regional Council, NAIRO
2. Existing community leaders and groups, i.e., Citizens' Committees, clergy, YWCA officials, school teachers.
3. Existing university facilities - both for compilation of materials and new research

In addition to the above existing groups it might be wise to set up regional and national agencies to act as central clearing houses for information, exchange of materials, professional advice, etc.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

RECEIVED
11/5/54
Southern Regional Council

November 3, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This is to acknowledge your application of October 28 for a grant of $10,000 to strengthen the work of the Southern Regional Council in connection with foreign students and visitors.

I can assure you that your statement will be studied with considerable interest. If we need any additional information, we will be in touch with you in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

Melvin J. Fox

Melvin J. Fox
Executive Associate
International Programs

January 25, 1955

Mr. Melvin J. Fox
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Fox:

Many thanks for writing January 18th.

I don't know just what function universities and colleges in the North and West perform as to foreign visitors. It is a delicate thing to describe, but true that within segregation a University is a University manqué. And it is partly because of the limitations imposed by these still pervasive arrangements that the Southern Regional Council has grown this bump of itself which services the foreign visitors. The academic institutions in the Atlanta area show every courtesy that is available within segregation (and occasionally some that aren't!), but there must be something special which the visitors get here, because instructed by some grapevine they come pretty uniformly to our door.

There is close but informal linkage between ourselves and Emory and Agnes Scott and Oglethorpe and Atlanta University and Gammon Seminary and Morris Brown College. People from most of them serve on our Executive Committee, and the President of Atlanta University (Mr. Clement) is also Chairman of our Executive Committee. Frequently we finger out the right faculty person for a visitor to talk with; frequently also they suggest that persons come down to us for more information.

Atlanta's a kind of capital city for the whole Southeast, with government and business and labor and the churches and all sorts of organisations centered in it. So travellers with limited funds and time usually do get here. And they come to find out about the South, as a whole. Fortunately, we can give them the picture for the thirteen states. We keep good files on health and housing and employment and population and agriculture and industry and governmental participation, and we are up to the minute on the pressing matter of the schools. There simply isn't a faculty (with the probable exception of the University of North Carolina) that could muster equivalent facts. And much of what we have we have put into handy print, which visiting article-writers grab for!

There is also the point that in this Council office we all work together, white and Negro, professional staff and clerks, in a convincing demonstration that integration can work even in the lower South.

Your thoughtful foreign visitor looks for facts in the minds of judicious people, unprejudiced by the local institutional arrangements. In Atlanta, and to some extent for the whole South, he's apt to try to get it by coming to see us. It's a welcome part of our job, but expensive in time and effort, and if the Ford Foundation will help us on it we will be mighty grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: KS

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

File

January 24, 1955

GSM--

Re Fox's letter on our foreign visitors' application, our case might be stated, in part, thusly:

The educational institutions in ~~and around Atlanta~~ Georgia are, of course, segregated, a fact which handicaps them in introducing foreign visitors to the bi-racial aspects of our society. Publicly supported institutions are further limited, in this respect, by the ~~segregation~~ state policy of racial segregation. Most of these institutions, we believe, limit their informational services to their own areas of operation and do not undertake to interpret the complex and controversial field of race relations. The SRC, in both its structure and activities, is fitted to provide this essential background. It is not uncommon for faculty members of the ~~white supported~~ "white" institutions to refer foreign visitors to the Council for this reason.

The privately supported Negro institutions -- Atlanta University and its constituent colleges -- work closely and reciprocally with the Council in providing hospitality and information for foreign guests. Dr. Rufus E. Clement, who is president of Atlanta University and chairman of the Council's executive committee, is an important link in this relationship. As in the case of the other institutions, Atlanta University is equipped to inform visitors of the educational fields in which it is active. The Southern Regional Council's personnel, files, and materials are looked to as

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

resources for a more inclusive view of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Southern society.

The same analysis holds true generally for the relationship between SRC's services to foreign visitors and those available at colleges and universities elsewhere in the region. These institutions are equipped mainly to provide information and interpretation within the field of education; the Council is equipped to provide information and the names of useful sources throughout the region in many other fields, and most particularly in the broad area of human relations.

The Council's usefulness in this respect is enhanced by ~~xxx xxxxxxxxxxx~~ the location of its central office. Atlanta is a ~~xxx~~ "regional ~~xx~~ capital" of government, finance, industry, and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ private organizational activity in the Southeast. Consequently it attracts a disproportionate number of visitors whose time and resources for travel are limited. Since no educational institution in or near Atlanta can provide region-wide interpretation, the Council's services are uniquely useful.

Brownell Ellett

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

JAN 20 1955

January 18, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This is belatedly to tell you how sorry I was to miss you when you stopped in at the office in December, and to advise you that your application for a small grant to assist the Southern Regional Council in its work with foreign visitors is still under active consideration. I hope that it will be possible in the near future to give you definite word on your proposal.

One of the questions that interests me in connection with your proposal is the relation of the Council's hospitality and informational activities to similar programs that are being carried out by universities and colleges in the Atlanta area, or in the Southern region in general. Any comments that you can briefly make on this question would be of considerable assistance in considering your proposal.

Sincerely yours,

Melvin J. Fox

Melvin J. Fox
Executive Associate
International Programs

April 5, 1955

Mr. Melvin J. Fox
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Fox:

I expect to be in New York Friday, April 15th.

Could I come to see you, and if so, when?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

June 10, 1955

Mr. Melvin J. Fox
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Fox:

I have talked some with Frank Loescher, who was here recently and will be back in Atlanta in a few days time. Also Harold Fleming of our office has talked at length with Carson Pritchard as was suggested by you the last time I was in New York. We are arranging a preliminary gathering of Atlanta persons interested in foreign visitors and students, to occur tentatively June 22nd. In that meeting we will canvass the group for views as to further steps which should be taken, and I will write you again thereafter.

Meanwhile, I am applying to the Woodruff Foundation in Atlanta for $5,000 to relieve the pressure on the Southern Regional Council, arising from the commitment of staff time inevitably involved in our briefing of the flow of foreign visitors which continues unabated -- and always with welcome. It would be some departure for the Woodruff Foundation to make this grant, and I wish to keep alive in your files the possibility of help of that nature to the Southern Regional Council directly from the Ford Foundation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: KS
Mr. Loescher

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

June 17, 1955

JUN 20 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I was glad to have your note of June 10 and to learn that you have been having such active discussions regarding the general foreign student and visitor problems in your area.

Frank Loescher called the other day to report his conversations with you and your tentative plan to convene a meeting of interested people in the near future. I trust that Frank has passed along to you several suggestions I made to him about possible participants in such a discussion. I will be most interested to learn how your meeting comes out.

Sincerely,

Melvin J. Fox
(ss)

Melvin J. Fox
Executive Associate
International Programs

Foundation
Fund

December 27, 1955

Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Man unknown wrote a pleasant letter. Have sent copy to F of R.

(Letters to the Editor)
Atlanta Journal and Constitution
December 26, 1955

'Ford Foundation Has Politicians Envious'

Recently I read where the hospitals and the private schools of the State of Georgia were presented with almost five million dollars by the Ford Foundation. Before that I had read the mouthings of some out-of-office politicians and their parrot chorus damning the same foundation for giving a relatively small sum to an organization, non-radical in nature, devoted to research in interracial problems. This made the foundation "Communist" and "Red" in the eyes of these extremists.

Well, now it has been made clear to me.

The answer is obvious.

When a shyster politician, used to grafting and cutting himself in on the public monies, comes across a large amount of money in a foundation and realizes he cannot graft, steal, appropriate, or take any of it for his

own profit, it becomes almost more than he can stand.

So they get red in the face, come near to apoplexy, and smear all they can. Imagine money being used honestly and for the public welfare without the slimy hands of politicians getting a nickel of it!

Paul Dumascus

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Foundation Fund

COPY

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

December 30, 1955

DYKE BROWN
Vice President

Dear Mr. Spalding:

Your telegram of December 15th addressed to Mr. Henry Ford, II has been referred to me.

We appreciate your interest in the Foundation's Hospital Program. The purpose of the program is to assist voluntary nonprofit hospitals in the United States and its territories to improve and extend their services in their communities.

In order to be considered for a grant under the hospital program, the organization must be an operating voluntary (non-governmental) hospital accepted for listing as a nonprofit hospital by the American Hospital Association in its 1955 Administrators Guide, or have an application for such listing on file with the Association by December 12, 1955 and accepted by the Association on or before March 15, 1956.

Although the Grady Memorial Hospital with which you are associated is recorded as a governmental institution and therefore not eligible for a grant, it is possible that the Hughes Spalding Pavilion is a separate organization which might be eligible under the hospital program. In order that we may give consideration to this matter, would you kindly advise us whether the Pavilion is a separate corporate entity and whether the governing authority of the Pavilion is different from that of the Hospital. We would like to have the corporate names of each owning or operating entity and a description of the arrangements under which the two organizations exist and operate. Would you please send a copy of your letter to the American Hospital Association, 18 East Division Street, Chicago 10, Illinois. Upon receipt of this information we will be glad to give consideration to the eligibility of the Pavilion for participation in the program.

Sincerely,

(Signed) DYKE BROWN

1/6/56-Copies to:
Mr. Frank Wilson
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Dr. Hugh Wood
Dr. John M. Howard
Dr. Eugene B. Ferris

C
O Telegram
P
Y

December 15, 1955

To: Mr. H. Rowan Gaither, Jr., President
Mr. Henry Ford II, Chairman - Board of Trustees
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Our community is grateful for the assistance to colleges, medical schools and hospitals recently announced. We believe, however, that the following information about prevailing medical needs in Atlanta is relevant to the goals which the Ford Foundation hopes to achieve. We, therefore, take the liberty of urging your consideration of the following facts.

There is in Atlanta only one non-profit general hospital accredited by the American Medical Association which receives Negro patients for hospital care and admits Negro doctors to its staff. This institution is the Hughes Spalding Pavilion of Grady Memorial Hospital. It is a 125 bed general hospital built with Hill-Burton assistance which began operations in 1952 as a separate unit of the tax-supported Grady Hospital. It was created in order to provide hospital care for the non-indigent Negro population of Atlanta and to afford graduate and post-graduate training opportunities for Negro physicians and auxiliary medical personnel. The service reports of Spalding Pavilion are included as a part of the report of Grady Memorial Hospital to the American Hospital Association. Plans for a teaching program are in process of formulation under the direction of Emory University's Medical School. We respectfully urge that Hughes Spalding Pavilion be given consideration by the Ford Foundation in order to implement the development of this teaching program. None of the voluntary general hospitals in Atlanta which were listed as recipients of Grants to "help improve and extend service" admit Negro patients for hospital care, accept Negro doctors on their staffs, nor admit Negro doctors, nurses and other auxiliary personnel to the training opportunities conducted by these hospitals.

We believe that the Foundation hopes to further the improvement of medical care for all segments of the population and is not fully aware of the conditions prevailing in this community. Funds granted to assist in the development of a graduate and post-graduate teaching program at Spalding Pavilion will improve the provisions for hospital and medical care for 165,000 Negroes in Metropolitan Atlanta.

Signed:

Hughes Spalding, Chairman
Board of Trustees
Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority

Fred L. Cannon, Chairman
Advisory Board of Trustees
Hughes Spalding Pavilion

Alfred A. Weinstein, M. D.
President - Medical Staff
Hughes Spalding Pavilion
President - Foundation for the
Advancement of Med. and Nursing Ed., Inc.

Albert M. Davis, M. D., Pres.
Atlanta Medical Association

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

September 13, '56

Mr. John Howard, Ford Foundation, New York, called GSM this afternoon. Wanted to get in touch with GSM before week was over. EAB ~~finally~~ reached GSM at home 9/14/56 and did give message.

Howard: Telephone #PLaza 1-2900

September 24, 1956

Mr. John B. Howard
Director
International Training and Research
Program
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Howard:

That is right, and I will show at 11:00 a.m. Friday, October 5th, at your office.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

RECEIVED SEP 24 1956

September 21, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will confirm our telephone conversation concerning your visit to the Foundation on Friday, October 5th, from 11 o'clock through lunch. A number of us look forward to the talk with you and I very much appreciate your taking time to give us the benefit of your knowledge.

Sincerely yours,

John B. Howard
Director, International Training
and Research Program

October 19, 1956

Mr. Don K. Price
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Price:

Hi!

You said they had some sort of office in New York. I figured that meant a telephone. I'm adept at hunting down things Highland in lists, and it was easy to find the outfit. Turned out to be an apartment house, but the doorman brightened when I said "Scotch guy," and told me where. Most pleasant lady, and I'll go back next time I'm there, and meet hon. head person.

Had a good time at the luncheon, and thank you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

DON K. PRICE
VICE PRESIDENT

October 8, 1956

RECEIVED OCT 10 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

By the time our filing system had been able to straignten out my faulty memory, and we reached the Highland Fund to ask them to send you some of their materials, they reported that you had already carried away practically their whole shop.

I don't know whether you got notice of their name and address from this office by extra-sensory perception, or found out about them through some more routine channel, but they insisted that it was undoubtedly you who had just visited them so I have not burdened you with any further papers.

It was good to see you last week and John Howard and I want to thank you for taking time to help us.

Yours sincerely,

Don K. Price

Don K. Price

EDUCATING THE CULTURALLY DEPRIVED

Henry Saltzman

(Text of talk: Citizens Committee for Public Education in Philadelphia - Philadelphia - April 22, 1961)

It seems appropriate, at the outset, to state that many public schools in our great cities face a set of problems which, obviously, they had no part in creating. Rather they are heirs to a difficult legacy thrust upon them by the sweep of vast and complex forces.

For the sake of a broader perspective from which to view the problem of educating those "culturally deprived" we need to recognize the inter-relatedness of four historical facts:

1. the end of mass foreign migration to the United States,
2. the revolution in agricultural and mining technology,
3. the effect of World War II on the redistribution of the labor force,
4. the baby boom.

When the McCarran-Walters Immigration Act put out the light beside our "golden shore", the major foreign sources of cheap, unskilled labor were effectively dried up. With our railroads built, the major consumers of these unskilled workers were in the cities.

At the same time, farm and mining machinery were rapidly displacing millions of rural workers, creating a vast pool of under-utilized manpower. "The Grapes of Wrath" of Steinbeck is eloquent in depicting the desperate plight of some of these American D.P.'s.

The full significance of these two developments was not really to be felt until World War II and the gigantic labor demand it created. Like a whirlpool, the war effort sucked millions from the rural areas into its vortex - our great cities. Once begun, the stream of in-migrants grew to a flood and is continuing today - although a new trend seems to be developing in terms of increased movement into smaller cities.

Once in our cities, the migrants have displayed a willingness to follow still another important trend - the explosion of their numbers through reproduction. In fact, they seem to be outstripping, in this regard at least, the suburban middle classes who have not at all been laggard.

Thus, the Negroes from the deep South, the Ozark and Southern Appalachian White, The Mexicans, the American Indians from the reservations and the Puerto Ricans are now with us in the cities and we must address ourselves to the difficult and expensive task of making their children educated, productive, and fully participating citizens in American society.

This is the most challenging educational frontier we face. For only by its achievement, can we remain true to the ideals for which, I believe, this country stands.

Before we talk about ways educators and citizens can attack this monumental problem, we should understand the effects we observe in schools which serve deprived populations:

1. A staggering number of pupils seriously below grade levels in reading and arithmetic.

This can be observed in the kindergarten and 1st grades of these schools. Many deprived children are unable to express themselves orally. Many cannot listen attentively and in a sustained manner. Large numbers have poor motor co-ordination. These are not the result of genetic inheritance - these are the by-products of pre-school environments that are stimulus poor. Poverty, resulting from the parental lack of formal education and job skills and the crushing discrimination in both industry and labor, is omnipresent in the neighborhoods around these schools, and so these homes cannot provide the rich environment children need to develop their listening, speaking, manipulative, and conceptual skills.

2. A large number of pupils suffering from remediable physical and emotional disabilities.

Many of these parents, even those who have been urban residents for a long time but urban residents of a ghetto, do not know of or use many resources available to them and their children.

3. Many discipline problems.

Physical and emotional handicaps certainly play a part in much of the aggressive behavior which can be observed in these schools. But poor housing, excessive population densities, inadequate recreational and cultural facilities also are causes.

4. Very high drop-out rates.

It is tragic to note that in many deprived areas, the high school drop-out rate will go as high as 75%. Last June, we graduated a class of seniors at a high school in the all Negro Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood in Brooklyn. We worked with them for three years, beginning with them when they were sophomores. At graduation there were 234 seniors - we started with 750 sophomores. In terms of lost talent as well as shrinking employment opportunities for the unskilled, this situation is fraught with danger.

5. Low aspirations and poor motivation.

No single factor can account for these two well known characteristics of deprived children. Again, this is not a genetic inheritance - rather it represents an assimilation by the child of a neighborhood ethos of despair, resignation, and guilt.

6. High levels of pupil transiency.

Educators tear their hair over the high turnover of pupils in these schools. It is possible to identify some urban schools with a turnover rate of over 100%. This means that in June not a single child who started in September remained in the building.

7. Problems of teachers' morale and quality.

These are tough schools even for an experienced teacher. Imagine the plight of the inexperienced teacher emerging from a teacher training institution who has not had a course in reading, in urban sociology,

in the economics of slums, in cultural anthropology, in urban politics. This teacher comes expecting to teach primarily the way she was taught.

As a result, we find many requesting transfers, many substitute or inexperienced teachers, or older teachers who may be simply marking time. It is always astonishing to me that I discover as many talented, creative and dedicated people as I do working in these rocky fields.

8. We often find school relations with the parents of the community rather distant or sometimes, even hostile.

The uneducated and poverty stricken often fear authority and prefer to stay away. Often they feel rejected by the better spoken, better dressed and very busy teacher or principal. Too often the point of school-parent contact occurs at a time of crisis for the child with the school in a punitive role. It is fair to say, that the deprived school which has effectively mobilized the support of its parents and developed active and open channels of communication with them is a rarity.

9. A shortage of the materials of learning.

As I visit the schools which are participants in the Great Cities program, it becomes immediately obvious that we are short-changing by inadequate supplies of suitable books and related learning materials, those children who, as we have already said, most need stimulation, enrichment, and wide reading experiences. On the other hand, if you visit schools where the reading levels are far above grade levels, you will find well-stocked school and classroom libraries. True, some of this abundance may be the result of a well-heeled and/or hard-working P.T.A.,

but what does it mean for our proud belief in equality of opportunity to learn that the principal of the deprived child with a complex of learning and environmental deficiencies is given the same amount of money to spend on materials as the principal in an upper or middle class school.

I have ranged very quickly and superficially over this catalogue of characteristics of urban depressed areas schools - the slum or gray area schools. I hope that the discussion will fill in some of the gaps I have left. Permit me now to indicate in so rapid a way as possible directions in which we need to move to make better use of our schools in the effort to more effectively educate these children.

1. We - citizens and educators - need to work for a vast expansion of pre-school day care facilities which will function as pre-school schools. By placing great emphasis on building listening, speaking, seeing, motor and conceptual skills, I believe we can make significant in-roads into the language lag so observable among the young.

2. Teacher training institutions, especially urban universities, should be brought increasingly under public pressure to concentrate on producing teachers who are skilled in the teaching of reading and the language arts and who have a liberal inter-departmental course of study which will make them knowledgeable about the forces which create the problems they will face in the classrooms. These institutions should be prodded also to collaborate much more closely with the urban school and

other social agencies to provide a greatly expanded internship for future teachers which will position them in addition to schools, in recreation centers, family service agencies, welfare departments, and the juvenile courts. In this way, we can compensate somewhat for the very different social and cultural backgrounds of teachers vis a vis their future pupils.

3. We must recognize that while there is one Board of Education there are two communities of schools in the cities. I have attempted to describe the "gray area" community. It is clear that these schools must operate with a different set of priorities because they have different organizational and financial needs. An attempt must be made to decentralize educational decision making in an effort to free up the professionals (teachers and administrators) - who know intimately their problems - to plan more effectively.

4. The physical, social and educational problems of these areas are closely related. We cannot continue to approach these problems in a piecemeal fashion. Ways must be found to break down agency barriers which lead to the diffusion, fractionalization, overlapping, and waste which is so characteristic of the efforts to improve the quality of life in these neighborhoods. This is a public responsibility. We have master physical plans for many of our cities. What we are lacking is a master social plan - looking at human problems - which will shape and interlock with the bricks and mortar effort of the city planners.

5. Because the school is so central to the lives of these children, it is important that early contacts with it be successful ones. This is critically important when we deal with children who have ample reinforcement in their homes, streets, and from society at large of the concept of their inferiority.

Thus we must find ways to insure a successful primary experience at the same time recognizing the built-in lag with which these children come to school. Many school systems are experimenting with maturity groupings, an intermediate grade between kindergarten and 1st grade, and the ungraded primary organization. We need further experimentation in this direction.

6. Much of the rich cultural life of a city is closed to these children by their poverty and by ghetto-ized patterns of movement and thought. We need to encourage much more cultural enrichment activity in the schools to help unblock limited aspirations, broaden experiential backgrounds, and give children a chance to make contact with the variety and wealth of our heritages in art, music, and history.

7. Every school needs the co-operation of the parent. In the slum school, this is doubly important not only because of the greater incidence of problems with children, but because parental attitudes can effectively negate the work of the school. If we can make the slum community aware that the school is an institution that cares and which translates that concern into effective and conspicuous programs that reach out

beyond the classroom, we will go far to binding the parent to the school and its aspirations for the child. Here in Philadelphia, an interesting effort is being made in this regard which Mr. Horowitz will describe in his talk.

8. Educational lags, deprived experiential backgrounds, poor neighborhood attitudes and aspirations, poor local facilities for cultural and recreational experiences, combine and make it imperative that we consider use of our school buildings for much longer periods of time than ever before. The community school - offering widely diversified activities for children and adults - open until late at night, summers and weekends is, as yet, not common in our cities. It is folly to plug away for six hours and twenty minutes of education and then turn kids out to six to eight hours of influence by a host of forces which push a different way. Citizens can do much to accelerate this expanded use of our school buildings by working with their school administration.

9. Many agencies work in these deprived areas. None has the resources of the public school but all have some measure of skill, training, experience and money which make them useful allies. We, in the schools cannot go it alone - nor can our co-workers in the social work and health fields. Together, we can develop effective programs which will minimize waste of money and time and maximize the effective utilization of staff talent. Citizens of a great city have the right to know

whether such inter-agency liaisons have developed or are developing. They have a right to question why we are not more advanced in our patterns of co-operation.

10. The end of a teacher's education and training does not come with his or her diploma. The schools have a continuing obligation to look to the in-service training of their teachers. In the depressed areas, these courses and workshops need to be expanded because the problems are so many and the preparedness so poor. The in-service program is critically important for the young teacher who will begin in a slum school (so many do), but it is also needed by the experienced teacher who tends to become hard-shelled about her pupils. Moreoever, these programs should not be limited to the techniques of teaching but should include the socio-economic-political aspects of urban affairs. Nor should the staffs of such programs be taken exclusively from within our professional ranks. No school system has a monopoly of talent and genius. We need to bring into our programs the best minds available to give to the teachers the best and broadest exposure to ideas as well as to techniques. Teachers are not only technicians - they are people whose attitudes and perceptions subtly affect the process of education. We must look to these attitudes if we are to broadly improve education in the slum schools.

NEEDED COMMUNITY RESOURCES

FOR OUT OF SCHOOL YOUTH

Henry Saltzman

(Text of Talk - Regional Conference of State Committees on Children and Youth - Chicago - April 25, 1961)

It is a hard assignment to talk about jobs for youth when over 7% of our adult labor force, on a seasonally adjusted basis, no less, are out of work.

It is disheartening to note that we have had a full employment economy, the ultimate solution, only during our major wars.

And, to add one more sour note, it is discouraging to observe how under-represented meetings such as these are by the policy makers of industry and labor. We of the various fields of social work are, as usual, left with the task of figuring out how to pick up the pieces left behind by the sweep of vast economic and social forces. It is unfortunate, in a way, that we are so eager to do this for we have kept the national dialogue on the subject of youth employment limited to social workers. If we are ever to move ahead at the time of greatest need rather than afterwards, we must strive to encourage this dialogue within labor, within management, and, inevitably, between them.

Before I speak directly to the subject of those children already out of school, I wish first to stress that there are more potential drop-outs than actual school leavers. And these potential drop-outs are stra-

tegically located in our public schools where we have our best chance to help them. So I must plead that while we address ourselves to the needs of the 16 - 21 year olds who stand on the street corners of America, we must not lose sight of the need to work as vigorously, if not more vigorously, for the millions seated uneasily behind the desks in our schools who will join the street corner society unless we intervene effectively.

There are nine specific program possibilities which I will briefly describe for your consideration.

Before doing this, we should consider some general criteria which could be applied to <u>any</u> effort to assist the drop-outs.

First, the net effect of such a program should be to educate: (1) by adding to the worker's inventory of job-related skills applicable to the labor market he must eventually enter, (2) by improving the worker's living adjustment through adequate and sustained guidance, and (3) by improving the power of the individual in the basic communication skills of reading, writing, arithmetic, and speech.

Secondly, so far as possible, the young worker should be kept as close as possible to the setting in which the channels of opportunity for unsheltered work exist.

Third, the planning of such programs should not be done by social workers alone, but should involve major commitments of time and brains from labor, management, and governmental groups.

Fourth, that the dollars and energies which will be put into these programs for the drop-out be surpassed by the dollars and energies put into the prevention of drop-outs.

Fifth, that access to educational institutions and programs of the community be kept open for all ages encompassed by the work program.

Sixth, that the work young people are involved in doing be meaningful in terms of the community's needs, or in terms of a useful product, or in terms of opening up real future career opportunities.

Seventh, I wish to make a special plea that, while all ethnic and racial groups are represented in the drop-out population, we must realistically consider the particular needs of the young Negro male for status, self-esteem, and security.

Program Possibilities for the Drop-out

I. There is clearly needed some legal machinery by which a continuing relationship can be maintained between the drop-out and a source of individual and vocational counseling.

It is a paradox to note that while there has been a substantial growth in the public school counseling program, as yet no serious effort has been made to reach out beyond the in-school pupil. While it is true that there exist job counseling services in the community, (settlement houses, state employment services, vocational rehabilitation centers, etc.) all too often the services must be applied for and often will not result in a long term continuing relationship, and is rendered by persons unknown to the youth.

Therefore, it seems to me that we should examine the possibility of effecting legislation enabling the public schools to extend the guidance service to the drop-out. This would be desirable for several reasons:

1. the guidance setting would be a familiar one - the local school building,
2. many faces and relationships already familiar to the youngster are capitalized on,
3. re-entry into an educational program is facilitated,
4. much data as well as insights derived from "face to face" contact can be tapped,
5. a more realistic and sympathetic counseling program can be carried on by those long familiar with the neighborhood, its people, and its problems,
6. primary and peer relationships are more easily identifiable for purposes of group counseling as well as generating more supportive home environment.

Just such an effort is being tried right now as part of the Chicago Board of Education's Great Cities School Improvement Program. A central staff consisting of a vocational counselor, a community school coordinator, and a youth activities director are involved in (1) taking a census in District 11 of out-of-school unemployed youth, (2) setting up counseling stations in community centers, churches, settlement houses, and schools, (3) involving 16 - 21 year old drop-outs in group and individual counseling programs,

and (4) establishing a low order job-skill training program operating after school at the Dunbar High School.

This is a voluntary program. I believe we should put such programs under the schools' jurisdiction and mandate continuing participation as the quid pro quo for the youths who will receive guidance, skill training, and placement services.

Also, there is accumulating evidence in the experience of the New York City Youth Board and the Henry Horner Boys Club Detached Worker project that street workers who can identify and relate well with alienated out-of-school youth can be an important resource in the involvement of these young men in work, educational, and counseling programs. It may well be useful to explore the possibilities for using such detached workers as an arm of a youth employment service.

The job upgrading program in Detroit is another example of a school system's effort to work with youngsters who have left school. The drop-out is given a six-weeks course of training in job related skills and those general skills which go into applying and obtaining work. If he successfully completes this course, he is placed for a six-week period in a job station. The wages he receives come from a fund contributed to by the community.

II. <u>To support such an effort, placement services for youth need to be decentralized and brought into the local neighborhood and/or school.</u>

The YES program of the New York State Employment Service is an

interesting example of the use of a local neighborhood base for the counseling and placement of out-of-school young people seeking part-time and full time work.

The New York State Employment Service has, for a long time, maintained a liaison with the high schools of the city. Counseling and placement services are provided in selected schools. Testing services are included. These programs are designed primarily to assist seniors in finding employment, but if the schools' jurisdiction is extended, as described above, then the bringing together of placement and counseling services would be desirable.

In St. Louis, the Metropolitan Youth Commission last year organized a YES with volunteer staff to discover jobs and make placement of youth for summer work.

Another value in such decentralization would be the development of closer working relationships between placement staffs and the educational staffs. This liaison, effectively established, might produce more strategic use of the vocational and commercial training programs which could offer the short-term training many drop-out youngsters so badly need.

III. If counseling and placement services can be effectively extended and decentralized, it becomes imperative, in terms of the emphasis placed on further training and education, to design technical service and commercial training programs and facilities which are easily accessible to the out-of-school youth.

There has been a gratifying and substantial increase over the years in the use of night school programs in the cities and many drop-outs do avail

themselves of these programs. However, most of the subjects offered are related to either the academic or general diploma. This opportunity should be expanded.

But, it will become increasingly necessary, I believe, to find ways of making shop facilities available to the drop-out on both a day and evening basis. Certainly many marginal workers will find jobs which require night work. Therefore, with five or six hours during daylight hours available, facilities need to be open. This may require the development of new buildings which are adequately staffed and equipped or expansion of present facilities.

In addition, in the neighborhoods which show the highest drop-out rates, large numbers of unemployed youth find themselves with little or no meaningful training resources to which they can apply for the up-grading of basic work skills. School facilities are crowded; settlement houses offer some training facilities. But what may be needed is a program of short-term training schools - similar to those which flourished after the war when the G.I.'s were the customers - which would offer a wide range of courses directly connected to realistic work opportunities and which would be supervised closely to insure high quality of instruction and equipment.

I must take this opportunity to offer another pet position which, I believe, deserves close attention.

The growth of two year community colleges has been extraordinary, especially in the East and West. These colleges offer non-academic youths the opportunity to obtain semi-professional and technical training in a wide

variety of fields. In New York, we who are guidance counselors, found the resource to be invaluable in lifting the aspiration of the non-college bound general course student. These facilities need to be expanded greatly and brought within the reach of drop-outs who obtain further education as a part of work programs.

IV. The massive numbers of drop-outs necessitates the establishment of large scale public works programs specifically designed to employ these youths.

Senate bill 404, submitted by Mr. Humphrey, seeks to establish "a Youth Conservation Corps to provide healthful outdoor training and employment for young men and to advance the conservation, development of national resources of timber, soil, and range and of recreational areas."

The necessity for finding work for our drop-outs is so pressing that one cannot but appreciate that this proposed program would, after three years, involve 150,000 youths a year. The bill provides for continuing education and job training and this, too, is gratifying.

I view this legislation, however, as faulty in a number of respects:

1. The largest number of employment opportunities are and will continue to be in and around our great cities. The skills to be learned by urban youth in the conservation program will not be applicable, except generally, in the service trades and industries to which they must ultimately apply.

2. Urban youths must eventually return to their neighborhoods, families, and friends. The removal of these young men from these environ-

mental influences will not help them gain the insights they must develop to insure their ability to cope with situations which may have led to the drop-out in the first place.

3. The rural conservation is a direct concession to labor's justified demand that work for these youths not be competitive with work which can be done by adults. However, these youths cannot remain non-competitive indefinitely. The real question, not addressed at all by the proposal, is "How can urban youth work non-competitively in an urban environment?"

Labor continues to offer only two planks in its drop-out philosophy - more schooling and work camps. We all recognize the necessity for labor leaders to be concerned primarily with the unemployed within their ranks. These unemployed men are the fathers of many of the drop-outs and deserve the highest priority for work. But, there must be recognition that rural conservation work for young men born and bred in urban environments and who will live the bulk of their lives in the city is, at best, a weak substitute for the opportunity to work in the city, close to those channels of opportunity which must open for them eventually. Only in this way can these young men receive the kind of realistic work experience which will enable them to be ready to do well when the chance to enter the labor market occurs.

Work camps will require considerable expense in overhead, staffing, and special services. Many of these special services are already available in the cities. Much of the money which would be spent on facilities might well go toward compensation for youths in urban public works programs

which would be more directly related to the needs of cities and their future opportunities for employment.

Since work in rural areas seems to be inevitable, I would like to call attention to another program possibility.

Several of the city public school systems with which I have been working have become much interested in education camps. In their deprived areas, they see great values to be derived from giving urban school children an opportunity to learn in the setting a camp can provide. Such programs are actively under way in Detroit, Cleveland, Washington, D.C., and Battle Creek, Michigan as well as in many smaller communities.

There are tens of thousands of such camps near our great cities which could be winterized by a corps of young workers and made available to our public school systems for educational purposes. In addition, the workers themselves could use these facilities to improve their own basic skills.

V. Therefore, we need to create urban work programs which educate youth in work skills as well as in the ways of urban living, and which keep close to available job channels.

Dr. Brownell, Superintendent of the Detroit Public Schools, has recently outlined a program in which drop-outs would be assigned as paid apprentices in governmental and social service agencies. Funds for this program would come from monies now being spent on relief or unemployment compensation. Such a program would enable young people to work

under experienced leadership and would give them an opportunity to become exposed to various career possibilities.

Cities today are facing up to the need for massive efforts at reducing physical blight and deterioration. Redevelopment and rehabilitation programs are being accelerated. One of the great stumbling blocks to conservation programs in the great cities has been the expense to the individual homeowner in a deteriorating neighborhood when he contemplates the rehabilitation of his home, In many conservation neighborhoods, the market value of homes is less than the mortgage. This fact is discouraging to the property owner. Consider that unemployment is high in these areas also. Thus, the possibilities for effective control of the spread of blight through voluntary conservation efforts are slight.

The possibilities for establishing a Housing Conservation Corps of school leavers should be considered. If the labor of these young people, under supervision, could be mobilized to assist in our urban rehabilitation programs we might materially reduce deterioration.

I was glad to observe that the Perkins Bill mentions the need to "include socially desirable urban projects to check the deterioration of cities and metropolitan areas and the youth living therein".

The deterioation of the human beings caught in these areas is costly to society both in dollars as well as in unrealized potential. The redevelopment costs are astronomical. By strategically employing youth in our urban renewal effort, we may do much to reduce these costs at the same

time giving young people a real opportunity to be of service, learn a useful building trade, and earn money which might otherwise come to them as relief or as an unemployment check.

VI. The productive potential of the drop-out group can serve as a useful adjunct to the Peace Corps.

America is about to send a group of able and well-trained young people to work on projects necessary to the growth of underdeveloped countries. These men and women will be in a strategic position to assess the needs of the indigenous population with whom they will work in regard to implements and equipment. They will be able to pinpoint both the materials needed as well as the people who need them.

I would like to propose that feed back of this information be facilitated and that the production of such materials be made the central purpose of sheltered workshops manned by drop-outs. In this way, our young workers can have experience in an industrial setting and, at the same time, become a part of one of America's more exciting and idealistic efforts. Prison work programs and sheltered workshops for the handicapped are precedents which might be cited.

VII. Apprenticeship programs should be broadly expanded to the service trades and to new industries.

Many apprenticeship opportunities are closed to youngsters who leave school early. And yet, these are the youngsters who desperately need early and sustained job contact for many drop-outs can learn to work efficiently

only by the experience of trial and error. Classroom activities are precisely the kind with which these ex-pupils were unable to cope successfully.

Perhaps it would be possible, in co-operation with industry and labor, to identify broad categories of apprenticeship and to set minimal standards applicable to the drop-out. Administration of this program might be best served under a civil service program for out-of-school youth in order to insure first, the survival of these positions, and second, a satisfactory rate of pay.

In this regard, I should mention an interesting program which the Ford Foundation may assist in New York City. The Personnel Department of the City in collaboration with the Manpower Utilization Council has identified several hundred positions which are increasingly hard to fill. The City has decided to assign these positions to the public schools to fill. Students will be selected from those, who, on the basis of criteria to be determined, are judged to be potential drop-outs but who have average or slightly below average ability.

The resources of the Civil Service Commission should not be overlooked in the search for work-related programs for youth.

VIII. Efforts to expand co-operative education programs should be made with an emphasis on reaching out-of-school youth.

Many cities have programs which enable students to work and study. There is much evidence that this arrangement can substantially reduce

drop-outs. However, the jobs selected are usually assigned to the more able vocational and commercial students.

The St. Louis Board of Education's Great Cities School Improvement project has organized a co-operative program for the potential drop-out and is finding a substantial difference in retention between the work group and a control group of similar pupils. Of course, the co-operation of management and labor must be an integral part of such an effort. A positive community attitude must also be established. In Kansas City, a similar effort is about to be started, but will involve junior high school students.

IX. It may be necessary to include, in any large scale employment program for drop-outs, a scholarship incentive plan.

The fact that a boy or girl has dropped out of school does not necessarily mean that he or she will not wish to seek further education at a later time. In fact, experience shows that after a taste of unemployment and further maturation, many young people, even the ones who were most eager to leave school, usually desire to return to some educational institution. Many of these workers are unable to save for educational purposes from their wages.

Small loans or grants administered by the muncipal, state, or federal government for use in obtaining further education should be considered as an adjunct to work programs. The quid pro quo for obtaining such grants should be made clear at the start of the program and high

standards of job performance and reliability should be set. Such scholarships and loans are included as a part of the Perkins Bill.

What I have attempted to do in this presentation is to describe briefly and, I fear, superficially, those ideas which seem to be current among those thinking about this problem in different parts of the country and in different disciplines and agencies. I am sure my public school teaching background is noticeable, too.

To be perverse, may I state, in conclusion, that the basic problem which confronts us is not an employment problem. The frightening statistics which you all know in a sense summon our attention away from the hardest and most demanding question, namely, "In our American society, what is youth's role?"

In the past five decades, what is it that we as a society have asked of youth to which they have made total response and to which we as a nation have moved in total support?

Unhappily, we must admit that it has been the calls to war and blood.

If the values of young people are to be derived less and less from the home, they will more and more be taken from the ethos of the larger society which confronts them in the newpaper, television, and the "face" which society presents to them. A nation which regards its youth as a "resource" for the laboratory, the launching pad, the factory, the work camp or the battlefield is less and less a society in which youth can feel

alive - rather it will become one in which youth will feel manipulated, directed, and "had". The sense that one is a problem to be dealt with in an annoyed, crisply efficient manner will grow.

Our only alternative, it seems to me, is to open up for youth at all ages the opportunity to become actively engaged in the fabric of our society in roles that are actually and symbolically co-equal with those of adults. In other words, an urgently needed community resource is clearer understanding by adults of youth's role.

Slums and Social Work

or

Wishes and the Double Negative

David R. Hunter

"I don't want no Jaguar."

"I ain't got no use for them ivy league clothes."

"Hell, man, who wants to be leanin' on the rail of that boat goin' on some faggy cruise."

"Yeah, man, those things are for them cats who got it made. They ain't for the likes of us. We better adjust our aspirations to our reality expectations so them ads don't bug us so."

Anyone overhearing that dialogue between two Negro boys, idly leafing through the Saturday Evening Post while waiting in the dimly-lit corridor of the juvenile court for their hearing on the theft of a car, would know he'd better make an early appointment with the head shrinker because he was out of touch with reality. Such a dialogue might take place on some earth, but not this one, in 1962.

This earth, and more particularly our own part of it, has the following characteristics (partial list):

.. a social class structure (or continuum if you will).

.. some people having made it, some feeling that they are going to make it, and some knowing they are not.

.. some of our population (more than most people think) having limited access to the success goals established by the dominant value system, while at the same time receiving messages from all sides that failure to achieve these goals is bad. This is where the wishes and the double negative come in. The "limited access" part of our population is the lower class, one of the identification

tags of which is the common use of the double negative. The wishes are the aspirations of the outs to be in and the down to be up, aspirations the frustration of which lead to trouble.

.. recent movements of people which have exacerbated social problems and cast them in high relief. Movement of poor, ill-educated people from rural areas to the city where the first stop is the inner city, replacing the suburban bound upwardly mobile. Thus a piling up of expensive "problems" in the inner city with relatively fewer human and financial resources to cope.

.. strong sub-cultures which have arisen out of conditions of exclusion and alienation and which function both as defense for the occupants and as their prison.

Those two boys epitomize all these things. They are lower class, they use double negatives; their opportunities are blocked because they are Negro, because they are ill-educated, unskilled, poorly motivated; they live and move in a sub-culture that makes them think and act in ways that make it ever more difficult to break out; their sub-culture helps to teach them self-defeating adaptations to the world around them; their parents came to the big city from Alabama ten years ago equipped with third grade education to cope with urban life; their great grandfathers were torn from their families by the slave market, thus establishing the matriarchal family and the weak male figure; they are quite aware of the fact that the chances of their ever "making it" are slim indeed.

These boys, their sisters, and their white, Puerto Rican or Mexican counterparts, set the agenda of social problems in the American city for 1962.

The question is: what does social work have to do with all this?

There is unease abroad about this question. Unease as much within the trade as outside.

All of us find ourselves in frequent conversations where we wonder: where are the Jane Addams', where are the Julia Lathrops? Where is Jacob Riis? Where are the old war horses who had profound concern and understanding for their fellow man in his individuality and uniqueness, but who also saw him in his social, political, and economic context. They saw him in his place in the social hierarchy, pushed ahead or held back by his circumstances, shaped by the powerful forces of his milieu. They saw injustice, inequality, and deprivation writ big and tackled them big.

Somehow today it is hard for us to escape a feeling of powerlessness and ineffectuality. The big things are getting away from us. We seem to be occupying ourselves in the recesses and eddies of the main stream. But we can't push out of our consciousness the awareness that the main stream is racing on out there and threatens to suck in the flotsam.

Our society is different now from Jane Addams' time. Perhaps its complexity is such that there is no possibility of the individual hero and prophet, the fighting reformer. We know more now than Jane Addams knew about human behavior; we are able to be much more scientific about the things we do.

Is it possible that we have been, to a degree, seduced by that knowledge? Is it possible that scientism and professionalism have subtly pushed social work into another ball game in another park?

Is it possible that, in Roy Sorenson's words, social work has become "too much of a technical service, focusing too much on deep-dish therapy, based on borrowed concepts, divorced from the culture in which we live which is doing

more to people than are their psychic maladjustments?"

I think it is.

This attitude is not so heretical. It is shared by many of our colleagues.

It isn't altogether a matter of preoccupation with little goals as against big goals, or with more maleable lumps of clay instead of rocks. It is perhaps fairer to say that what is involved here is the ascription of too great a degree of universality to certain fields of theory, out of which logically has come the attribution of inflated powers to certain methods, and their application in situations or to problems to which they are in fact irrelevant.

It would be fun here today to scold and view with alarm, but I doubt that that would accomplish much beyond unloading some of my own hostilities. Anyway, that's been done before and it really is past that time. Social workers don't need to be scolded on this score. They are the ones asking the questions. It needs no one of any great perception or courage to get on the band wagon and waggle an admonitory finger.

The hard job to be done is the identification of some of the points at which social work seems to be disconnected from the critical forces of our society followed by suggestions of ways in which the connection might be re-established. I will not be so immodest as to claim that my list of suggestions will be exhaustive. Far from it. Illustrative at most.

I suppose at this point I should stress explicitly what has been implicit up to now. That is my own view of what the basic mission of social work is. There may not be universal agreement on this, and it is only fair to make my own frame of reference quite clear.

I believe the mission of social work is twofold: first, to identify, with the help of other disciplines, the faults in our social organization and

machinery which cause some people to be out of kilter and unfulfilled; to mobilize other intellectual disciplines and social institutions to correct these faults; to be interpreter, organizer, promoter, gadfly, facilitator, and leader in this endeavor; and, second, it is to provide specialized skills for direct intervention in the lives of some of the victims of the faults.

Against this definition I would like now to look at some of the areas in which it seems to me social work has some problems.

The problem of the illusion of service.

This is a term I learned from Richard Cloward and says a lot about the lack of connection between many agencies and reality. Some agencies suffer from an illusion of service, others create it to attract support.

One well-known example of this is the claim of many youth-serving agencies to be preventing delinquency without the slightest evidence that this is so. On the contrary a little digging beneath the glossy pages of the fund-raising leaflets usually shows either that the most delinquency exposed youth are not touched by the agency, or that, if they are touched, the touch has little effect on their delinquency. They may use the gym with gusto and then step outside to violate the societal norms.

Another embarrassing example is the family case work agencies which raise money with at least the implication, if not the outright claim, that they are helping the poor. As a generalization this isn't so either. The clientele of the better family case work agencies has gotten less and less poor over the years and more and more middle class. We have paid a lot of verbal attention to the multi-problem families recently, but there has not been a commensurate increase in service to such families by the agencies which are the bearers of the highest professional competence in social work. Far from it.

But now, what to do about it?

At the minimum, every agency has an obligation to examine itself and its clientele to see clearly just what it is doing to whom. This is important from a practical as well as an ethical point of view. There is plenty of evidence around the country of restiveness on the part of givers to voluntary agencies. Might some of this be due to this very problem of illusory claims? This certainly is not the only contributor to the restive condition, but it may well be an important one. Following such an examination, care should be taken to fit the public image to the reality of agency function. This isn't going to be easy to do because some fund raisers will fear that if you do that too honestly you'll lose some contributions.

If, after such examination, the agency sees that it has been victimized by an illusion of service which is not a reflection of reality, and if the agency wishes to change the reality rather than its label and public image, a different kind of exercise is then called for.

In the instance of a case work agency, it will need to work through such questions as: How can we better go to where our untouched, but desired client group is: in the housing project; in the indigenous organization; in the public school; in the places where young and old spend their non-working time; on the street? How must we modify what we do under the label of "case work": what balance is best between providing concrete services and counseling or relationship treatment; how much time is spent with one individual or family; to what degree can the professional case worker work <u>through</u> other less highly trained people; can there be a better discrimination among the elements making up the case work function so that some of the elements can be identified and

performed by less highly trained or even non-professional people; can the client group be more involved in decision making even within the agency and its function?

In the case of a group work agency, it will have to face up to the problem of the baddies and the goodies. Are troublesome youngsters going to be excluded so as not to disrupt the program? Or will the agency which claims to prevent delinquency either stop putting forth the claim or adjust itself drastically to fit into the complex of institutions and systems which must mesh to equip the youngster and provide him with the essential opportunities he needs to become integrated with the larger society?

If such an agency decides to fit itself to its label rather than take the easier course of just changing the label, it will in all likelihood have to undertake a searching analysis of the field within which it is working in order to recast its function. The first step of course is to decide whether or not it should exist. By the very fact of its existence, is it preventing the assumption of what may be essentially a public responsibility by the community? There aren't very many examples of decisions not to exist. One dramatic one occurred in Oakland, California where the settlement houses were deeded to the City Department of Recreation. If the agency decides to exist, but with a different character, it must decide if it's in the right part of town. Demography and urban renewal have left a lot of agency buildings out in left field. Hull House in Chicago has to decide right now what it is and where it's going to go, since everything around it is being wiped out and a university installed.

In city after city institutions and agencies, including churches, have awakened to the fact that they are abandoning the inner city. There are increasing service needs on the periphery and in the suburbs, but does this call for abandonment of the core?

The Problem of Limited Theoretical Horizons.

Although essentially eclectic in its construction of the theoretical foundation for function, social work has been too limited in its field of choice. It has shopped too exclusively at the stores of the psychic sciences and too rarely dropped in at the supermarket to select from the sociology, political science, anthropology, social psychology, and economics shelves. This is changing, but hasn't gone so far that it's not worth saying a little something about it.

This is saying in another way what has been alluded to earlier. Too often the response of social work to symptomatic behavior has been ineffective for two reasons: first, a tendency to focus unduly on the sympton, and, second, to misinterpret what the symptom is a symptom of.

Take unmarried motherhood. This could be regarded, for example, as a means of establishing her womanhood by a girl whose parents have always implicitly denied it. On the other hand, it could be viewed as a reflection of a culture pattern which has been shaped by social and economic forces of the past which shattered stable family structure and weakened the role of the father. The pattern continues since conditions persist in which Negro men have difficulty in achieving a status which will permit them to be a proper head of a family. But sex goes on.

The point here is that unmarried motherhood represents many different things and doesn't always happen for the same reasons. But it happens more often for certain reasons than for others. It should be the responsibility of any group which concerns itself with unmarried motherhood, and this is certainly one of social work's main dishes, to look beyond individual service to the big picture. Who are most of the unmarried mothers? Taking into account the contributions

of all the relevant disciplines, what are the best ideas about what gives rise to unmarried motherhood as a problem for the individual and for society? Conclusions about this being arrived at, what are the strategies for intervening in these processes in ways most likely to pay off in reduction of the problem? What are the best kinds of services which need to be rendered to the immediate victims, yes, but far beyond this, what must be done to prevent the problem, as a problem (if everybody had babies out of wedlock and the state automatically provided for their upkeep, this particular problem wouldn't exist). This is the point at which the creative role of social workers can come in. A number of intellectual disciplines have something to contribute to the analysis of this problem, and can provide hints about strategies of intervention. Social work, on the firing line of direct contact with the problem and responsibility for doing something about it, can do more than it has to exploit these inter-disciplinary insights and draft a battle plan which calls for more relevant kinds of action, not only by social welfare agencies, but also by the schools, by public housing authorities, by employment offices, and many other institutions.

Delinquency is another area in which social work has tended to emasculate its own efforts by taking too narrow a theoretical base for its actions. This, too, is changing, but has far to go. Stated simply, and one is always susceptible to the charge of over-simplification in a paper of this kind, troublesome behavior by youth has been linked too predominantly to individual psychological disturbance presumed to arise from intra-familial tension. Remedial action then has been planned on the basis of that diagnosis. What is missing in the diagnosis, of course, are the influences of peer group, social class values, minority group alienation, concepts of anomie, and relative deprivation, availability of legitimate channels to success, and a few other ideas which will certainly turn your therapeutic stew sour if not taken into account.

The Problem of Social Class and Social Work.

Social work has not done very well about the problem of social class. I don't think it has understood concepts of social class too well in the first place. At least it has not emphasized them very much in its charter and training. This has been a blind spot which has frustrated much sincere effort. The primary victims of this have been case workers who have labored to establish communication, to nurture insight, and to stimulate movement in a lower class family with little success. Casework simply hasn't been very successful with lower class families. The technique apparently requires in the client a readiness to look to intra-personal and intra-familial conditions as sources of difficulty, when lower class culture, or the culture of poverty, says the real devils are fate and luck. "That's the way the cookie crumbles."

For our purposes it is not necessary to be very precise about how many classes there are, or whether it is really a continuum. It is sufficient for us here to recognize class differences and the fact that membership in society at one level or another substantially affects your life chances; that there are indicators, such as speech patterns, of what class you belong in; that different classes have different ways of looking at things, and that it is very difficult really to communicate across class lines.

This being so, what can social work, manned by middle class people, do about it in terms of its own mission?

For one thing, social work training and agency practice must pay more attention to class and culture: what they are; what they mean in terms of values; how people in different class and culture spheres look at things differently; what this means in terms of differential response to social work techniques which have been developed perhaps too "culture free." We wish IQ tests could be more culture free; not so social work techniques.

Another thing that social work can do is consciously recruit its army from more than just the "middle class." Recruit some soldiers from the classes which produce most of the social problems. This will mean some redefinition of social work functions, some adjustment of job descriptions, and the invention of some new functions. I will have more to say on this further on. Suffice it to emphasize here the importance of the social work mission being carried out by a multi-class army.

The Problem of Professionalism and Training.

This is a very touchy subject. Anyone who ventures to say anything other than "we need more professionally trained social workers" is inviting excommunication. But we'll never get near the issues unless we raise the questions, so here goes.

I believe that we have gone too far in insisting that the social work mission can properly be performed only by people with graduate professional education. This is deliberately overstated to highlight the issue, but it does not exaggerate the tone and tenor of the main push within the profession.

I believe that in manning the brigades to perform its mission, social work is challenged to move beyond its single-minded concentration on graduate professional training. This obviously is needed, and much more of it than there now is. But more attention needs to be given to two other training targets, perhaps equally as important. One is the infusion of social work insights and methods in the training of other disciplines and professions. School teachers, police, medical personnel, city planners, public housing personnel could all use some of this. The other is training for sub- or non-professional personnel. This is where one's fancy can really take flight. The first necessary step is some fresh and uncluttered thinking about who the other people in the environment are who

might help the social worker in influencing that environment and the client group.

First comes to mind the client group itself. There is little question that clients are people. However, there seems to have been some question in the past that they are multi-dimensional: that they are more than objectives of service. Now we are beginning to see that they are people of influence, that they have potential skills which if cultivated and mobilized can considerably lengthen the reach of the professional. This can mean "delinquent" boys, it can mean mothers of dependent children, it can mean "newcomers" to the city, it can mean the aged. It can mean the tired and discouraged, who, if called upon to perform meaningful roles in the social work mission may become less tired and discouraged themselves.

There are the "indigenous." Many of the "indigenous" are "significant others" with considerable power and influence among client groups. With a little bit of the right kind of training, who is to say they cannot measurably help social workers change the problem-producing environment? It is perhaps nearer the truth to say that it can't be done unless they are on board.

There are others who have a lot to do with what happens in a particular setting whose roles need to be realistically assessed and training created for them where possible so that those roles can be as productive as possible. Turnkeys in prison, candy store operators in the slums, inspectors from city departments, filling station operators and mechanics, high status kids in school, to name a few. Social work can help to identify these people, creatively plan for their cooperative action, train them.

Aside from the hard and creative thinking that must underlie any attempt to mobilize the cooperative action of non-professional people for the social work task, standing in the way of this will be the fear that such people will almost

might help the social worker in influencing that environment and the client group.

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Aside from the hard and creative thinking that must underlie any attempt to mobilize the cooperative action of non-professional people for the social work task, standing in the way of this will be the fear that such people will almost

surely botch the job, if not do actual harm, if they haven't had professional training. This is a risk, but in the light of the potential values to be gained from such an exercise it is a risk worth taking and trying to cope with.

The Problem of Exclusivism and Limited Use of the Power Base.

Social workers have tended to figure out the solutions to individual and social problems too exclusively in social work terms. This results in ineffectiveness and social workers talking to social workers. The problems with which social work is supposed to cope are made in many arenas. Enhanced effectiveness requires social work to operate in as many of these arenas as possible as close to decision making as possible.

Urban renewal is one of these arenas. Social workers need to be very aggressive about getting in on this act to insure that decisions are not made on the basis of real estate and fiscal considerations alone. Mortgage banking is another arena where basic decisions are made concerning what color people shall live where which very directly affect social work. Welfare agencies have a lot of powerful people on their boards, but too often the influence these people can wield in the community is mobilized only in support of the narrowly defined agency function. The basic value system professed by social work needs to permeate considerably more than the agencies defined as devoted to welfare. If social work doesn't push for this, it allows itself to be devalued and ultimately vitiated.

The school is another arena. The function of the school is to educate. Fair enough. But anyone who is not trying to duck a responsibility knows full well that that means more than teaching the three R's in the classroom. Social work can well work much more closely with teachers, school administrators, and school boards toward making schooling more meaningful, particularly for slum children. The educational process is a full-time, day and night affair, which

goes on in the school building, on the street, in the home. This idea is dramatically highlighted by Bruno Bettleheim when he says: "No child ever learned to read in school! He learned to read at home, or in the street reading signs and listening and asking questions."

Social workers can help vastly to knit school and community together, and school and family. Anything done under this heading has high value, since education is of such crucial importance in our society. The channels to upward mobility will be progressively harder to find for those with little or inadequate education. Many of the problems handed to social work can be traced to blocked opportunities for upward reach.

There is more and more readiness among forward-looking school people to look beyond the child to the parent and to the community. In many cities this is more than a readiness. It is a practice. But it is still rough around the edges and everywhere needs development. Social work must play a vigorous role in this development, performing roles suitable to its capacities, planning for services and facilities with the school, sharing insights with school personnel, and learning in turn from them.

The school with its wide dispersion, its universality, its access to the young and changeable is certainly one of the key institutions for the better integration of all people in society. This is another way of saying the school is a potentially potent factor in the prevention of social problems. Only the blind in the social work profession will fail to work with it, help it, learn from it, and be helped by it.

The Problem of Social Work and Social Planning.

The place of social workers in social planning is one which demands some soul-searching and head-knocking.

I believe it is possible to discern something disquieting for social work across the country. It is that in those communities where the most dynamic social planning is going on the play is being taken away from Health and Welfare Councils. This, it seems to me, can be traced to the fact that despite the changes of name that have been made in most places, these councils in the main are still limited by three things: they still tend to be representative of agencies rather than the community; they tend to be dominated by private, voluntary health and welfare interests; they tend to be concerned with coordination of social services rather than with social problems. Obviously, this varies from place to place, but more often than not the initiative and leadership seems to come from somewhere else when a community begins to wake up to the need for more comprehensive planning and action if any impact is to be made on the massive problems which now reside in the slums and gray areas of the inner city. Somehow, too many Councils seem to have become so conventionalized that they have been unable to broaden their scope effectively to encompass the systems within the city that must be meshed: public services, economic opportunity, education, physical redevelopment, racial and social class residential patterns, as well as services for the socially disabled.

There are some new organizational patterns emerging in response to the need for broad planning and action. It is to be hoped that alert social work leadership will be in the front ranks in these developments.

The Problem of Accountability.

The last item on my list is as difficult and as challenging as the rest. Social agencies have a real problem of holding themselves accountable before the public for what they claim to do. No one will deny for a moment the great difficulty of measurement in human behavior and social relations, but social agencies

are at a point in history when they must make a serious effort to do better at this than they now do. In reality very few make any such effort. To be sure there are statistics galore about how many cases were handled, how many interviews held and recorded, how many in attendance at the center during a given period, how many foster home placements, etc. These are the things that are easy to measure, but they are not the objectives of the agencies. What needs to be done better is to define agency purposes in as objective terms as possible and measure performance against these purposes. A foster home placement means nothing if it doesn't last very long, or if the foster family turns out to be inadequate and unable to contribute to the rearing of a truly independent person. The recorded attendance at a golden age center doesn't mean very much if the people who go there are the ones who have a good deal of initiative anyway and would be out being useful or hobnobbing somewhere, center or no center, while the real isolates and lonesome ones wither away in their rooms.

By setting up clear standards of accomplishment, agencies will be serving a better purpose in the long run anyway than by obfuscation. It is a great temptation to make reports as glowing as possible when you have to justify your existence. But if these reports keep on being glowing and yet the problems generally persist and are visible all around, the public is entitled at least to bewilderment. The public is entitled to know what can't be accomplished by present methods and institutions as well as what can.

These seem to me to be some of the reasons why we can't confidently feel that social work is engaged effectively enough with the most pressing social problems of the day.

Child Welfare League of America
May 31, 1962

K, PAGE 59

The New York Times.

144. © 1962 by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York 36, N. Y. NEW YORK, SUNDAY, JULY 1, 1962. 35c beyond 50-mile zone from New York City, except 50c beyond 200-mile zone from New York City, higher in

Ford Foundation to Stress U.S. Needs in Next Decade

First Policy Review Since '50 Maps Continued International Program With Enrichment of Society at Home

By PETER KIHSS

The $2,166,000,000 Ford Foundation made public yesterday a statement of its plans for the Nineteen Sixties that pledged emphasis primarily on "the problems and needs of the United States."

The fifteen-member board of trustees promised to continue "substantial" outlays in the international field. But it stressed that "one of the most effective ways to contribute to world peace and the peaceful solution of international disputes is through the invigoration and enrichment of American society."

Excerpts From Foundation Reports are on Page 32.

The 7,900-word policy statement was a result of an eight-month study, the first over-all survey of its activities by the world's largest philanthropic foundation since 1950. In the eleven years to last Sept. 30, it had made grants and appropriations of $1,553,000,000; commitments since then have been $242,000,000.

The foundation estimates its net worth at $2,166,000,000, of which 64 per cent is Ford Motor Company stock carried on the books at $52 a share, still well below current quotations even during the market slide. Income for the year ended last Sept. 30 was $125,200,000 after administrative expenses.

The keynote of the report was the "conviction that mankind has the means to liberate itself progressively from poverty, disease, ignorance and devastating war and to reach higher levels of civilization."

The statement, approved by the trustees on June 21, said the foundation had the ability to "show by example," and "the funds with which to make a

Continued on Page 32, Column 1

FORD FUND SEEKS TO INVIGORATE U.S.

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

difference in many of the matters it engages."

Basically, the report set forth guides by which the staff —expected to remain at about 100—and the trustees will approve projects. No attempt was made to estimate any rate of outlay; the foundation said it would not itself engage in direct operations.

A half dozen "selected critical problems" were listed as those in which "significantly large funds" would seek major advances. These were:

Increasing understanding and improvement of the processes of teaching and learning and the strengthening of educational curriculums at all levels.

Developing noncommercial television for cultural, informational and educational programs.

Strengthening the Atlantic partnership.

Accelerating the growth of less-developed countries.

Strengthening the artist and artistic institutions in American life.

Improving the physical environment and social, educational and cultural content of urban living "in selected metropolitan complexes."

Certain Grants Ruled Out

"The foundation," the statement said, "should not provide support for general-welfare agencies or for strictly religious activities, which together receive more than 90 per cent of American philanthropic expenditures; nor should it make grants for health or medicine, or give funds for emergency or disaster relief customarily provided by other sources.

"It should not generally make grants for equipment or general operating expenses. It should not ordinarily make grants for buildings. It should not support a given recipient indefinitely."

In illustrating programs it would help, the foundation proposed to encourage "fusing the fragmented efforts of local governmental units into area-wide taxation, transportation and recreation."

It promised to aid constructive approaches toward "solving the problem of population control" both in the United States and abroad. Support was offered for "efforts of the United Nations and other international organizations to adapt themselves to changing needs and opportunities."

Considerable expansion appears likely in efforts to assist the arts. As of last Sept. 30, such programs had accounted for only $33,700,000 in the foundation's grants, aside from exceptional aid, such as $12,500,000 to help build the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts here.

Past Art Efforts

Past art efforts by the foundation in the New York area have included grants to the City Center to produce new American operas, the American Music Center to sponsor performances of new symphonic works, the Phoenix Theater for repertory demonstrations, the New Dramatists Committee to bring directors to observe the theater, the Ballet Society to train young dancers and 142 grants-in-aid to individual artists.

The New York area may look for more help on some urban problems, although there has been some question within the foundation whether aid to smaller metropolises might not produce more obvious gains.

In the past, the New York area has had Ford Foundation grants for a twenty-five-year projection of the region's economy, a study of commuter railways, a work-study experiment to reduce school drop-outs, a campaign against juvenile delinquency in East Harlem and efforts to strengthen civic leadership.

The study director for the policy survey was Joseph E. Slater, who resigned as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs last Nov. 1 to become the foundation's associate program director for international affairs.

The survey was conducted by a committee headed by John J. McCloy, chairman of the trustees. Other members were Henry T. Heald, the foundation's president; Donald K. David, John Cowles, Julius A. Stratton and Bethuel M. Webster, trustees; the foundation's officers, and Milton Katz, of Harvard Law School, consultant for the foundation.

Thirty thousand copies of the report have been printed.

Excerpts From the Ford Foundation's Statement on Policy for the Sixties

Following are excerpts from "The Ford Foundation in the 1960's: Statement of the Board of Trustees on Policies, Programs and Operations:"

As in 1950, the foundation will continue to give the highest priority to "the mitigation of tensions which now threaten world peace." Since 1950, the need for measures leading to peace has become even more imperative. The acceleration of science, technology, and weapons development, and the emergence of explosive political, social and economic forces throughout the world have added significantly to the urgency of seeking new opportunities for effective action.

The foundation, therefore, must be concerned with society as a whole, and, in an era when both problems and solutions disdain national boundaries, it must be prepared to act globally. A substantial amount of the foundation's outlays will be devoted to the international field.

The trustees recognize, however, that one of the most effective ways to contribute to world peace and the peaceful solution of international disputes is through the invigoration and enrichment of American society. Only a vigorous and free America can contribute effectively to world peace. Within this total context, consequently, the foundation will address itself primarily to the problems and needs of the United States.

The present study has led to the decision that, in order to pursue these objectives in the Nineteen Sixties, the foundation will act principally in the following areas: educational affairs, international affairs, public and economic affairs, overseas development, arts and sciences.

Educational Affairs

Educational Goals and Needs: The foundations will seek to clarify the educational objectives and needs of American society at all levels —elementary school, secondary school, and higher education—and to encourage public understanding and support for the measures required. It will encourage efforts to achieve greater equality of educational opportunity for all young people, and to identify, support, and develop the unusually talented, starting at the earliest possible stage in their education.

Teaching and Curriculum: The foundation will support curriculum improvement at all levels to make teaching more adaptable to the differing abilities of individual students and more responsive to the needs of a rapidly changing society. Assistance will be given to efforts to achieve fuller utilization of educational facilities and personnel and to improve the quality, increase the supply, and raise the status of teachers. Opportunities will be sought to improve the quality, content, and relevance of adult education and to strengthen vocational education in the light of long-term changes in the demand for skilled labor.

Educational Innovation: The foundation will support research and experimentation in such new learning and teaching techniques as team teaching, flexible scheduling of classes and programed learning. It will help improve and increase the use of noncommercial television for educational purposes. It will seek opportunities to incorporate the continuing stream of educational innovations into comprehensive improvement programs covering entire school systems.

Will Aid Universities

Higher Education: The foundation will continue to assist in accelerating the institutional development of selected universities and colleges as national and regional centers of excellence. It will explore ways to assist efforts to strengthen and modernize graduate and professional education, and it may support selected experimental colleges that pursue promising programs for the reform of curricula, instructional techniques, course-credit procedures, and utilization of resources.

Educational Management and Cooperation: The foundation will seek to advance knowledge and competence concerning the economic, financial, and administrative problems of education. Assistance will be given to stimulate regional, statewide, and national cooperative activities embracing all levels of education, and to further the exchange among educators of information and ideas.

International Training and Research: The foundation will continue its efforts to develop foreign-area and international studies as strong, integral features of university teaching and research. Opportunities will be sought to strengthen the ability of undergraduate faculties to incorporate non-Western and other international studies into liberal education, and to improve the educational and living experience of foreign students in the United States. Selective assistance will be given to improving the teaching of foreign languages, including the science of linguistics, and to developing American training and research resources for the teaching abroad of English as a second language.

Public and Economic Affairs

Democratic Institutions: The foundation will support measures to stimulate citizen participation in, and maintain the democratic character of, political institutions and processes. It will assist efforts to extend the educational, employment, housing, social, political, and other opportunities of minority groups and depressed segments of society. It will seek new ways of strengthening the professional public service and enhancing the effectiveness of the legislative branch of government at all levels—Federal, state, and local. Encouragement will be given to improve private and public efforts to strengthen citizens' rights and obligations. Programs will be explored to help improve legal education and research and raise the standards of professional responsibility. Efforts will also be supported to improve the administration of justice, with special reference to criminal law, the needs of families and children, the rights of the indigent, and the rights of all persons to a fair hearing regardless of whether they or the causes they espouse are popular.

Problems of Urban Growth: The foundation will support research and action programs on the human problems of the city, including the problems of the Negro and other minority groups, and on the development of the city into a richer cultural and social environment. The foundation will seek opportunities for comprehensive attacks on urban problems in a few large metropolitan centers where interest is strong among community leaders and citizens. It will seek ways to encourage experimentation in fusing the fragmented efforts of local governmental units into area-wide approaches to such problems as land use, public works, zoning, taxation, transportation, and recreation. New measures will also be studied to advance the conservation and proper utilization of the national's natural resources, including cultural, ecological, recreational and economic aspects.

Research on Youth

Youth Development: Assistance will continue for research and experimentation on the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency and for the encouragement of youth to participate more productively and responsibly in American society.

Economic Growth: The foundation will help foster the achievement of a growing economy characterized by high output, the highest possible level of constructive employment, and a minimum of economic instability. It will help advance fuller utilization of human resources and the adaptation of technical education and retraining programs to meet the requirements of automation, structural unemployment, migration, and other change. It will seek to assist efforts designed to keep the United States economy competitive and in a position to provide worldwide leadership. It will continue to support research in economics and business administration.

Population Problems: The foundation will assist constructive approaches, both in the United States and abroad, to solving the problem of population control. These approaches will include research and training in reproductive physiology, demography, and motivational factors in family planning, and the improvement of public-health administration.

Private Philanthropy: The foundation will look for new ways to increase the creativity, scope, and effectiveness of local and national philanthropy.

Interntional Affairs

The United States: The foundation will seek opportunities to help individuals and institutions improve the formulation and execution of United States foreign policy and programs. Aid will be given to efforts to increase American understanding of and participation in world affairs and to mobilize professional men and women and other leaders for international service.

The Atlantic Partnership: The foundation will help accelerate the development of the Atlantic partnership, including Canada, through the support of joint efforts in such fields as economics, education, science, technology, and the arts. It will give selected assistance to the European nations and Canada in strengthening key educational, scientific, and cultural institutions, and in developing their own traditions of private philanthropy. It will help expand and improve efforts by the Atlantic nations to assist the less-developed countries.

To Strengthen Japan

The Pacific: Similarly, the foundation may seek opportunities to strengthen Japanese, Australian, and New Zealand educational, scientific, and cultural participation in projects with the United States and the Atlantic partnership.

World-wide Problems: The foundation will assist international cooperative efforts to share knowledge and experience on such challenges as the application of science and technology to critical world needs. Assistance will be given for measures to advance the rule of law and the peaceful settlement of international disputes, particularly through support to efforts of the United Nations and other international organizations to adapt themselves to changing needs and opportunities. Assistance will also be given to stimulate East-West intellectual and cultural exchange and to encourage common projects in scientific, educational, and cultural fields. Measures will be supported to increase the effectiveness, freedom, and responsibility of international means of communication, and to broaden foreign knowledge and understanding of American institutions and culture.

Overseas Development

Education: The foundation will continue in efforts in helping to raise depressed standards of living and increase educational opportunity in less-developed countries. It will continue to assist efforts of these countries to establish or improve their educational institutions, programs, and practices as a means of producing the trained leaders, skilled persons, and enlightened citizens essential to their national development. Ways will be sought to encourage indigenous cultural, artistic, and intellectual growth. Attention will also be given to the teaching of English as a second language.

Governmental Operations: Aid will be given to less-developed countries for their programs to increase the effectiveness of central and local governmental operations and to train public administrators. The foundation will also help these countries increase their knowledge of the development process and expand their corps of development planners and administrators.

Managerial Goals

Industrial and Business Development: The foundation will assist less-developed countries in improving their managerial competence in industrial and business enterprise through research and training programs in economics, business administration, and labor relations. Attention may also be given to the problems of medium- and small-scale industry.

Rural and Urban Development: Support will be given to institutions and programs to increase agricultural production, improve rural life, and raise nutritional levels. Similarly, the foundation will support selected programs dealing with the wide range of economic, social, and governmental problems arising from rapidly increasing urban populations.

International Cooperation: The foundation will encourage cooperative efforts by the less-developed countries to solve common problems and to integrate effectively with the world community.

Arts and Sciences

The Arts: The foundation will assist efforts to enrich the aesthetic and cultural content of American life, nationally and locally. It will help to create new opportunities for talented professionals and apprentices in the creative and performing arts, and will support the development of new approaches, standards, techniques, and materials. It will also help selected institutions attain a higher level of artistic achievement and a broader basis for continuing financial support. Opportunities will be sought to improve curricula in the training of artists, to strengthen regional artistic resources, and to increase community recognition of artists and artistic groups.

The Humanities: The foundation will look for new ways to strengthen teaching and scholarship in the humanities and to stimulate the recruitment of potential scholar-teachers for the field. It will also continue to assist steps to meet the growing problems of research libraries and to support technological research on the storage, retrieval, and dissemination of scientific and scholarly data.

Aid for Scientists

The Natural Sciences: The foundation's interests will include strengthening the preparations of scientists, particularly through selective assistance to graduate schools in emerging, potentially critical fields that lack sufficient support. Assistance will be given to strengthen and reorganize undergraduate teaching in science and mathematics, and to improve public understanding of science and technology. Support may also be given for basic and applied scientific research in selected fields and for the provision of facilities essential to scientific discovery when the need is not otherwise being met.

Engineering: Selective support will be given to expand advanced graduate education in engineering, with emphasis on the training of engineering teachers, and to strengthen and modernize graduate and undergraduate engineering curricula. Attention will also be given to the training of engineering technicians to relieve some of the pressures on the engineering profession in the United States and to help meet the needs of less-developed countries.

The Prospect

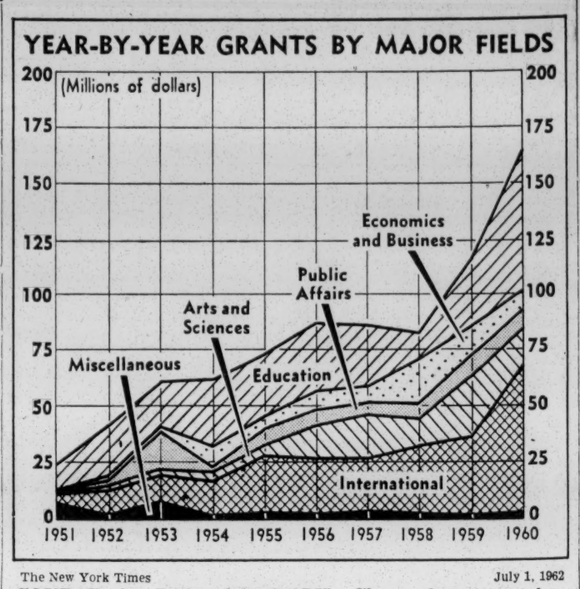
The Ford Foundation faces the Nineteen Sixties with an awareness of the awesome problems facing mankind, yet with a conviction that mankind has the means to liberate itself progressively from poverty, disease, ignorance, and devastating war and to reach higher levels of civilization.

The foundation has flexibility, speed of action, and the ability to pioneer, experiment and show by example. It possesses the funds with which to make a difference in many of the matters it engages.

The foundation will continue to be particularly sensitive to the significant needs within its areas of interest that are not likely to be met by others. It will resist pressures and temptations to support only conventional activities, however worthwhile. Yet it will weigh its decisions not to enter given fields or to reject given proposals as heavily as its affirmative actions.

The foundation will take risks in ventures that it hopes may yield substantial advances for human welfare.

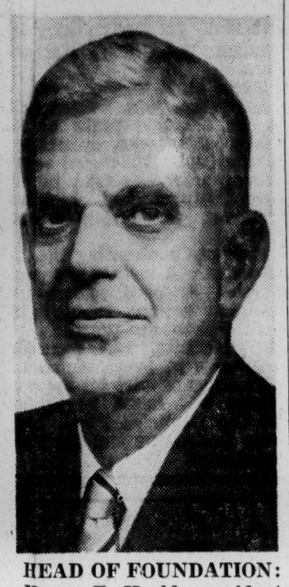
Only by dealing in this spirit with matters of broad significance can the foundation hope to fulfill the unique trust it has been accorded by American society.



The New York Times July 1, 1962

COURSE OF PHILANTHROPY: Chart shows year-by-year grants of Ford Foundation in major fields. It excludes grants totaling $550,000,000 in 1956-57 for college faculty salaries and for hospitals and medical schools because they were the fund's regular program.

DIRECTOR OF STUDY: John J. McCloy, who headed foundation study group.



HEAD OF FOUNDATION: Henry T. Heald, president of the Ford Foundation.

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Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

PA

please see put on list

OK
BP
"FCR"

BP: Foundations, etc - list

MJ

Enclosures: ~~Federal&Executive&and&~~
Federal Executive and Civil Rights
Executive Support of Civil Rights
Special Report on ALBANY, Zinn
Congressional Record Reprints on SRC: Sen. Bolling and Sen. Douglas

July 3, 1962

Mr. David R. Hunter
Public Affairs Program
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Dave:

Enclosed are the reports I mentioned at lunch today. I will tell Les Dunbar about our conversation and I am sure you will be hearing from him.

I very much enjoyed having lunch with both you and Bill.

Sincerely,

George Barrett
Consultant

GB/mmj
Enclosures

PA
BP 11

P. S. Your name is being added to our mailing list.

Put. c → e

LWD
PA.
WMT

WILLIAM PINCUS

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
THE FORD FOUNDATION

477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-2900

Enclosures: Federal Executive and Civil Rights
Executive Support of Civil Rights
Special Report on ALBANY, Zinn
Congressional Record Reprints on SRC: Sen Bolling
and Sen. Douglas

July 3, 1962

Mr. William Pincus
Public Affairs Program
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Bill:

It was very pleasant having lunch with you today.

PA
BP

Enclosed are some materials which you might be interested in. Your name is being added to our mailing list to receive SRC publications.

Sincerely,

George Barrett
Consultant

GB/mmj
Enclosures

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
FLORENCE B. IRVING, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 3-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date July 3, 1962

To: LWDunbar From: GBarrett

Subject: Lunch with Ford Foundation Personnel.

I had lunch with Messrs. David R. Hunter and William Pincus of the Ford Foundation. Pincus is a lawyer and primarily interested in the administration of justice. Hunter is with the Public Affairs Department and is interested in urban renewal and juvenile delinquency. They were primarily interested in finding out something about SRC and wanted to be put on our mailing list. I told them I would send them the studies: Federal Executive and Civil Rights and Executive Support of Civil Rights, Zinn's report on ~~Albany~~ and the Congressional Record Reprints on SRC.

Hunter said that the Ford Foundation is giving serious consideration to making grants in the field of race relations and one must bear in mind the conservative nature of the Board and the President of the Foundation. Hunter appeared to me to be genuinely interested in some kind of program development with SRC with the possibility of a grant. Hunter and Pincus are leaving town tomorrow (Wednesday), hence, will not be able to see you. However, he expressed a desire to talk to you and said that should you ever be in New York he would like very much to see you. We had an enjoyable lunch and I tried to answer questions about SRC.

It would appear to me that there are real possibilities here and this should be followed up with a letter from ypu to Hunter expressing regrets in missing him and bearing in mind that the next time you are in New York you should see him personally.

We had a "smashing" lunch that set the Council back $11.00.

See attached ltr.

Same ltr. to Mr. William Pincus
Fd. Foundtion

July 9, 1962

Mr. David R. Hunter
Public Affairs Program
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Hunter:

I am sorry I was not in the office last week when you came by, but you were in the good hands of George Barrett. I do look forward to talking with you regarding the program of the Southern Regional Council when I am next in New York. I presently expect to be there in mid-September, though possibly sooner, and I hope that I may have the privilege of writing to you in advance for an appointment.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

GB ✓
MJ-file (70.7 dist)

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

July 10, 1962

Mr. George Barrett, Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Barrett:

In the absence of Mr. Pincus, I should like to thank you for your letter of July 3 and the attached materials.

I shall bring these papers to the attention of Mr. Pincus upon his return to the office at the end of this month.

Sincerely,

Lucile C. Gurksnis

Lucile C. Gurksnis
Secretary to Mr. Pincus

pl 3-8600
A-217

The Lombardy
One Eleven East Fifty-sixth Street
New York 22

7/24/62

Les -

It was good to talk with you a moment ago. Here is the Times' coverage of the Ford Foundation report of which I spoke — surely it should have meaning for the Council. Warm regards -

August 2, 1962

Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

May we please have a copy of the report, "The Ford Foundation in the 1960's: Statement of the Board of Trustees on Policies, Programs and Operations."

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:nm

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

— file

August 3, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of July 9, and also for the helpful information you gave me by phone on August 1.

I do hope you are able to come to New York in September.

Sincerely,

William Pincus

RECEIVED
AUG 6 1962

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

September 14, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is to reply to your letter of September 6. I shall be happy to see you at 10:00 A.M. on Tuesday, September 25, in my office on the 18th floor of the Foundation's location.

It is possible that Mr. Hunter will join us but I cannot say for sure as he is away from the office at present.

Sincerely,

William Pincus

William Pincus

September 6, 1962

Mr. William Pincus
Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Pincus:

I shall, as I mentioned to you over the telephone one day, be in New York late this month, and I hope there may be an opportunity to see you. Would Tuesday, September 25 at 10:00 a. m. be possible? If not, I shall be glad to fit my schedule to suit your convenience.

I believe Miss Josephine Wilkins, one of our officers, has had some conversation with David Hunter and has also written to him that I shall be up your way. I would be delighted to meet Mr. Hunter also, when I am in New York. I gather that you work closely with each other and perhaps you could mention my prospective visit to him. We are very grateful for the courtesy that he has shown to Miss Wilkins.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

Atlanta Biltmore
Atlanta, Georgia
August 29, 1962

Dear Mr. Rosenthal:

It was a joy to see you in New York and to have the opportunity of talking with you further in regard to the significant role being filled by the Southern Regional Council at this time. Let me thank you again, and let me say once more that we covet the cooperation of Rosenthal Foundation.

As you will likely recall I was to let you know when the Council's new executive director was to be in New York next. Dr. Dunbar tells me he expects to come up for the week of September 24. He will communicate with you directly regarding an appointment, and I do hope you will find this to be a convenient time for a conference with him. It is perhaps best that we hold up the filing of a formal application until his return.

I have not forgotten your reference to your brother in Philadelphia and your suggested conference with him after his return from Europe. I hope this can be arranged.

Warm regards and cordial good wishes.

Sincerely,

/s/ Josephine Wilkins

Mr. Edmund A. Rosenthal, President
The Benjamin Rosenthal Foundation
350 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, N. Y.

Monday, Sept. 24 at 2:30 p.m.

Atlanta Biltmore
Atlanta, Georgia
August 29, 1962

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

It was a joy to see you in New York and to have the opportunity of talking with you further in regard to the significant role being filled by the Southern Regional Council at this time. Let me thank you again, and let me say once more that we covet the cooperation of Avalon.

As you will likely recall I was to let you know when the Council's new executive director, Leslie W. Dunbar, was to be in New York next. Dr. Dunbar tells me he expects to come up for the week of September 24. He will communicate with you directly regarding an appointment, and I greatly hope you will find this to be a convenient time for a conference with him. Perhaps it is best that we hold up the filing of a formal application until his return.

This brings you my warm regards.

Cordially,

/s/ Josephine Wilkins

Mr. Charles S. Hamilton, Jr.
Avalon Foundation
713 Park Avenue
New York 21, N. Y.

Wed., Sept. 26 at 10:00 a.m.

Atlanta Biltmore
Atlanta, Georgia
August 29, 1962

Dear Mr. Hunter:

It was a joy to meet you while I was in New York and to have the opportunity of talking with you that morning before returning South. I ran into John Field in Washington on my way down and thanked him most heartily for having suggested that I call you.

Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, tells me he will be in New York the week of September 24. I do hope he has the good fortune of finding you will be in the city at that time. He wants to see both you and Mr. Pincus, who has called him a time or two and has asked to be notified of his next trip up. I understand he is writing you directly regarding an appointment. You will like this man.

My warm regards and good wishes go to you.

Cordially,

/s/ Josephine Wilkins

Mr. David R. Hunter
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Wm. Pincus
Tues., Sept. 25 at 10:00 a.m.

JOSEPHINE WILKINS

Les —

I hope you will find these OK.

JW

September 21, 1962

Mr. William Pincus
Public Affairs Program
Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Pincus:

Thank you for your letter of September 14 and I shall see you Tuesday morning at 10:00.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

Return files

October 10, 1962

Mr. William Pincus
Public Affairs Program
Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Pincus:

I greatly enjoyed our recent talks in your office, and am appreciative of your invitation to write more fully regarding the Council's program and needs. I hope that this letter will give you a clearer understanding of our work, and will permit you to advise us regarding a submission to the Ford Foundation.

The enclosed copy of my annual report for 1961 (Enclosure A) gives a summary view of our programs. The Voter Education Project, only briefly discussed therein, has since been launched and now is a constantly growing part of our operations. The Project is a standing demand, not only on our powers of judgment and our administrative skills, but also on our ability to work productively with and retain the confidence of the various civil rights groups--national, regional, and local--which are cooperating with us. It is also both a unique opportunity and a stern challenge to produce substantial, valuable published research. For all these reasons, we are pleased that Wiley A. Branton, of Arkansas, consented to direct the Project. I left with you a copy of the Project's First Status Report, and shall be glad at any time to furnish you with additional information.

Changes in the South mean that today there is no such entity as a "solid South"--which is good--, and that the Council's continued effectiveness requires an ability to work within the fast moving currents of the upper South as well as the inert customs of the rural Deep South--which is difficult. During 1962 we have begun two new approaches to the

rural South. One is a series of radio programs inexpensively, but professionally, produced by the Friendly World Broadcasting Company and directed at Alabama listeners. The series is now being carried by fifty-three (53) stations in Alabama and five (5) in Georgia. The second is a project planned, conducted, and financed jointly with the National Council of Churches and intended to help strengthen the social ministry of rural churches in the Deep South. We are not, let me add, publicly identified with either of these ventures.

We are giving equal attention to assisting and expediting progress in less recalcitrant areas. For example, we have worked closely with the Virginia Council on Human Relations in developing plans for a consultant service to Virginia employers on equal employment. Another example is a study, now in preparation and planned for publication next Spring, on the complex issues of token school desegregation; this will be a joint publication with the Anti-Defamation League. A third example is a study of racial problems facing municipal administrations, to be issued by the International City Managers Association as one of its regular M.I.S. reports; this is being prepared in collaboration with the Potomac Institute.

We have in preparation now two inquiries which continue the function, begun with the publication of The Federal Executive and Civil Rights, of acting as a catalyst and an outside critic of federal policies and programs. The Federal Executive and Civil Rights (Enclosure B) and its sequel (Enclosure C) had a gratifying reception (see Enclosures D and E). This has not been uncommon for Council publications. The pamphlet Racial Violence and Law Enforcement (Enclosure F), for example, was widely distributed to southern law enforcement agencies. It was made required reading for every member of the Atlanta police force, and was ordered in quantity for police training programs in Savannah, St. Petersburg, Richmond, and Kentucky.

The above remarks, together with the summary in my annual report, may give you a better idea of the Council's operations, and something of the flavor of our rather complex activities. We would, of course, be pleased to supply you with more detailed information on request.

Financial Situation

Enclosures G and H are our 1962 budget and our 1961 financial statement. As you can note, we are presently budgeting about $285,000, exclusive of the Voter Education Project.

Of this amount, $52,000 was budgeted this year for distribution among the Councils on Human Relations, and thus does not contribute to direct SRC program.

Through the generous support of five major foundations we are receiving $215,000. The remainder comes from smaller foundation grants, churches, labor unions, individuals, and sales of publications. Raising this is hard, and is a constant drain on staff time and energies that desirably should be invested in program. This year, frankly, I am afraid we may fall short of raising the entire budget by a few thousand. With the normal and hardly avoidable problems of increasing costs, the task of scraping together these dollars becomes harder each year. In our case, it has been accentuated by the sharp fall-off in contributions, over the last three or four years, from labor unions, who seem to be having their own financial worries.

Moreover, I need not tell you that no grantee can count on, or should be able to count on, indefinite support from current contributors.

I might also note that the Voter Education Project has added considerably to the expenses of our general operations. It means work and expense for me and my assistant, for our secretary-treasurer who must keep accounts for roughly twice as much money as ordinarily, and, most of all, for our research department. The expenses of the Project office and staff, are, of course, a direct charge against the V.E.P. grants; but for these added expenses on our central office and staff we have this year taken an overhead tap of only $7,260. This has been, perhaps, not prudent, but it is an indication of our deep desire to put every dollar granted for the voting effort to the specific use for which it was given.

For all these reasons, we have an immediate need to attract substantial support from new sources over the next several years. It is our hope that the Ford Foundation might consider making a grant on the same basis as the Rockefeller Foundation has done, i.e., $50,000 for one year, with the prospect of four renewals.

Form of Support

We understand the reluctance on the part of many foundations to grant for general support. On the other hand, as I remarked when we talked, it is a fact that the Council's entire operation is fairly specialized, and so establishment of projects--except in the case of something as unique as the Voter Education Project--is a sort of ultra-specialization. I think

I also stated that the Council was not at this time, with V.E.P. on its hands, in a position to absorb another major project of a new kind.

We are, however, nothing if not adaptable. There are, therefore, alternatives to general support. The most clearly feasible would be the withdrawal of all our research activities from general operations and the treating of this large element of our activities as a project. This was, in fact, the practice during 1959 and 1960. There are undoubtedly other satisfactory alternatives as well.

I am mindful also of the discussion we had regarding the possible use of our programs as a training ground for young men and women, probably Negro, preparing for careers that have importance not only in themselves but for race relations improvement. We would be most interested in exploring this further with you. If well planned, such an intern program could be of real value to us as well as a contribution to the development of talent.

I ask your indulgence for writing at such length and for sending such bulky enclosures. It seemed best at this point to put our situation before you somewhat fully. We are enclosing also a couple sample copies of our magazine New South (Enclosures I and J) and a few other illustrations of our publication and field work. I look forward to hearing from you and to receiving from you any comments or suggestions you may have.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

Enclosures:

A. Annual Report, 1961
B. Federal Executive and Civil Rights
C. Executive Support for Civil Rights
D D. Press Coverage of Federal Executive and Civil Rights
E. Press Coverage of Executive Support of Civil Rights
F. Racial Violence and Law Enforcement
G. 1962 Budget
H. 1961 Financial Statement
I. New South, September 1961

Enclosures, continued:

J. New South, March 1962
K. One Hundred Years Later
L. The Negro and the Ballot in the South
M. Racial Crisis and the Press
N. The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South: Houston
O. The Unequal Badge: Negro Policemen in the South
P. The Student Protest Movement, Winter 1960
Q. L-16, Racial Differences in Academic Achievement (Atlanta and Washington)
R. The Case for Integration
S. Muse reports, July 2, 1962 and April 30, 1962
T. Brewbaker report, May 28, 1962

Dear Mr. Pincus,

I greatly enjoyed our recent talks in your office, and am appreciative of your invitation to write more fully regarding the Council's program and needs. I hope that this letter will give you a clearer understanding of our work, and will permit you to advise ~~x~~ us regarding a submission to the Ford Foundation. ~~for support.~~

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For all these reasons, we have an immediate need to attract substantial support from new sources ~~in the amount of $50,000 a year~~ over the next several years. It is our hope that the Ford Foundation might consider making a grant on the same basis as the Rockefeller Foundation has done; i.e. $50,000 for one year, with the prospect of four renewals.

central

department.

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contributions, over the last ~~three~~ three or four years, from labor unions, who seem to be having their own financial worries.

at this time

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With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

& for sending such bulky enclosures.

Enclosures

A. Annual Report 61
B. Fed Elec & CR
C. Elec Support for CR
D. Pamphlet on Fed Elec
E. Pamphlet on Elec Support
F. Racial Violence & Law Enforce
G. 1962 budget
H. 1961 financial statement
I. New South, September 1961
J. New South, March 1962
K. A Hundred Years Later (not U.S. copy)
L. Negro & Ballot in South
M. Spearman & Thrasher
N. Houston Employment Study
O. Rudwick
P. Student Protest Summer, Winter 1960
Q. L-16
R. Case for Integration

Paul

comment phase

S. Trace reports, July 2, 1962
and April 30, 1962

T. Brewbaker report May 28, 1962

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

Pl. 1-2900
212

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

October 19, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 10 which does, indeed, give us a good birds'-eye view of your operations, especially when read in conjunction with the enclosures.

As I mentioned to you when we had our meeting, we are certainly interested in possibilities in the field of equal opportunity. May I ask your indulgence while some of us have a chance to study the material you sent and to consider it along with other things we have in hand.

You may rest assured that we shall give the matter our most careful consideration. We shall be in touch with you as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

William Pincus

college degree.

The Ford Foundation

We have looked at the recent release of the Ford Foundation which states that it has given away $250 million for various charitable purposes during the past year.

We find no mention of contributions to America's most urgent moral problems involving the status of citizens of color.

There has been, so far as we know, no direct aide to integration of schools, equality in registration and voting in the South, integration of housing, integration and upgrading in employment and all the other problems of equality which tarnish America in the eyes of the world.

A pittance to one or two conferences which talk about these matters is mighty small indeed in the massive total of a quarter billion dollars.

The omission is far too glaring to be accidental. Not too many years ago the name of Ford was intimately connected with the concept of anti-semitism.

Can it be that the new generation of Fords desires to achieve the same reputation with respect to jim crow?

LWD ✓
from WJB
MJ - 1/26/63
Plan of which Ford Corporation

THE AFRO-AMERICAN,

NOTE: A grant of $2,000,000 to Mobilization for Youth, Inc. was approved by the Board of Trustees of the Foundation on June 22, 1962.

MOBILIZATION FOR YOUTH

A PROPOSAL FOR THE PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF DELINQUENCY BY EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES

A Summary

Mobilization for Youth, Inc. is a non-profit corporation consisting of representatives of the institutions of the project area and persons recommended by the New York School of Social Work of Columbia University. It has just completed two years of planning, study, and research which was financed by the National Institute of Mental Health of the United States Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. This document is a summary of the proposal developed during the planning phase.

Introduction

Juvenile delinquency is widely recognized as a major social problem not only in the United States but in many other modern industrial countries throughout the world. "Mobilization for Youth" is put forward as a possible answer to the need for a systematic approach to the problem. Our plan calls for the mounting of a major experimental or demonstration program to attack the problem of juvenile delinquency -- a program which combines the resources of some of the oldest and most renowned institutions in the field of community welfare and of a great University. As a reading of the full proposal will show,* it offers a broad program of action based on a coherent operating hypothesis and integrated with a carefully designed program of research and evaluation. Essentially, it is a project of social experimentation and investigation, using as its laboratory an urban residential area** with a high delinquency rate, large and diverse enough in population to be representative of problem areas in many communities but small enough geographically to permit the operation of intensive programs of action and research.

Mobilization for Youth is a large and expensive project as behavioral science experiments go, but compared with projects in technological research and development, it is modest. We think it time that American society began to invest something like as much in the development of better human relations as it puts into technology. As in industry and the physical sciences, social

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*/ Mobilization for Youth: A Proposal for the Prevention and Control of Delinquency by Expanding Opportunities. New York, A Publication of Mobilization for Youth, Inc., Dec. 9, 1961.

**/ The project area, located in Manhattan, is bounded by East 14th Street, the East River, Brooklyn Bridge, St. James Place, Pearl Street, Park Row, Chatham Square, Division Street, Canal Street, Rutgers Street, East Broadway, Grand Street, Rivington Street, Clinton Street and Avenue B.

research and development costs far more than the subsequent application of its findings and the replication of the methods it tests.

Two types of theory are required to underpin a demonstration program. One body of theory should provide a framework for understanding the sources of the social condition which is to be changed; the other should consist of a framework for altering or modifying that condition. During the planning period, intensive work has been devoted to these theoretical tasks. A new perspective on the sources of juvenile delinquency has been developed and published separately.* This theory represents an effort to extend and to refine two great intellectual traditions: the theory of anomie, as exemplified in the work of Emile Durkheim and Robert K. Merton, and the theory of culture transmission and differential association, as exemplified in the work of Clifford R. Shaw, Henry D. McKay and Edwin H. Sutherland.

An appropriate program of action is not necessarily self-evident once a theory of causation has been evolved; it cannot simply be assumed that once we know what the trouble is we will have little difficulty remedying it. The task of developing a theory of action which is consistent with the theory of causation is, of course, immense. This is a primary reason why two years have been devoted to the planning and preparation of this proposal. During this period, action and research personnel have attempted to fashion a general theory of action and a set of specific programs which are consistent with the theory of causation with which the project begins. The results of this effort comprise the bulk of the Mobilization for Youth proposal.

Theoretical Orientation

Little is known empirically about the origins of juvenile delinquency, although there are a number of sophisticated theoretical points of view about

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*/ Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs. Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1960, 220 pp.

the problem. Each of these points of view suggests a way of approaching the task of reducing delinquency.

We believe that many of these theories have merit, and the specific programs in the Mobilization for Youth proposal have been designed in part to conform to them. However, our over-all proposal is based primarily upon the belief that no effort to prevent juvenile delinquency can succeed which does not provide young people with genuine opportunities to behave differently -- especially through creative educational and exciting work programs, and which does not involve local residents directly in the effort to improve the social and economic opportunities which their community affords to young people.

We believe that obstacles to economic and social betterment among low-income groups are responsible for delinquency. Poverty imposes handicaps upon the potential of young people for achievement, as do discriminatory barriers based on race and religion. Unless we can provide such young people with expanded opportunities, both social and economic, we cannot expect to deal effectively with the problem of juvenile delinquency. They must, in short, be given a stake in conformity. When this is not done, young people become alienated from their society -- its values and traditions. Much delinquency can be understood as representing illegitimate ways of achieving success-goals. The "fighting gang" seeks to achieve prestige ("rep") through violence; the criminal gang seeks to achieve money ("scores") through theft; the "consumption gangs" (drug and alcohol-using) have retreated from the struggle and accepted defeat.

Furthermore, a program to expand opportunity will be doubly effective if residents create and participate in such programs rather than to have them imposed from without by persons who are alien to the traditions

and aspirations of the community. Delinquency must be controlled, but through indigenous as well as external agencies. Strengthening indigenous institutional forms in the community, increasing the observability of adult prohibitions against rule violations, and enhancing the community's power to impose sanctions will be much more effective than repression of delinquent behavior through harsh measures imposed externally by the police and other agencies. In the long run, the young will be far more responsive to an adult community which exhibits the capacity to organize itself, to manage its own problems, to impose informal sanctions, and to mobilize indigenous resources for young people, than they will be to a community which must have these functions performed solely by external agents.

Action Program

Our proposal calls for a broad-scale, community oriented approach which emphasizes programs in the following areas: the world of work, education, community organization, services to individuals and families, and group services.

The World of Work -- Our program places great emphasis upon the importance of creative work as a meaningful alternative to participation in delinquency. We propose to establish an Urban Youth Service Corps -- a program of paid employment for several hundred unemployed out-of-school young people devoted to projects of social utility. Assignments will include neighborhood conservation projects, teen-age industries (e.g., manufacturing toys, refurbishing furniture for low income residents), and employment as aides to public and non-profit private institutions, such as housekeeping aides, assistants to youth groups, and the like. In addition, individual assignments as apprentices to small business or service organizations will be provided. The Corps will afford training and experience related to meaningful

adult occupations, so that youngsters who presently are virtually unemployable may be significantly "up-graded". Furthermore, the work supervisors will be drawn, as far as possible, from the local community.

When the young person has completed the program, special attention will be given to helping him secure a permanent position in industry, or to aid him in furthering his training. This will be accomplished by the Youth Jobs Center, a coordinated youth employment agency invested with the responsibility for publicizing the work-experience and training programs available to local youngsters, offering them guidance and placement services, and assisting in the reduction of discriminatory practices. Special efforts will be made to reach the "hard to place" youngster, such as specialized vocational counseling "on the streets".

The World of Education -- Experimental programs to overcome the barriers facing "the slum child in the slum school" (vide the recent Conant report) are basic to our plan. For one thing, we are anxious to break down the fear and suspicion which sometimes exists between the slum residents and such large institutions as the school. We propose to create special teacher visitation programs in which teachers will visit in the homes of their pupils as part of a course to help them gain a better understanding of the pupils' cultural backgrounds. For another thing, we propose to have residents of the community (especially Puerto Ricans and Negroes) hired by the school system to engage actively in efforts to help the community better understand the school and to help the school become more flexible in dealing with the community. A laboratory school to demonstrate methods of teaching lower income youngsters and specially designed courses for improved language arts instruction are part of the proposed program for the public school. In addition, curriculum development related to the unique abilities, interests,

and experiences of lower income youngsters will be facilitated by the organization of Curriculum Planning Committees and a Curriculum Materials Center. Attention will be directed to such content areas as minority group rights, work problems and prospects, the culture and contribution of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and working people, and the "life chances" of slum dwellers and recent migrants. In addition to expanded guidance, reading instruction, and cultural enrichment programs, we are also developing a Homework Helper program -- whereby low-income high school students who succeed academically will be hired to tutor low-income elementary school students who are failing academically. Such a program rewards academic achievement, provides a source of income which may be necessary in keeping high school students from becoming drop-outs, and has obvious advantages for the elementary school child.

Citizen Participation in Community Affairs -- Because it is our deepseated conviction that, in the long run, the residents of any community must ultimately develop the skills to cope with their own problems, a two-pronged program of community organization will be launched. One part of the program is to strengthen the Lower East Side Neighborhoods Association and its various neighborhood councils. The other involves a direct effort by Mobilization for Youth to help the many presently unaffiliated, isolated community residents organize into groups to solve problems of concern to them. Furthermore, such existent groups as "home town" clubs and storefront churches, which are not usually reached in traditional community organization efforts, will be encouraged to plan collaborative programs of a cultural, social, or social action nature, with emphasis upon the interests and "style" of lower income groups. The total community organization program is planned to give residents more experience in community

participation, and to help them to see that groups of local residents can, through civic and political action and other forms of organized activity, make their community a better place for themselves and their children. Stress will be placed upon the recruitment and hiring of local adults to assist in these organizing efforts.

Services to Families in Trouble -- We are particularly disturbed by the number of families in the Mobilization area who are known to a multiplicity of agencies, and yet they, and their children, go through the revolving door of our social service system ending up in reform schools, mental hospitals, detention homes, and the like. With services to trouble families often located far from the local area, and housed in huge, confusing and impersonal bureaucratic agencies, the people who need them most often tend to use them least. We propose, in cooperation with both the City of New York and voluntary welfare agencies, to develop new ways to reach and to help these troubled people solve their problems. Local "helping stations" (or what we shall call Neighborhood Service Centers) will be established in four areas of the Lower East Side. Located in storefronts or settlement houses, they will be informal, and will provide many forms of help -- information on the availability of services elsewhere, aid in redressing inequities in housing, welfare payments, and direct help of a concrete nature such as that of a homemaker for the newly arrived migrant family which is overwhelmed by the complexities of urban life. "Emergency psychological first aid" -- i.e., immediate help in time of emotional distress, and intensive diagnosis and treatment services to selected low income-persons will be available. The helping stations will also aid newly released youthful offenders to locate needed social resources. Finally, in cooperation with the Lower East Side Information Service for Narcotics Addiction, a program for addicts is proposed which involves detoxification, psychological treatment, and access

to such Mobilization services as vocational guidance, job training, and placement.

Services to Groups -- The long, rich experience of settlements and other youth serving agencies will be strengthened through the Mobilization program. New forms of service, such as a Pre-Delinquency Project, will be undertaken with settlements throughout the area. We propose also to enter into a cooperative relationship with the New York City Youth Board whereby we would supplement services to gangs in the area through the total battery of Mobilization services available for youth in the area. In addition, we propose to experiment with new approaches to delinquent youngsters. For example, we have one program in which we propose to establish three "coffee shops" -- that is, storefront cultural centers symbolic of the style and mood of neighborhood youth, as, for example, a Folk Jazz Center. Delinquent and near-delinquent youngsters will be offered sponsorship and assistance if they agree to participate in planning such a project, help secure a location, and otherwise engage actively in painting, repairing, and establishing the facility. Once established, they will operate the shop under informal supervision. Here again, we stress the involvement of young people and adults in useful, enjoyable, and rewarding activities, as well as their assumption of responsibility for those activities. A final experiment in group services will involve younger children in an Adventure Corps, an organization designed to provide special appeal, adventure, and novelty for the delinquency prone youngster.

Research Program

In conjunction with the service phase of Mobilization for Youth, three types of research are proposed: basic research on substantive issues pertinent to the definition, distribution, origins, and content of juvenile delinquency, as well as to related matters; evaluation of the net impact of the service program

as a whole upon significant community variables, such as the rates and types of deviant behavior, the social integration of residents, their attitudes toward the community, and their sense of social well-being; and evaluation of specific service programs, such as the Homework Helper Program or the Neighborhood Service Centers.

Evaluation -- One of the virtues of an adequately conceived demonstration program is that when terminated, it should be able to describe the relationship between what was done and what happened as a result of what was done. That is, it should be able to provide us with evidence of the effectiveness of various procedures designed to ameliorate some social problem. From these results, new and improved procedures may be developed, and in this way continuity from one program to another can be established. However, many attacks upon delinquency in the past have suffered from a lack of adequate evaluatory measures. As a result, one cannot learn as much as might otherwise have been possible from the experiences of these programs. It is important, therefore, that carefully designed measures be constructed, tested and made ready before a program of services is inaugurated. This too has been accomplished during the planning period.

In addition, the first phase of our proposed evaluation program has already been achieved. This phase consisted of establishing a "baseline" against which future changes in the community, such as those resulting from the action program, can be measured. We established this baseline in large part through three large-scale community surveys which entailed approximately 2,000 intensive interviews with adults, adolescents, and leaders of local organizations in the project area.

Basic research -- The Mobilization for Youth plan also provides for research on basic theoretical issues in the field of delinquency. There are four proposals for basic research. Each of these reflects our sense of

priorities for research in the field of delinquency. One deals with the relationship between self-reported misconduct and official delinquency rates and seeks to discover whether variations in this relationship can be attributed to the demographic and social structure of various urban neighborhoods. The second proposal deals with the social reintegration of offenders returning from juvenile institutions. It is based on the assumption that the post-release period is the most critical in the rehabilitative process, and that recidivism can be understood partly as the consequence of invidious definitions of the offender in his home community which prevent his full reintegration. The third proposal calls for the analysis of extensive survey data gathered during the planning phase of this project. These materials pertain to theoretical issues in the origins, distribution, and patterning of delinquent behavior. Finally, we propose to conduct a historical study of the social organization of the urban political machine in order to place in perspective the role of the machine as an integrating force in contemporary urban areas.

Training Programs

There can be no question about the importance of an encompassing training program. Whatever the orientation of the action and research programs, training is required to develop the effectiveness of all staff, to help them understand the life situation and problems of local residents, and to recruit and train persons to carry out the tasks outlined by Mobilization in other places and at other times.

In addition to the proposal for teacher training, as noted in the education section above, the Mobilization training program will focus upon the recruitment, in-service training, and professional preparation of future vocational counselors and social workers. Vocational personnel will be offered an orientation-training program, in-service "booster" courses,

seminars, and fellowship assistance in cooperation with local universities. Emphasis will be placed upon the life styles of low-income families, their work needs, and the effect of such needs upon the counseling process.

Mobilization offers a unique opportunity for education in social work services and research. It is a setting in which a theoretical framework, concrete social services, and research are interrelated; moreover, the project is geared to change, to developing new services, to evaluation, testing, and theory building. Students, aided by fellowship assistance, Mobilization staff, and other community workers will be offered training in such varied subject matter as: the sources of deviant behavior; socioeconomic influences as they determine the shape and quality of social services; and theories of social change.

In closing, it should be noted that a crucial aspect of a project such as Mobilization for Youth is the soundness of its relationships with the local community - its institutions, leadership and residents. This goal has been achieved. The representatives of local institutions, of the New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, and the staff of the project have worked together during the planning period in a genuinely cooperative way.

The Mobilization for Youth proposal has been prepared in the conviction that, if its program is implemented, the project area will become one of expanding opportunity for youth and adults, that the community will develop greater competence in coping with problems, and that new knowledge and technology in dealing with human problems will result. In addition, it will provide the example, experience, and expertise required for the development of similar programs -- in other areas of New York City, as well as urban communities throughout the country. In the possibility of its replication elsewhere lies a major promise of the Mobilization experiment.

Mobilization for Youth, Inc.
214 East Second Street
New York 9, New York

January 10, 1962

MOBILIZATION FOR YOUTH -- BUDGET SUMMARY

The World of Work	$ 942,955
The World of Education	1,341,300
The Community	434,355
Specialized Services to Individuals and Families	605,302
Specialized Services to Groups	541,477
Recruitment and Training Program	323,502
Administration	198,570
Research	427,800
Total	$ 4,815,261

ANTICIPATED SOURCES OF FUNDS

Federal Government	$ 2,691,261
Private Foundations	1,000,000
City of New York	1,124,000
Total	$ 4,815,261

COST OF ADDITIONAL SERVICE TO BE REQUESTED FROM THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Neighborhood Service Center	$ 50,000
Youth Board	80,000
Housing Authority	80,000
Youth Job Training Program	50,000
City Planning Commission	12,000
Transit Authority	30,000
Radio Station WNYC	8,000
Total	$ 310,000

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bc: Mr. William Pincus
Mr. Jack Greenberg

February 22, 1963

Mr. Henry T. Heald
President
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Heald:

I want to thank you for the recent opportunity of meeting with you and your associates to discuss some of the problems within our area of work. It was very good of you to give us the time. I expect that we shall, sometime within the near future, submit some ideas to the Foundation which we hope may merit your interest.

I am enclosing a copy of our Annual Report for 1962 which may give a clearer view of the kinds of activities in which we are engaged.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (1962 Annual Report)

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

RECEIVED
JAN 4 1963

File

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

March 1, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your letter of February 25 and the enclosed financial data on the Southern Regional Council.

I do regret very much having missed you after your meeting with Mr. Heald. However, I am glad that you found the meeting of value.

Anything you send me will, of course, receive my most careful consideration and I should be happy to discuss your proposals with you whenever you are ready.

I do wish I had time for a visit to Atlanta in the near future but I am going to be away more than half of March travelling across the country and back again.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Bill

William Pincus

via air mail

February 25, 1963

Mr. William Pincus
Public Affairs Program
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Bill:

I came to see you after our meeting with Mr. Heald, but missed.

On the whole, I thought the meeting was good even though I had approached it with a good bit of trepidation. I believe we got an honest view, both to the degree of interest and the guiding attitudes of the Foundation. I, for one, enjoyed the meeting and the candor with which it was conducted. Mr. Heald closed the meeting by saying that the Foundation was receptive at all times to ideas and proposals. Consequently, it seems to us that we shall want to send up, for your consideration, some of the problems which have been on our minds, and which we have discussed with you. It may be several weeks before we shall be prepared to do this, and before we do I would like the opportunity to discuss our ideas with you in a preliminary sort of way. In the meantime, of course, we would, as always, be grateful to have any suggestions or advice you might have for us.

I am enclosing our approved budget for 1963 and two documents just completed last week - our Financial

Statement and program review for 1962.

When are you travelling South again? We would like to see you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 3.

Henry Ford built the fortune.

Sat. Evening Post
3-16-63

MR. FORD'S BUSY BILLIONS

Often attacked by critics of their tax privileges, foundations are helping to change society and our lives.

By BEN HIBBS

The men who give Ford money away: (from left) J. M. Nicely, vice president, treasurer; William McPeak, vice president, director of policy and planning; Henry Heald, foundation president; and J. M. McDaniel, secretary.

Thousands of institutions in America enjoy an unusual privilege: They pay no taxes, even though their incomes may run well into the millions of dollars annually. They are the nation's tax-exempt foundations, and under the circumstances it is not surprising that they have frequently come under attack by a variety of critics and under close scrutiny by Congress.

In the past, most of the foundations have emerged from these attacks smelling sweet enough to satisfy their inquisitors. Now once again, however, they are the target of congressional investigation, and this time they are up against a formidable adversary, Wright Patman, veteran congressman from Texas.

Patman, who heads the House Small Business Committee, has had a staff of researchers digging into the affairs of the foundations for months. Last July he launched his attack from the floor of the House, and in January he issued an interim report, 135 pages long, specifying the sorts of skulduggery he had discerned.

Big business and wealthy persons, he said, often established foundations primarily as a cover to escape taxes, not from motives of sweet charity. Some foundations exerted powerful influence over the business firms which had given them birth. Others were competing unfairly with small business by investing their tax-exempt funds in a variety of commercial ventures.

Many foundations, the congressman said, were skirting the law, some actually violating it flagrantly. And even if none of these abuses existed, Patman insisted, foundations as a whole still represented a dangerous concentration of economic power. Through their huge investments they had become a potent influence in the financial marketplace, not always for good. He strongly implied that the tax-exempt privilege was in itself a sinful invention which penalizes all the taxpayers.

Patman obviously has done his homework with great diligence, and he seems able to document many of his charges with clear-cut examples. Yet almost nothing in the Patman investigation thus far has given Congress and the public any glimpse of the powerful and usually constructive role which the foundations—particularly the large ones such as Ford, Rockefeller, Carnegie, Kellogg, and Sloan—have come to play in our society. When questioned from the floor of the House about this other side of the coin, Congressman Patman replied that his purpose was to investigate the finances of the foundations—their assets, investments and income—and not their philanthropies. Yet it is impossible to bring the foundations into focus without taking note of the profound way in which they are reaching into the lives of nearly all of us.

Never before in the history of this country have so many large blocks of private capital been set aside for human welfare. There are today in America about 15,000 tax-exempt institutions which qualify as foundations. Many are small and relatively local in scope—often devoted to a single project dear to the heart of the founder. Others are huge and incredibly diverse in their activities. The Ford Foundation, which is by far the largest, listed its net assets at about $2.3 billion as of September 30. During the past fiscal year it made grants of more than $200 million. Its benefactions, which have now reached a total of approximately $1.8 billion, have gone to 4,950 institutions in all fifty states and sixty-seven foreign countries. Ninety percent of this money has been handed out in the United States.

Swarthmore College retired faculty

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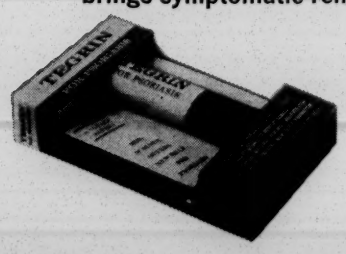

Most foundation projects bring acclaim, but abuse

MR. FORD'S BILLIONS

Figures compiled by the Foundation Library Center in New York indicate that the foundations now have total assets of about $13 billion and their grants currently add up to approximately $700 million annually. Much of this is used as seed money—to initiate or back innovations and experiments, to demonstrate, to lead the way.

Fear has been expressed by thoughtful people that the power of foundation money—reposing, as it does, largely in a small group of professional philanthropists—could run amok someday and damage our institutions and our way of life. And occasionally large groups of citizens have been outraged by certain foundation activities in such areas as civil rights, race relations and far-out experiments in education.

In view of the power they unquestionably exert and the controversies they sometimes provoke, it seems reasonable to ask just what the big foundations are up to. What, for instance, does the Ford Foundation do with all that money?

Why teachers give up

The answer, of course, is: many things. To see one specific example from the beneficiary's viewpoint, consider the case of Swarthmore College, a coeducational institution of distinguished academic standards located on the outskirts of Philadelphia. Its student body numbers about 950, its faculty about 120.

When Courtney Smith, then 36 years old, became president of Swarthmore in 1953, one of his early decisions was that faculty salaries must be raised. He was still grappling with this thorny problem in 1955 when the Ford Foundation electrified the academic world by announcing that it had just appropriated $260 million to help raise the salaries of teachers in all the 630 private, regionally accredited, four-year colleges and universities in this country. It was and remains the largest single giveaway program in the history of American philanthropy.

Ford, which over the years has leaned toward the educational field in its benefactions, had been studying the disgracefully low estate of college-faculty salaries. It found that in 1955 the median annual salary of full professors was $7,100—as contrasted, for example, with the median earnings of $15,000 for doctors. The median for all faculty grades was $5,200.

In effect college teachers were subsidizing the education of other people's children. As a result many faculty members, particularly the younger ones, were giving up the unfair financial struggle and turning to other occupations. Many others on the threshold of their careers, who yearned to teach, took a long look and fled in other directions.

Even with its massive resources, Ford could not hand out enough money to correct these inequities. But foundation officials thought they might be able to ignite a brush fire—or, hopefully, 630 brush fires—that would grow into a solid blaze of accomplishment across the country. This is the way the foundation works. "We like to start things," Henry T. Heald, president, said to me. "Then if the idea is valid other people take over where we leave off."

Most of the money granted in the faculty-wage program was given with the stipulation that it should be invested in endowment funds for at least 10 years and the income used exclusively for salaries. Swarthmore College got $908,000. This in itself did not solve Courtney Smith's problem. Put out at a safe 4 percent interest it would yield $36,320 and permit an average pay hike of about $300. But the Ford money did serve as a potent shot in the arm.

Through alumni fund drives, Swarthmore had been raising about $100,000 annually. Now, inspired by the Ford grant, the alumni board decided to double this amount and earmark the second $100,000 for salaries. Within three years the new goal had been reached, and the contributions have continued at or above that level ever since. President Smith now had almost four times as much new spending money as was produced by the Ford grant alone and was able to give his teachers substantial increases. Swarthmore salaries had long been far above the general academic average. Today they are in the top-10-percent bracket, enabling the college to compete with the Ivy League schools for teaching talent.

This experience was repeated, in varying degrees and in many ways, in hundreds of colleges throughout the country. Perhaps the greatest good, however, came from the enormous publicity given the huge Ford grant. The announcement, together with statistics on salaries, hit the front pages; radio and television joined the chorus; editorial writers wrote about the financially neglected profession of teaching. Attention was focused, and the public conscience was aroused.

Today faculty wages are still far too low in comparison with earnings in other learned professions, but progress has been made. The median for all ranks has risen from $5,200 in 1955 to $7,486, and faculty people, generally speaking, are less hopeless about the future than they were 10 years ago. Although the foundation itself is careful not to claim too much credit, many college officials will tell you that the massive Ford grant of the middle 1950's had quite a lot to do with this salutary change of climate. As foundation officials had hoped, their salary program did ignite a lot of brush fires.

With that triumph under its belt, Ford embarked in 1960 on another massive college project that in total grants may eventually surpass the $260 million salary program. The man handling this new project is James W. Armsey, director of the foundation's Special Program in Education. Armsey, 45, had had a distinguished career in education administration before he joined the foundation staff in 1956.

"The administrators of even the best colleges and universities," Armsey said to me, "are so bedeviled by money problems that they are hard put to find time to run their schools. We are trying over a period of years to give some of them a lift."

As of last autumn the foundation had announced at yearly intervals three packages of grants in this new college-development program. They totalled $114.7 million and went to 35 private universities and colleges. The Ford funds, which this time must be matched by $277 million raised by the recipients, are more or less unrestricted—that is, they may be spent for a wide range of physical and academic projects. However, each institution being considered was required to submit a detailed analysis of itself, its needs and its plan of expenditures.

Swarthmore College again received a grant, $2 million this time, to be matched on a three-to-one basis. "But," said Joseph B. Shane, vice president of the college, "even if Swarthmore had been turned down in the end, the study which we put together for Ford was a highly worthwhile project in itself. It was a revealing exercise in self-examination."

In the academic world these days a pious old saying is being twisted around a bit, with no sacrilegious intent, to read, "Ford helps those who help themselves." College presidents in faraway states, it is said, have been known to face reverently towards the foundation offices in New York City and repeat these words as a hopeful incantation.

They care about the job

The Ford Foundation occupies nine floors of a blocky office building at 477 Madison Avenue. The permanent professional staff numbers about 100, but you will rarely find more than two thirds of these men and women at their desks on a given day. The others will be out in the field, investigating, assessing, administering. Talks with many members of the staff showed they are for the most part mature but relatively young men who discuss their many projects eloquently and with fervor. Many come from the educational field, but there are also lawyers, journalists, former Government executives, men from the business and financial world—and one ex-labor-union official. They obviously have one thing in common: high enthusiasm for their jobs. Despite the hard work and the occasional headache when a program flops, it seems to be fun to give away the late Mr. Ford's millions for mankind.

Started in 1936, the Ford Foundation remained a relatively small family trust, devoted chiefly to local charities in Michigan, until the late 1940's. Then under the wills of the elder Henry Ford and his son Edsel it received some 90 percent of the stock of the Ford Motor Company. Unquestionably one of the motives behind these huge bequests was the determination of the Ford family to prevent the company from falling into the hands of outsiders through confiscatory inheritance taxes. But the wills specified that the vast sums were to be used for the

came with the Fund for the Republic.

purpose of "advancing human welfare."

The enlarged foundation opened for business in the autumn of 1950 with assets of close to a half billion dollars. In the intervening years it has sold about two fifths of its Ford stock and diversified into a wide variety of other securities. Its worth has multiplied fivefold in 12 years through the increase in value of Ford stock and the growth of other investments. About two thirds of its capital remains in nonvoting Ford stock. Ford stock sold to the public is converted at the time of sale into voting stock. Thus the foundation cannot have control over the company.

It is equally true that the Ford Motor Company does not run the foundation. The fund is administered by a board of 15 distinguished trustees headed by John J. McCloy, the financier, who also has served in several important governmental posts. All policy matters and all appropriations must be approved by the board. Edsel Ford's sons, Henry II, who is now chairman of the board of the Ford Motor Company, and Benson, vice president of the company, are foundation trustees. So is Donald K. David, a Ford Company director. These three men are the only link with the company.

Foundation President Henry Heald, 58, is a tall, handsome man of scholarly attainments and forthright manner. After a long career in engineering and education he became chancellor of New York University in 1952 and moved to the presidency of the foundation in 1956. He likes to speak of the foundation as a "wholesaler" of philanthropy—meaning that it usually makes its grants to sound institutions which have the know-how in their own fields to parcel out the money effectively. Thus some of its institutional grants filter down, as scholarships and fellowships, to hundreds of persons. Doctor Heald also emphasizes the experimental nature of many of the foundation's projects.

"When we see a good new idea in education or some other field," he said, "we often put our money behind it and give it a chance to prove or disprove itself. If it is indeed good it may well become an effective demonstration whose effects will spread and grow. If it fails—as happens now and then—well, we've simply lost a bit of money. Because we are a private philanthropy we are not frightened by occasional defeat. And again because we are private and are not bound by civil-service pay scales, as Government agencies are, we can get highly competent people to block out and administer our programs."

Occasionally the foundation creates a brand-new agency to carry out some program. One of these, the Fund for the Republic, turned out to be a hot potato. It was one case in which a foundation managed to enrage a considerable segment of the American public.

The purpose of the fund, which opened its doors in 1953 with a $15 million grant, was to do battle for our "constitutional liberties." Clifford P. Case, now a U.S. senator from New Jersey, was its first president, but was succeeded in 1954 by Robert M. Hutchins, who had been associate director of the foundation itself. Hutchins, a voluble liberal, waded into the civil-rights fray with such vigor that for a time he and the fund were in the headlines almost constantly. It was the McCarthy era, and targets for Hutchins were not lacking.

Hutchins, however, made so much noise that many people got the idea that the fund *was* the Ford Foundation, or at least its major project. In this case, the tail was wagging the dog. And the sharp criticisms which Hutchins's tactics provoked inevitably bounced back to the foundation itself.

Today foundation officials speak of the fund with marked reticence. "It did some good," they say, "but ——" No further grants were ever made, and officials point out, a bit defensively, that there was never any expressed intent to give the fund any more money. It was, they imply, a one-shot experiment.

A disowned subsidiary

The Fund for the Republic still operates, rather quietly, in Santa Barbara, California, and Hutchins still heads it. Its chief function now seems to be to make studies and publish reports on social and governmental problems. No longer connected with the foundation in any way, it is reported hard up for spending money. Hutchins, always a phrasemaker, sometimes refers sadly to his enterprise as a "wholly disowned subsidiary."

Another special agency, which by any yardstick has been a whopping success, is the Fund for the Advancement of Education, which the foundation created in 1951 and has continued to support all-out. Housed in the same offices as the foundation itself, it is charged with initiating and carrying out scores of experimental programs to improve our schools all the way from kindergarten through college. It is headed by Clarence H. Faust, president, and Alvin C. Eurich, vice president—a couple of ex-educators who possess tough enough hides to push ahead on their projects despite occasional bombardments of brickbats from members of their former profession.

This is the arm of the foundation which is backing much revolutionary experimentation in public-school education. Many of its projects have already proved their worth. Others, still in the demonstration stage, are eyed with doubt by some educators and by those parents who want only hard-core, old-fashioned schooling for their children—with no fancy new ideas, please. Thus the foundation has become a big hunk of yeast in the general ferment which seethes through the whole educational field.

From its earliest beginnings, Ford's education fund has put massive infusions of money and work into the growing battle to train teachers more effectively. For one thing, it has insisted that teachers should be given more liberal-arts education and fewer courses in the teaching

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Ford risks controversy by backing new research in birth control.

techniques. The fund's conviction is that there are teachers whose own education, to put the matter charitably, has been superficial.

As a part of this campaign, Ford has given heavy backing to internships for teachers—an idea borrowed from the medical schools. A liberal-arts A.B., for example, may do graduate work for an M.A. in pedagogy and within the same school year get paid part-time wages by a local school board for intern teaching under the eyes of experienced teachers. This system is now widely employed in school systems located near universities. Public-school administrators generally proclaim it a huge success.

Ford also backed television as a teaching tool when TV was still new enough to be controversial. And it was largely Ford money which in 1961 got that "flying-antenna" airplane off the ground in Indiana—the plane that broadcasts lessons, recorded by experts, to classes in hundreds of public schools in a six-state area. This experiment, incorporated as the Midwest Program in Airborne Television, is so successful that the corporation hopes eventually to become largely self-supporting through fees paid by the schools. That's the way Ford likes to have its experimental programs work out: Point the way with money and counsel, and then, after the idea catches hold, move on to something else.

Another innovation massively supported by Ford is team teaching—a system whereby several teachers of the same grade work in groups, cooperatively, shifting classroom work from one to another. In English, for example, one may be a whiz at teaching grammar while another's specialty is poetry. At intervals the large classes are broken into smaller groups for discussions. The plan is being adopted more widely every year.

Still newer, more complicated and more controversial is the plan called continuous learning—a system under which each pupil progresses at his own speed in each subject without being promoted specifically from grade to grade. It is close to special tutoring on a mass-production basis.

One school system which has received substantial Ford money to try out continuous learning and other experiments, and to extend its team-teaching plan, is that of Newton, Massachusetts, a suburban city of 92,000 on the outskirts of Boston. Newton has long been a front-runner in educational innovation, and its present school superintendent, Charles E. Brown, who is just 37, has a national reputation. When I visited Newton last summer, task forces of teachers were planning their complex new regimen.

Said Bettina King, principal of a junior high where one continuous-learning program is being launched, "We have talked and talked about these things, and now finally, with Ford money and Doctor Brown's blessing, we have a chance to find out whether they are as good as we think they are." Initial results of the new methods are promising, but it will take at least three years to determine their validity.

Educators in Oregon are now embarked on a statewide school-improvement program with Ford support. It involves nine private and public colleges and universities, which train 88 percent of all the state's teachers, and 26 school systems, which enroll 52 percent of the public-school students. In this case the Ford money will be spent on a host of innovations—team teaching, widening the range of subjects, flexible scheduling of the students' time, the use of nonprofessionals—housewives and others—as teacher aides, variable grouping of students for classroom instruction, programs for gifted students, more attention to the dullards, more effective guidance programs.

Through its grantee institutions Ford has awarded fellowships for graduate study to thousands of young men and women: some for work pointing directly to college teaching; some for science and other occupations; some for foreign studies. A favorite remark around the foundation is that "the America of the future must know more about this world that it is trying to lead."

Ford is trying to improve university-level business schools, which in quality have been down at the bottom of the educational totem pole along with teachers' colleges. Several years ago it also gave $90 million to privately supported medical schools to strengthen their faculties. And the foundation expects to launch shortly a course of instruction at Columbia University for successful men in middle life who have decided that business is for the birds and want new careers in something which they believe will be more satisfying, such as teaching or public service.

It is also handing out eating money—this time directly, with no intervening agency—to scores of serious writers, composers, painters, performers and others in the arts, to enable them to work uninterruptedly for a time without having to grub for a living. Results are piling up in this field: books published, new music performed, paintings sold.

Commenting on Ford's list of benefactions, Francis Keppel, recently appointed U. S. Commissioner of Education who for 14 years was dean of Harvard's Graduate School of Education, said to me, "You can't even keep track of all the things they are into, but, the good Lord willing, may they continue! What an encouraging thing it is, in this critical time for education, to have a rich foundation which steps in with its money and starts doing the things that some of us can only shout about."

Yet the foundation's projects in education are only part of its sprawling program. It is also operating in the gray areas of the big cities, trying to do something about juvenile gangs and helping municipalities coordinate and make some sense out of the confused jungle of welfare agencies. It has devoted money to mental health, to the problems of the aged, the chronically unemployed, the submerged thousands who earn their living as migrant farm laborers. Several years ago it handed out $200 million to improve the services of nonprofit hospitals across the nation. It is also devoting some attention and money to one of the world's most critical situations, the population explosion, and as a part of this program it is backing new research on birth control. Here, of course, it is beginning to stick a toe into deeply troubled waters.

The foundation also has a vast and growing foreign program—or, rather, numerous programs, with the emphasis frequently on education. In a recent case—a typical one—the University of Chicago was awarded over a million dollars to support educational programs in Pakistan. Oklahoma State University, with another million, also will work to improve the Pakistan schools. The University of Brazil is using Ford money to train scientists who will be needed as the nation's industry grows. And in January the foundation announced a multi-pronged $2 million program to strengthen the artistic, educational and cultural resources of West Berlin.

Several months ago the trustees took a long look at the Ford Foundation's past, then peered ahead and announced that they would go on doing pretty much the same types of things in the 1960's.

It has been suggested that the foundations of this country are now at their peak; that their functions gradually will be usurped by the Government with its proliferation of welfare programs and its vast resources; that the foundations eventually will spend all their money and cinder out. Maybe, but thus far there is little evidence to support this prediction.

The Ford Foundation, for example, not only gives away its income but occasionally dips into capital for grants. Over the years it has disposed of about $600 million of its assets in this way, and yet its book net worth continues to grow. "Under our charter," said President Heald, "we could give away everything and go out of business." But it is doubtful that Doctor Heald or anyone else at Ford believes this will happen. Certainly the Ford Foundation still finds more to do, in scores of fields, than it can finance. It consistently turns down worthy ideas simply because there isn't enough money.

A reporter's guess is that the foundations will continue to flourish. They will make occasional mistakes, sponsor failures now and then, and irritate some citizens.

There will be abuses of the tax-exempt privilege such as Congressman Patman has found. Yet on balance it must be expected that they will continue to accomplish much that is good. The better foundations are, in a sense, the flowering of the genius and conscience of the private-enterprise system. THE END

HAZEL, starring SHIRLEY BOOTH, may be seen on NBC-TV Thursday evenings.

HAZEL by Ted Key

"No signals."

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

June 3, 1963

Mr. David R. Hunter
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Hunter:

Just a word of thanks for the chance to read your "Who's Got the Action?" It opened up for me some very pressing questions, just as it did for George Goodwin. He singled out what he liked, and if I may do the same I would turn to your remarks on social classes on pages 9-10. I have been fretting lately over a question I've asked myself, whether its good or bad that America never has discovered how to combine dignity and poverty. We have no peasant class, no fishermen, etc., proud and self-respecting though inescapably poor. With us, poverty yields, as you put it, "a since of lack of control.../, of alienation."

And that this is so is, I suppose, one of the historic mainsprings of our prosperity. Yet it puzzles me.

Come to Atlanta again sometime.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

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GEORGE GOODWIN
VICE PRESIDENT

April 30, 1963

Mr. David R. Hunter
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear David:

You spoil more leisure for me than any other five persons.

A year ago I got on a train, planning a relaxed afternoon, and spent all the time getting upset by the excellent reports you had sent me.

Last night I stretched out in my easy chair to think about what a great job we are doing in Atlanta and just to feel generally satisfied. I read your speech, "Who's Got the Action?", and spent the rest of the evening wishing I had said it. I think, David, you have produced another important document.

Actually, I read up to page twelve wishing you would say it. Then you did. You put the finger squarely on the sore place -- those in the power structure who serve on all sorts of boards but somehow never cause the power structure itself to sit down and think about the enormity of the collection of problems and how to do something basic about them.

Years ago individual power structures of various communities gradually awoke to the need for realistic physical planning. One of the best expressions of this was the Central Atlanta Association which I headed for two years before coming to the bank in 1954. Physical planning, with all its difficulties, is relatively simple in comparison with social planning.

26568

To Mr. David R. Hunter
The Ford Foundation
New York City

4-30-63

It's easier to arouse interest because businessmen can see the dollar loss as a result of the absence of physical planning.

Somehow or other these same forces must be made to see the importance of intelligent, broadly-coordinated social planning. So far they are only dabbling with the fringes. Some of the new frontiersmen understand the problem, but I am afraid they do not have sufficient acceptance among the business-oriented, usually wealthy, usually Republican, members of individual power structures.

On a national scale, your organization, the Rockefellers and a few others have sufficient prestige to command attention and thoughtful consideration from these people who, in each community, must eventually make the big decisions.

As you know, I am a Democrat, but I think I am a fairly realistic one. The solution you advocate, in my opinion, cannot be sold successfully either by Democrats or by social workers. It will require people like yourself speaking in other forums, such as the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Industrial Conference Board, the American Bankers Association and various assemblages of local power. Did you ever consider the possibility of thoughtful luncheon sessions with the boards of directors of banks -- like our own -- where the Ford Foundation owns substantial chunks of stock? In every community of any size the boards of the banks will contain more members of the local power structure than any other organization.

Meanwhile! what ever happened to your proposed Atlanta trip? I want to have a long, comfortable talk with you. If the mountain insists on not coming to Mohammed, Mohammed is willing to make

To Mr. David R. Hunter
The Ford Foundation
New York City

a pilgrimage to the mountain. I have agreed to participate in a seminar sponsored by the American Management Association in New York on Tuesday and Wednesday, June 4 and 5. Can we get together?

Sincerely,

George Goodwin

GG g

WHO'S GOT THE ACTION?

Welfare Planning in the City

David R. Hunter
Ford Foundation

Keynote Address
Midwest Regional Conference
United Community Funds and Councils of America
Springfield, Illinois
February 24, 1963

WHO'S GOT THE ACTION?

WELFARE PLANNING IN THE CITY

It is very flattering and a great honor to be invited to deliver the keynote address at so august a gathering as this. It's also a nuisance and rather frightening, if one has any conscience at all about such things. I have sat through enough keynote addresses to know that one can get away with delivering himself of thirty minutes of pomposities, banalities, and platitudes, after which he will be applauded and politely sent on his way in a glow of self-satisfaction.

But this sort of thing really isn't fair. Time is too short to waste it thus. There are too many desperate problems facing us for us to do anything other than talk about them directly and openly in a meeting of this kind. There are too many issues dividing us for us to fail to take every opportunity to drag them out from under the rug. Too many of us spend our days keeping our necks safely in. At this meeting, I take it, sticking them out is in order.

Therefore, in preparing for this speech I have tried to eschew the cavalier and the casual and sweated out what I really think about some of the issues and problems that crop up under the heading of Welfare Planning in the City. I find that I'm not sure what I think about some of them. Others I'm willing to take some pot shots at. This is done in all humility, with full recognition that I don't have all the answers any more than you do. But if we don't say some things out loud, we will never know whether or not we are wrong and we will never get them on the table for full examination and argument if need be.

This perhaps sounds more threatening than it is supposed to be. It's really not so bad. I merely wanted to establish an atmosphere conducive to shirt-sleeve discussion, to disavow any intention to be dogmatic, and to say that if any of the ideas which follow are offensive, they are not said in an offensive or arrogant spirit.

I have noticed lately a fair amount of exhortation being addressed to welfare councils. This has come from sources within or close to welfare councils. It is exhortation to look at the big picture; to help rebuild our cities; to come to grips with critical social welfare issues; to be courageous and unfettered by the accidents of history; to relate social planning to physical planning, local planning with area, state and national; to prepare comprehensive social plans; and so on.

Something must be generating this exhortation. Something must be eating somebody.

Perhaps it would help us to get a line on all this by looking at some of the big problems besetting the American city today and thinking a little bit about how welfare councils fit in.

But first, it may be worth reminding ourselves that welfare councils exist because social problems exist. This is the milieu that generated them. This is the touchstone against which they must currently be tested. Social agencies grew up to help people in various kinds of need. Councils of social agencies developed at a later stage in response to the obvious desirability of coordinating agency services, filling gaps, and avoiding overlap. Welfare councils, community planning councils, or united community services organizations are a still higher level of development, but always in response to and conditioned by social need and social problems.

Let's start with low income. There are two aspects of low income that make trouble for American society. One is the absolute fact of deprivation and its results in inhibiting human development of all kinds. The other is the insidious fact of relative deprivation, that is being relatively poor in an affluent society. We have both to an intolerable degree if we are serious about our ideals of equalitarianism, the open society, and opportunity for all.

Two simple data support this statement. In 1960, 20% of all American families had incomes of less than the equivalent of $4,000 for a family of four per year. That is poverty.

In 1959, the top one-tenth of the population had more income than the bottom five tenths. The bottom three-tenths had only 8.6% of the total income. The top three-tenths had 57.4%.

I don't believe the fact that poverty is a social and economic problem needs much arguing. Nor does the fact that its results are inimical to the purposes welfare councils are supposed to serve. It is a problem with which welfare councils should be concerned by their own definition of what they are. Poverty means human misery. It traps people in vicious circles from which it is very difficult to escape. The significance of "relative deprivation" is that this is one of the prime forces making for deviant behavior, another of the major concerns of welfare councils. A sense of deprivation and injustice has fertile soil to grow in where those who have less are surrounded at close proximity by those who have much. Feelings of unjust deprivation, of unfairly depressed status have much to do with generating troublesome behavior among the young.

That, very briefly, establishes the premise that low income and poverty in the absolute sense and in the sense of relative deprivation are problems of current and legitimate concern for welfare councils.

What can and should be done about it?

Poverty could be eliminated for ten billion dollars per year, 2% of the gross national product, less than 10% of tax revenues, 1/5 of the cost of national defense. That s a stark and dramatic statement and of course refers only to how much money it would take to abolish poverty if it were just distributed to all those below

the poverty line. Unfortunately the solution to the puzzle is a little more complicated than that. The question here is that while low income is one of the problems which gave rise to the development of welfare councils, how much can they really do about it?

Even if the answer was as simple as a dole, or a guaranteed minimum money income for everyone, this kind of thing is not for welfare councils. This is strictly government business, and while welfare councils are supposed to cooperate with government, they cannot be seen as a substitute for government without undermining some basic tenets of democracy.

But the answer to low income is not that simple. I am not going to be so foolhardy as to stand here and deliver myself of the ultimate formula for the abolition of poverty. However, I think it wouldn't be a waste of our time to examine some of the things the savants tell us are relevant, and see what the role of welfare councils might be.

A recent book on this subject said: "Education is the major determinant of income." Just like that. And it supported this with facts. Less education, less income. The corporation president who quit school in the eighth grade is getting to be a rare bird.

For education to have its effect on the low income still a part of the American scene, some big and difficult things will have to be done entailing painful and often costly decisions. Dr. Conant, for example, says that twice as much per pupil should be spent in slum schools as in the suburbs. Better ways of preparing non-college bound youth for the world of work and facilitating the transition from school to job are urgent. Better ways of helping children from culturally-deprived

backgrounds master the English language are a top priority. Without at least minimal language skill, you go nowhere. These are but a few of things in education which demand immediate and large scale action.

Who is going to make the decisions which will be most central to keeping more kids in school longer? Who is going to make the decision which will adjust curricula, methods of teaching, and teacher training better to meet the current requirements of all levels of our population? In the main it will be boards of education; state departments of education; local, state, and federal legislators; redevelopment agencies; and employment services. These are not the only sources of influence in this picture, but they are the holders of the main action.

Reverting to the subject of direct income maintenance as one strategy in tackling poverty, we see again the major responsibility in the public domain. Major decisions in this field cannot be left to welfare councils whether public agencies are participants or not. Nor can councils legitimately seek to take prime initiative here. They have an important role to play, but that role must be properly assessed in the light of the extent of the problem and the final responsibility of the public services involved to the electorate. In realistic terms what are the institutions aside from the labor market itself and private employers which will govern what sort of basic income maintenance policies our society will underwrite? Legislatures, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Department of Agriculture, the Area Redevelopment Administration, the Department of Labor, and state and local counterparts of these.

One cannot talk about poverty or low income without talking about unemployment, under-employment, and under-compensated employment. We have a great deal of all three in this country. They all make their contribution to this subject and to the

broad subject of "social problems." What do people think about and do to reduce unemployment? They try to introduce policies and measures which will speed economic growth, to expand international markets, to stimulate domestic demand, to create new employment opportunities either directly or through new product development, to reduce arbitrary obstacles to equal employment opportunities for all, to use tax incentives for economic development ends, and to prepare young workers better for their entry into the labor market.

Who must do these things? Who, and only who can do these things? Business and labor leadership, the Council of Economic Advisers, the Treasury, the Department of State, the Department of Labor, the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, the schools.

To make a difference in the position of people who find themselves among the poor, calls for complex and large scale action on the part of institutions, largely although not exclusively in the public sector, over which welfare councils do not have much influence or control.

Race is another festering city problem. The racial minorities in America contribute disproportionately to the social welfare problems with which welfare councils are concerned. Let us limit the discussion here to Negroes although many of the significant factors apply equally or nearly equally to Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. The facts of the Negro's contribution to problems of dependency, health, crime, housing, educational failure, etc. don't need to be rehearsed. They are too well-known. I also don't think we need to take time here to argue against the view that inherent defects in the Negro character and culture are at fault.

Our task here is to examine some of the disrupting social situations to which the fact of race is a direct contributory factor, to explore possible

lines of action which might offer some hope of changing these situations, and then again to see "who's got the action."

The disproportionate contribution by Negroes to social problems will be cut down to size when the Negro is just another person, when Negro and white societies are truly integrated, when the Negro has equal opportunities to be bad and to be good along with the rest of us. He is excessively rich in opportunities and invitations to be bad now.

To move toward that goal, what are the requisite actions? Abolition of discriminatory practices in employment and housing; provision of employment opportunities that will enable men to fill the role of family head and supporter; compensatory education in the schools where Negro children are concentrated to make up for the years of minimal education they and their progenitors have had; conscious and consistent effort to seek the full participation of Negroes in the decision-making processes of the community - political, business, civic; the extension of business and housing credit on a non-discriminatory basis.

It has taken me just a minute or so to mention these things, but they are obviously profound and far-reaching, every one of them. They are the business of everyone, but they are also the business, or had better be, of some specific institutions. Chambers of Commerce and other business organizations should play a prominent role in breaking down barriers to employment and opening new opportunities. State and local fair employment practices committees; councils on human relations; boards of education; employment services; the mayors' and county supervisors' offices. On this subject some basic decisions have to be made in the hearts of men, but in the meantime there are some urgent decisions and actions to be taken by such as these institutions. The right kinds of decisions and actions will have the effect of reducing social welfare problems.

Welfare councils can take leadership initiative, serve as good examples, point to community deficiencies, demonstrate the effects of racial discrimination on welfare problems, and urge action on strategic community decision makers. To date not many welfare councils have demonstrated their capacity to exercise central and decisive influence in this important area of welfare problems, however.

There are two more welfare problem-producing phenomena I would like to mention before moving to some generalizations on the basis of all this. One is the sharpening class lines between inner-city and suburb and the other is juvenile delinquency.

A recent writer on the future of the American city pointed to the increasingly lower class character of the inner-city as compared to the predominantly middle class outer areas. He sees this as a trend which will continue unabated unless some regional planning is done to counteract it. His particular solution happens to be moderate-sized scattered population groupings, each with its own industry and commerce and interconnected with all the others by high-speed mass transportation. Whether or not you buy that approach, his conclusion about the deepening class gulf between inner-city and outer areas is undoubtedly true as a generalization. He speculated that in the coming years geographical color barriers will go down and that the new bigotry may be epitomized by the suburbanite's rhetorical question: "Would you want your daughter to marry a moron"?

A few data will demonstrate the position. In 1960 the median number of school years completed by residents of the city of Chicago was 10. In the six county regions of which Chicago is a part, the median was 10.9. In 1959 the medican income for Chicago city families was $6,738; for families in the six counties, $7,343. Unemployment in the city was 5.2% and 4% in the six counties.

Such a trend has profound implications for anybody planning for social welfare.

The dangers of deeper class cleavages sharpened by georgraphical location are all too obvious. The concentration of social problems and resultant social as well as money costs among the lower socio-economic groups within the city proper is already apparent. This is accompanied by the movement of industrial and commercial enterprises as well as individuals with higher incomes to the outlying areas leaving a reduced tax base behind for the city to tap to meet its rising responsibilities.

Social stratification is a complex and pervasive condition of human society that is hard to tackle and isn't going to change overnight. There are differing opinions about the nature of the beast, about its significance for good or ill, and about what you do about it either way. There are not very many people around today who believe that there will ever come a time when all men are equal in condition and talent. However, there are plenty of people around who think that attention to some of the aspects and effects of social stratification is overdue. Is it desirable to lure more middle class people back to the city and, if so, how? With better schools? Different kind of housing? More police protection? Although there are always going to be people with less money, less education, and fewer privileges than others, how do you take some of the sting out of this condition? The Romans tried to do it by bread and circuses. Is it possible to do it by assigning a higher social value to less skilled work than is now the case? Is it possible to make the channels to upward mobility more visible and more accessible than they now are? Is it possible to mix up the classes in a variety of ways such as residence, common endeavors of one sort or another, schooling together, etc. so that eventually some meaningful communication replaces the almost total silence of the present?

It is clear that social class is relevant to many social welfare problems. It is not so clear as to what should be done about it. At the very least

there is need to know more about it, and to recognize it as an element in many specific problem manifestations. I believe we are also challenged to do better about opening channels to higher status; about making these channels visible to lower status children and youth; about preparing them better to move upward in education and occupation.

One common characteristic of low status people which contributes to the generation of welfare problems is a sense of lack of control of their own destinies, a sense of isolation and alienation from the people who really run things. Many institutions can do something about this, at least to some degree, by consciously sharing control and decision-making with representatives of lower status groups. Welfare councils are not yet widely acclaimed for having moved very far in this direction.

The last ingredient in this big city stew is juvenile delinquency. Probably not many welfare council meetings go by without some mention of this troublesome phenomenon of the urban scene the world over. Here again is something that gets talked about and worried about as an entity in itself and yet its roots are as twisted and intertwined and camouflaged as those of any of the other problems we have touched on. However, the weight of the best evidence and thinking today seems to favor the idea that the bulk of juvenile delinquency is the product of the social and economic forces of the city. It happens with greatest frequency among those groups of the population who have least opportunity to achieve a self-respecting status in American society through legitimate means. It is one of the way-points in the vicious circle of low income, low education, low aspirations, low achievement, values at odds with the dominant values, and low self-esteem.

To make much of an impact on the problem of delinquency, some serious and large-scale measures will have to be taken. These will have to do with

improving the educational process for low income youth, expanding opportunities for employment and for legitimate social relationships, and reducing the isolation and alienation of youth from community institutions and agencies. This is a tall order and calls for heavy commitment on the part of local government departments, board of education, commerce and industry, as well as the voluntary agencies which have traditionally been concerned with the prevention of delinquency.

There are other pressing problems that could be expanded on here: the effects of increasing mechanization and automation in commerce and industry on the labor force; the continuing too rapid and widespread deterioration of housing; the failure of our judicial system to provide equal justice before the law for rich and poor alike.

As we look at this depressing array of city problems, we cannot but be impressed by how intricately they are all interwoven in the warp and woof of the fabric of the city. None of them is really isolable. They all are part of or manifestations of the system or interlocking series of systems that is the big city. You can't push one part of it without jiggling another. And you can't really fundamentally affect these systemic elements or manifestations without touching the system itself.

That is really the basic question I am raising here. Since the biggest, most urgent, most intransigent problems of the city are either integral elements of the system of the city or represent fall-out from its inefficient operation, what sort of structure is it necessary to have in order adequately to diagnose, prognosticate, formulate policy, and develop comprehensive integrated planning to bring about the changes required to cure and prevent these problems?

Another question corollary to this is: which social welfare problems are most susceptible to direct attack and which are more likely to be affected by

indirection; which problems can effectively be dealt with at their immediate level of expression and which by changing the generating milieu? An example of this is the problem of unwed motherhood among Negroes. Is an impact on this problem more likely to be made by working directly with the mothers and by placing the children or by making it economically more possible for Negro men to be self-supporting heads of families? Judgments of this kind are all-important in allocating limited community resources on a scale of priorities. A slightly different way of phrasing the question is. which welfare problems are best dealt with by focusing welfare services on them and which by working on the conditions that produce them?

It seems to me that it is against these questions that the structure, responsibilities, and functions of urban welfare councils must be examined today.

The solutions, or at least possibilities of improvement, for many problems which are identified as social welfare problems, lie outside of the organized welfare system itself, public or private. The switches that need to be pulled are often not found in the offices of the welfare agencies but elsewhere. Let's take an example of a banker who sits as a hard-working member of a welfare council. It is entirely possible that he would be doing more toward the solution of a number of welfare problems if he took a leadership role among his banking colleagues to get them to form a consortium to extend long-term,low-interest loans and technical assistance to young Negroes who wish to start independent small businesses; or to apply pressure and persuasion in the mortgage banking fraternity to the end that ethnicity per se no longer be a conditional factor in mortgage loans.

Or take the example of a trade union representative on a council. It is entirely possible that he would undermine more welfare problems if he devoted his

energy to opening up apprenticeship opportunities to young people, and particularly minority group youth, in those unions where the doors are now tightly closed.

Welfare councils are made up of powerful people. The non-professional people on councils wouldn't be there if they weren't powerful. Even though that is the case, however, there is a question as to whether or not the council in its present guise and location in the community is powerful enough to do what it usually says it wants to do. The power of the powerful people on the council is generally used to gain financial support for the council and the community agencies. It is not frequently enough used to influence the non-welfare parts of the system of the city which must be influenced if welfare problems are to be more than palliated.

Some of the most thoughtful people in this field have been saying recently that welfare councils should undertake to produce comprehensive social plans for the city. It is not clear to me whether this means the lay-out of social services over the next five, ten or twenty-five years, or this plus objectives to be sought in other social aspects of the city, such as what social class mix is desirable and how you get it; what racial mix; what land-use patterns in terms of nurturing the most viable and dynamic community relationships; or what public housing policy should be pursued in the light of our experience to date with high-rise housing projects.

Assuming that it is possible to make a "comprehensive social plan," (which I, personally, am not so sure of) is the welfare council the proper vehicle for this? A plan, after all, is more than a Utopian dream. Wherever it says that something shall be done, by the same token it says that something shall not be done. This implies that a plan is backed up by the power to impose sanctions and offer incentives. Does sufficient power of this kind reside in a welfare council and should it rightfully reside there? I don't think so.

When we are talking about influencing all of the interrelated parts of the system of the city, there seems to me to be little alternative to placing primary responsibility for this in local government itself. Anything other than this would be essentially undemocratic. Welfare councils, therefore, should not feel guilty when they have shied from considering themselves as the social planning mechanism for the city. I believe this is the correct posture. Any other posture would be presumptuous since councils are accountable to the people at large only to the degree that they impose accountability on themselves.

Does this mean that when it comes to social planning, councils should fold up their tents and steal away? Not at all. One of the precious features of the American scene is voluntarism and citizen engagement with community concerns. The welfare council epitomizes this.

In the broad social planning and social policy development that needs to be done in the city, the council has a key role to play. The trick is to see this role in proper perspective. The council should not attempt that which it should not do and that which it cannot adequately do because of its very nature. One thing it certainly can and should do is to exert leadership in getting local government, public institutions, political leaders, representatives of the economic determinants in the community, and voluntary agencies to tackle the social problems of the city, root and branch, in an integrated and comprehensive manner. The council can act as prodderm challenger, inspirer, and keeper of the vision. It can, if it will, rise above narrow constituencies and point out the true long-range interests of the community. Because of the commitment of powerful people to the council, it can directly, or indirectly through them to the groups they represent, call for changes in policies and practices outside the welfare system itself which produce welfare

problems. Because of its unofficial character, it can provide a platform, a channel for expression, and a vehicle for participation in decision-making for those to whom these channels are now largely inaccessible. And let us not forget that the job of coordination of welfare services is not of minor importance. Just because something beyond that is required to cope with the social problems of the big city, doesn't mean that that function itself is of less value.

Finally, I, for one, will be happier when the conversation around welfare councils is couched less in terms of "needs" and "services." Willy-nilly I think these words have become loaded with meanings which are inimical to the best possibilities of our coming to grips in a big way with the big problems facing us. When we speak of "needs" and "services," I think we get stuck in pity and compassion and noble impulses to do something for the downtrodden and dispossessed. I don't believe salvation lies this way. The greater challenge to all of us and specifically to welfare councils is to look at the social and economic and political structures and systems that produce the human wreckage either because they work too well or not well enough; to look at them unsentimentally, with facts and with theory; to analyze how they need to be changed; to assess realistically how they can be changed and by whom. When this is seen clearly, it is time for the sophisticated use of power to make things move. The council itself may have the power. If it has only the vision but not the power, it must ascertain who has the power, who's got the action, and then exploit its own resources to activate that power toward raising the levels of community welfare.

David R. Hunter
Midwest Regional Conference
United Community Funds and Councils of America
Springfield, Illinois ---- February 24, 1963.

File
Foundations - Ford

Lou - for
my file

February 20, 1964

Mr. Henry Salzmon
The Ford Foundation, Inc.
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Salzmon:

I intended to respond much earlier to your request for a comment about Savannah, but I have been away from the office, first on business and then with the flu. Mrs. Pauley has seen Mr. Mead, however, and she is far more knowing than I about that city.

We have little public awareness as yet in the South of the immense educational gaps that will have to be bridged if integration is to be a reality, and if we are going to stop producing hordes of economic and social misfits; so far as I can see, official awareness of the problems is not a great deal higher than that of the general public. North Carolina during Governor Sanford's administration has been a bright and promising exception. Governor Russell of South Carolina is trying to alert his state to the problems, and some good things are stirring here in Georgia, where a rather big new school program has just been enacted and funded.

So I think that the South critically needs and that Georgia is ripe for a "gray area" program to help us think about and probe at our problems. Savannah would seem to me as good a place as any, and better than most. You have, at present, a good and progressive city administration and a prevailing disposition within the city to meet its problems. You have had, and probably will continue to have, an aggressive Negro integration movement. If there is anything to what Mr. Keppel said the other day -- and I agree with him -- that very aggressiveness is an asset to educators who sincerely want to get and keep the public concerned with educational needs.

Please give my regards to Bill Pincus. I would like to visit with both of you when I am next up; this will likely be in late March.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Foundations

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

February 28, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

My thanks for your note on Savannah. We appreciate having your judgment of the situation.

We shall look forward to your visit in March with pleasure.

Sincerely,

Henry Saltzman

Henry Saltzman

File: Foundations

March 20, 1964

Mr. William Pincus
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Bill:

We are sending you enclosed a rather hefty notebook of materials prepared to describe and illustrate the Council and its work. Hopefully, it may be of some interest to you, and in any event we wanted you to have it for your files.

I hardly need to say that this is not sent to Ford as an application. I have about concluded that both the Foundation and the Council are, in a sense, too "inner-directed" to make an application worthwhile. Our strength and our special value is to be here, to be flexible, to evolve in our program as circumstances require, and to be able to take on assignments that no one else can.

The prime example of the latter is the Voter Education Project. A somewhat lesser example, but one which is of critical importance, is something we are engaged in up to our ears right now. In response to a plea from a high federal office, the private agencies are getting under way an ambitious, and we expect thorough and imaginative, effort to see that every possible community influence is brought to bear in behalf of orderly, even good spirited, compliance with the public accommodation title and other provisions of the civil rights bill when passed.

In addition to doing our own rather large part in this, we are the coordinator of all southern field work.

It is only because of our resources of staff, consultants, and experience that the other agencies would accept us in this coordinating role and that federal offices could work well with us. It is the building of this kind of capability which seems to us of most need for us to do.

So we send this to you for information, and with the hope that you will call on us when we can be of any help to you.

Separately enclosed is a "Program Review and Evaluation." This is the outcome of a self-examination we did last year.

I intend to be in New York much of the week of April 13. If you had some time I would be glad to stop by briefly to exchange news; I can call when I get in. Sometime ago Mr. Salzmon asked me to look in on him when I was in town, and if you could pass this word on to him I would be very grateful.

All best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures
Funds raising notebook on SRC
"Program Review ..."

file

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

Congratulations! Ford

March 24, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

It was a pleasure to hear from you in your letter of March 20.

You are indeed kind to send us the material with your letter. I am glad the cold shoulder here in terms of money has not adversely influenced our own warm relationship.

Your reference to the public accommodation provision in the pending legislation is so timely. Only this morning the radio gave the announcement by Reverend Martin Luther King to the effect that Negroes will test this title throughout the South and that stiff resistance by Southerners may result in more violence.

More power to you. I certainly hope you will look in on us on April 13 or some time later that week. I am sending your letter and attachments on to Mr. Saltzman.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Bill

William Pincus

File: Foundations - Ford Foundation

MEMORANDUM May 28, 1964

To: NM

From: MMJ

Nobbie,

Please put the following person on our FCR Category immediately -- Les would like him to be on in time to receive our Louisville and Charlotte reports, which, I understand will be back from the printer's next week.

Mr. Christopher F. Edley
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

PS--I'm sending Mr. Edley, under separate cover, today the 1963 Annual,Report, the Jacksonville Report, Henderson, Coles and Morland reports.

mmj

May 28, 1964

Mr. Christopher F. Edley
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Chris:

It was a pleasure meeting with you while you were here, and I hope we will see more of you in Atlanta. I am putting you on a mailing list, and I am sending along, under separate cover, a few back things which I thought might be of interest to you.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

May 25, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Your participation in the conference with me on May 12 was sincerely appreciated. I know that your busy schedule and your work with the Southern Regional Council do not leave much time for this type of endeavor. For this reason, I am doubly hopeful that as time goes by you will have the occasion to see some of your concerns and interests reflected in the activities supported by this Foundation.

Sincerely yours,

Christopher F. Edley

Christopher F. Edley

P.S. If possible, I would appreciate it if you would place me on your mailing list, especially for your periodic reports and studies in civil rights and intergroup relations.

Chris.

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file: Ford Foundation

CAN IT BE DONE?

David R. Hunter
Address delivered at
Conference on Urban Education
and Cultural Deprivation
School of Education
Syracuse University

July 15-16, 1964

Can It Be Done?

Most people who make speeches and present papers at two day conferences deliver themselves of recommendations and guidelines for action on the part of some other fellow. Very often the development of their thoughts concerning these recommendations has been uncontaminated by practical application on their own, and therefore, they make very nice leisure time reading but not good road maps.

Lucky for you, following this first address, you will be vigorously attacked, recommended at, guided, and shook up by a string of people who not only think but are very much in the act. As a matter of fact, it is in that connection that I found to my horror that I had made a serious tactical error in accepting the invitation to appear here without knowing who else was to speak.

I make my way as an orator by quoting with approbation or condemnation all the expressive experts I can find on whatever the subject at hand. My panic was unbounded when I discovered that all the people I quote with approbation are right here at this meeting, thus depriving me of the secret sources of my wisdom. Have you ever been faced with the necessity of saying something that you thought up yourself? This is like asking if you have ever found yourself standing naked and alone at center stage in Radio City Music Hall.

Of course, you will say, this chap is a bit naive. There are really very few new ideas produced out of the heads of single creative individuals. What is really around are new insights, new ways of putting things together, new perspectives, and just plain cleaning of the spectacles through which we look at old things. Maybe so. But whatever they are, these people on the balance of your program are the producers. They are not only producers, but, having heard some of their pitches, I can testify that they are good salesmen as well.

What I would like to talk about today could pass, I suppose, under the label of: who's listening? What happens after the thoughts have been articulated? What happens after experiments have been conducted and demonstrations demonstrated? What happens with the study about the report of which its sponsors have sternly said: we don't intend to let this gather dust on the shelves!

Exciting ideas are being developed. Many communities, aided by universities, foundations, and government are planning seriously to deprive the culturally deprived of their deprivation. Can it be done? To get it done what conditions must be present? Who must get in the act? What are the obstacles?

THE ICEBERG TIP

To think about this we must be clear at the outset that the title of this conference, Urban Education and Cultural Deprivation, big as it is, is just the tip of the iceberg. The give away is that some of the people here have already made a marginal note on their programs: "What they really mean is social and economic deprivation". As soon as you have said this, of course, the whole matter is plunged into the larger context of the organization of society, who's on top, who's down below, how are they going to get from there to here, do they want to anyway, do you want them to anyway (because how much room is there up around the top or even in the middle?), and what are all those people going to do when a machine can do it better, cheaper, and faster?

If the matter is all that vast and pervasive how do you get a handle on it? It's pretty discouraging. If you imply that you're not really going to improve the education of the culturally deprived in the big cities until you have created a lot of social and economic opportunities for people and made them visible, desirable, and equally available to all (for this is the core of that mysterious thing called "motivation"), and have made it possible for all to acquire the skills necessary to function socially and economically, you seem really to be talking about some kind of statism or socialism and we're not going to go for that in this country!

Whatever you call it, the subject under discussion here is a vast subject and goes far beyond questions of how to teach reading better, how to organize the school in the slum (ungraded primary? 4-4-4? tracks or no tracks? community school?), how to prepare youngsters for work roles, how to train teachers to teach the deprived, and the like. These are all essential elements, but they are only part of the picture.

One could split hairs about what cultural deprivation means also. It can quite truthfully be said that many people of means are culturally deprived. You don't have to be poor to be culturally deprived. That is why some people prefer to say "socially and economically deprived". I believe there is no doubt that this conference is talking about poor people, and more often than not, ethnic minorities, and more often than not, Negroes.

Another group of hair splitters or image protectors likes to say "culturally different" when they mean "deprived". I think it is positively negative to indulge in that practice, however noble the motive. It obfuscates the problem, which is deprivation of one kind or another. Glossing this over makes it harder to find our way toward the goal over a road already impossibly devious. The goal is the abolition of deprivation, not difference --- deprivation of money, of opportunity, of social status, of free choice, of civil rights, of skill, of

hope, of a future. As an aside, I am struck by the fact that thirty years ago such an enumeration would inevitably have included "security". It is an interesting commentary on the changing times and changing thought that while you could add many things to the enumeration, security, in the sense of the 1930s, would not likely be one of them.

One last point about the term deprivation is that relativity may have as much to do with the effects of deprivation that we are worrying about as does absolute deprivation. When the little you have stands in sharp and visible contrast to the much that others have, a sense of injustice, of unfairness, of inequality may give rise to consequences more painful to society than were all in the same condition, even though low.

NOT BY SCHOOLS ALONE

We conclude, and I'm sure everyone else who has an opportunity to speak at this conference will conclude, that cultural deprivation and its effects will not be cured in the classroom alone or even in the system of education alone.

If the classes in which the schooling of certain of the culturally deprived takes place are all black, education will suffer thereby. This is not a problem the school alone can solve.

If job opportunities appear to be unavailable or closed off to boys in a high school in a low income area, their motivation to stay in school and succeed there will be depressed. The school alone cannot change this.

If the student's home is in a slum, the complex pressures to fail in school, to drop out, to engage in random violence, to get hooked, or to subside into nothingness are powerful and in large measure, although not totally, beyond the reach of the school.

Obviously, to change all this, the life circumstances of the culturally deprived must be entered at many points by many different institutions and systems, public and private.

Equally obviously, something more than ideas and concepts about what to do in education, in housing policy, in the employment services, in social welfare, in legal services, and the like is necessary. To be sure, without the ideas, and the new approaches, and the new techniques that you will be hearing a great deal about during these two days, nothing constructive and more effective can be done by anybody. But the question I am raising is: What does it take to move the institutions and the systems of the city into action? The right kind of action. It's one thing for professor so and so to have a terrific idea for a new approach to the teaching of reading in low income schools. It's another to

get the idea adopted, financed and executed properly by the school.

It's one thing for an expert consultant on housing to recommend spot clearance and the construction of housing of mixed types and costs in order to achieve social and educational objectives. It is another to get the policy adopted and carried out.

It's one thing to advocate that education through junior college and even four years of college should be free to all just like high school. It's another to legislate this and finance it.

It's one thing to see the rationality of and seriously to advocate the establishment of a guaranteed minimum income in the United States. Another to effectuate the policy.

A FEW OF THE OBSTACLES

The difficulties of getting perfectly splendid policies adopted stem not only from the fact that everybody else doesn't understand things as well as we do, nor only from the fact that institutions tend to get into ruts and to continue to perform in accustomed ways even though the accustomed ways are irrelevant to current needs. These are obstacles enough, and they are accompanied by the discombobulating one of the sheer complexity of human society.

Beyond these are some further kinds of obstacles that make one unsure that the job that needs to be done can be done in time in a political democracy with a free market. There are conflicting interests which must be accommodated. Sometimes the conflict is very real. Sometimes it is mistakenly assessed as a conflict by those in whom a particular interest is vested. For instance, an employer in a low wage industry would generally regard it as against his interests to raise wages. I would regard it as in his interest to do so, and to persuade his peers to do likewise, because raising low wages spreads purchasing power, keeps the economy lubricated, and reduces deprivation, cultural or otherwise.

For another instance, I think, along with Dr. Conant, that, for some period of time ahead, twice as much should be spent on slum schools as on suburban schools instead of vice versa which is the general situation at the moment. I would maintain that it is in the direct interest of the suburban dweller to pay more taxes to improve education (and conditions generally) in the slum because the consequences of slum life are costing him inordinately now. These costs are occasioned by the low economic productivity of the people, welfare cases, unemployment compensation, sick people who can't afford medical care, crime and delinquency, low purchasing power. Beyond this, the social and political stability of his society is threatened, but people aren't supposed to make such inflammatory statements at sedate conferences.

For still another instance, a white skilled worker in one of the traditional crafts has interests very much at conflict with the upward progress of Negroes. I should qualify this by adding that he has this conflict in an economy with a labor surplus. He would not have it were it public policy, which it should be, that no person would be without work and that this would be accomplished by strategic subsidization of the private sector and direct public work. But, in the absence of such public policy, skilled and semi-skilled white workers are very much threatened. We kid ourselves if we say otherwise. They are threatened first by advancing mechanization. In that framework they are most certainly threatened when the skills and capacities of the culturally deprived are raised. Nobody really likes competition in this competitive system of ours, not even the workers.

And for a final instance, money. Cities are still in the main financed by property taxes. Property taxes, in addition to being not the best indicator of ability to pay, don't yield enough revenue to run a city. All right, then, since cities are creatures of the state and exist by permission of the state, the state should help finance the city. But states don't like cities, particularly inner cities, where the problems of cultural deprivation largely lie. Perhaps, under recent court decisions, the imbalance of representation between rural and urban areas will be somewhat redressed. But, even so, this will be redressed in benefit of suburban areas in the

metropolitan complex, not the core city. So the interests of the core city, where are the poor and their expensive ministering institutions, will still not be represented. This leaves the federal government as the last source of aid. The federal government is coming to the aid of the city. But in relation to the magnitude and urgency of the problems, this aid is piddling. And even it has a rough go getting by public policy decision makers and influencers. The federal tax structure is more closely related to the principle of ability to pay than either state or local systems. People who have the ability to pay in America are influential in the shaping of public policy and naturally they are not eager that their ability to pay be excessively exploited. The recent tax cut is an example of that. Since, over the years, the federal tax system had gotten a little out of whack, certain reforms which would have led to greater equitability and spread of purchasing power were proposed along with the tax cut which was designed primarily to stimulate business activity. Not many reforms got through.

So it's hard to get federal government support on the scale required to make a difference. By making a difference I mean providing opportunities for work and providing the nourishing institutions for people who in every aspect of their lives are undernourished so they have at least a chance of getting out from under that invidious and insidious label: the culturally deprived.

I wish I could stand here and suggest a formula for achieving more enlightened public policy that you all hadn't thought of before. I can't. I don't know whether anyone can.

MOBILIZING SELF INTEREST

I suppose I find myself, in the context of the city, trying to identify the ways in which various self-interests (not necessarily enlightened) can be put together in coalitions in order to develop sufficient consensus for a long enough period of time to enable the institutions and the systems of the city to adopt at least some of the policies and practices your speakers will be recommending. Does this seem too low a level of aspiration? Too pragmatic? Too political and opportunistic? Perhaps. But it stems from a feeling that to expect sweeping structural changes in our society or the adoption of broad policies to effectuate a more equitable and economically viable distribution of income and privileges is unrealistic, at least in my time. I think we are more likely to get a few steps of progress here and a few there. There will be periods of faster movement on a larger scale. The war on poverty may represent the inception of such a period. Title II of the proposed Economic Opportunity Act will certainly give added stimulus to broad community programs which have the abolition of cultural deprivation as a major target.

This presents active people in many cities with an opportunity and a challenge. The challenge is to learn about the ways in which an urban school system in its own internal workings can do a better job of educating children who come from poor homes--poor in income, poor in stability, poor in love, poor in developed intelligence, poor in range of interests, poor in expectations, and poor in hope. The challenge is further to mesh the workings of the institutional systems of the city so that the services and the influences that are supposed to be delivered to and in the vicinity of the culturally deprived actually get there and get there in concord. The challenge is further to remember that the delivery of services effectively and adequately is far from the whole story. Another central part of the story is that the culturally deprived are also the isolated and alienated. You can't make them clean, bright, hard-working, abstemious, productive, law-abiding, independent, and forward looking by doing things <u>at</u> them. They have to be with it if change is to be effected in adults or children or milieu. This means that institutions that are not used to sharing decision making and are not used to being told what's wrong with them by the people they serve must change their ways and actively invite both.

The challenge is then further to put together the strongest kind of coalition possible to provide energy, leadership, and cover for planning and carrying out a many faceted program in schools, in neighborhoods, in private enterprise, in welfare agencies, in city planning and development, and in the political system to touch the well-springs of human development and release energies that now are so wretchedly wasted and destroyed.

In any effort of this kind there is certainly a substantial reservoir of altruism. This will provide a certain amount of motive power for a community effort. But it may be safer in the long run to rely on the glue of self-interest to keep the coalition together and moving. The mayor is interested because he can't allow his city to rot, to lose revenue, to have increasing rates of delinquency, and anyway an increasing proportion of the votes within the city proper are those of the culturally deprived. Programs for them make sense.

Business leadership is interested because the culturally deprived are not good customers, nor are they good workers. In most enterprises the need for cheap unskilled labor is rapidly disappearing. Now the need is for skilled workers. The pattern in a city of an almost equal number of skilled job openings and unskilled unemployed is not uncommon. Not only that but these days when a city develops a comprehensive plan

to attack juvenile delinquency, or nurture mental health, or defeat poverty, or go after the culturally deprived, a lot of outside assistance can be hooked in from foundations, federal agencies, and state agencies. That's good business.

Trade union leadership is interested because trade union leadership is supposed to be interested in community affairs. Also there is the question of image. Trade unions are being seen more frequently these days as blocking access to equal opportunity, protecting the interests of those who are already in, forgetting the poor and those who are out. This must be corrected.

The Board of Education is interested because the slum schools are just going to fall down in a chaotic heap if something isn't done. Everybody else in the city has left the baby to the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools and expected them to prevent delinquency, stop drop outs, train skilled workers, and get everybody into college. It's about time some of the other elements of the city took some of the onus, had their eyes opened to some of the problems, and lent a coordinated hand.

The welfare agencies are interested because they have been shook up by the awareness that they haven't produced some of the results they said they would produce when they solicited funds from the community. It is getting harder for united community fund drives to raise their quotas because there is an unease and even a disaffection abroad about the efficacy of some welfare services as presently conceived and organized.

And finally, the culturally deprived are interested because they don't want to be deprived any more.

Certainly these are some of the elements of the coalition that can be woven and that can produce some valid social progress in a community. This much most assuredly can be done and conferences of this kind will without question help in this direction. This conference will further inspire local effort, and there's been a lot already. It will help to establish priorities and strategies. It will introduce some ideas that everyone may not have heard of before. It is a good thing for a community and a university to do.

THE LONG PULL

Whether or not the interest in this community or any community will be sufficiently profound and sustained to do things in a big enough way for a long enough time is a question only time can answer. At the local level there is a natural tendency for the community to get all steamed up about a "project" and take off on it at full speed only to find that next year its

attention has wandered off to something else or it has gotten a little bored and the spark has gone. Also, there is a tendency to compromise and water down program plans before they even get off the ground. It has been interesting in recent weeks to observe the reaction of New Yorkers to the violence occurring in the streets and subways. A number of letters to the editor have expounded the theme: "Look at all the things we've been doing about juvenile delinquency and still it happens! Nothing we have tried works! Send 'em all to camps!" The truth of the matter is that New York City has "done" very little of a basic nature about delinquency and it is not the least bit surprising that what is happening is happening. Newspaper stories about program plans give the community the impression that much is being done when in fact that is not the case.

About this subject of the culturally deprived the caution: 'make no little plans' is certainly to be observed. Little plans and pilot projects are likely to be illusory and lead to disaffection and cynicism.

Beyond the local community, there is the question of the nation. Can the necessary coalitions be constructed at the national level to effect policies and programs sufficiently substantial and deep-reaching as to make a real difference?

No one can answer this question yet. But that, of course, is no reason to slacken one's efforts. I may have over-emphasized the necessity for catering to the self-interests of various groups in the community in order to get movement. Certainly sometimes altruism and goodness and breadth of vision are strong motivating forces in the establishment of public policies which tend toward justice and equality, and one must hope that they will take sway over parochial interest. But the evidence of a couple of thousand years does not yet allow confidence that this will be so.

This leaves no alternative but for scholars, those who minister to society professionally, and community leaders to strive for definitions of various group self-interests that say free choice for all and the capacity to make free choices rationally are in the interests of all groups, high and low. Opportunities equally accessible to all are in the interests of all groups. Investments, big investments, in the institutions that must prepare people to avail themselves of opportunities are in the interests of all groups, even those that now occupy the positions of power and possession. Policies that lead to equitability in the distribution of opportunities and income are in the interests of those groups that now have more.

Within such a framework, the inventions and innovations that may be suggested for overcoming the handicaps of the culturally deprived will have a chance of moving from the hot-house into the mainstream.

David R. Hunter
Stern Family Fund
55 West 44th Street
New York, New York

law primarily directed at South

A firm judgment regarding the South's acceptance of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will have to be postponed until after November 3. We shall then be able to form a more clear opinion than is now possible on two crucial matters.

One is whether passage of the Act has further alienated large elements of the white South from what appears to be a national consensus. For even though overt compliance with the law may be fairly good, we shall all be losers if the law has furthered an enduring alliance between southern racists & the non-southern ~~reactionaries~~ right wing. ~~I am one of those who~~ Although ~~it~~ we often say that to change practices is of more social importance than to change attitudes, this is true only with large

qualification. Men who with deep reluctance accommodate themselves to changed practices all too often find or create ~~other ways~~ new ways of organized opposition to the forces which produced the unwelcome change.

A second question which ~~will~~ can not be clearly answered earlier than November 3 is whether the Act has made a significant contribution to curing Negro ~~disaffection~~ alienation & indifference. Neither of these traits has been characteristic of Negro leadership in the South, which is one of the differences between South & North. But large masses of Negro Southerners have learned to be indifferent to if not alienated from politics, & we shall see by how they turn out to vote on November 3 whether the ~~symbolic value of the~~ Act has had much symbolic value for them.

On both these questions I am optimistic. There has

been a definite & substantial acceleration of Negro voter registration since the Act was passed. There have certainly been other causes for this, but it seems realistic to believe that the Act itself has been a great stimulus.

And I tend to be optimistic also about the white South. As November 3 approaches, it ~~is important~~ above all important that we have a clear head & perspective. ~~The~~ There is no longer a solid South, & that is a profoundly beneficial deliverance. In a recent issue of the Nation Frank Smith argued the paradox that an increasing Republican vote in the South, if it occurs not only in Presidential but in other elections as well, is good for civil right, & Smith is right. The trend toward two party harmony has moved steadily since 1952, & continues. I do not believe that the Act of 1964 will accelerate that ~~it~~ trend. The worrisome thing is not the trend, but the new ~~kind of Republican~~ leadership of the second party.

Samuel Lubell, in his new book <u>White & Black</u>, reports that after a survey of the South just before the assassination he felt that an historic opportunity existed. He felt that if President Kennedy were to stump the South in 64 & speak forthrightly on the race issue & there were good grounds for believing that he could produce the region's first honest debate with itself on the moral ~~[illegible]~~ issue. Lubell implied and open that he did not think that the debate would turn out badly. I believe the opportunity ~~that~~ still exists, though perhaps no one except President Johnson & Senator Humphrey can seize it. If they will in the remaining weeks of the campaign take the time & the occasion to speak often & clearly & without ~~[illegible]~~ indirection to the South, the mind of the white South ~~may~~ will, I believe, be receptive. Such a campaign could mean more than ~~one or two~~ a few additional electoral votes in 1964. It could, more importantly, mean a sharp & sudden deflation of the ballooning right wing.

All of this may sound not only optimistic but foolhardy. Some of us last Spring were optimistic about the South's readiness to comply with the pending law, & on the whole that has been demonstrated. But I my allotted ten minutes to a recapitulation of the problem & progress of compliance is impossible; perhaps we can take up some of the details in the discussion period. Here I can only note that some of the experience has been bad, very bad. But — & this is a big but — nowhere in the region, not even in Alabama & Mississippi, is non-compliance led by the political chieftains or the economic overlords, & that is a basic fact separating these years of southern history from the immediately preceding ones. Only in Alabama is non-compliance receiving even moral encouragement from the political chiefs, & not even there from the economic overlords.

A ~~good deal of delay~~ considerable amount of litigation has ensued, initiated by the Department of Justice as well as Negro & white plaintiffs. In the Ollie's Barbecue case out of Birmingham a three judge federal court drastically limited the coverage of the public accommodation law. If the Supreme Court, which has already heard the appeal, leaves any substantial qualification on the constitutionality of the law, Title II will ~~have~~ amounted to little, & for further progress in desegregation we shall have to depend as we did in the recent past on ~~negotiation~~ persuasion, economic pressure, & sit-ins. Assuming, however, that the Supreme Court will find the law valid in its full coverage, ~~the enforcement throughout the South of the~~ full compliance with it throughout the South may ~~need~~ not come for many years. ~~It will~~ ~~Progress will be made, however~~

There are three chief problems ~~as~~ One is the vast stretches of rural areas, dotted by small towns, where testing is scant or non-existing, & intimidating pressures are great. A second ~~is the~~ problem is the evasion, either

too ingenious or too precarious for the law to easily to reach. A third problem, & to me the most serious, is the spread of what, for want of a better term, I would call social isolation. The North has over the decades fashioned its own ~~patterns~~ unique patterns & ideologies of social isolation, & in the South now we are experiencing a disturbing movement ~~of concern of~~ toward private clubs, closed municipal swimming pools & other public facilities, & - worst of all - private schools. Here again we see the inadequacy of the theory that ~~ga~~ ~~F~~ changed practices will yield a reasonably good crop of changed attitudes. Maybe so. Personally, I doubt that the extreme narrowing of the public sector of life is a small price for any democracy to pay which values its internal health. ~~I pay~~ I fear, & I happily concede that, quite possibly that I am fighting a straw in the wind. I really hope so. But the spread of the social isolation principle

seem to me, at this time, to be so fast & so prevalent as to demand concern.

We shall all look to the Department of Justice for enforcement of Title II, & the Department's record of to date seems to me excellent. We shall look to also to all forms of community persuasion & civic leadership to effect compliance, & the record as well as the prospects here seem to me also good. ~~excellent~~. There will be undoubtedly more ~~to~~ suits by private plaintiffs, though I would hope that the resources of private litigants & their friends might chiefly go into ~~for~~ questions that lie at the frontier of the law, & not into ~~the~~ routine questions of compliance.

In nearly all said to this point I have been referring only to Title II. As to other parts of the Act, there is little to say (though there have been some interesting developments), & there will not be probably until the executive

departments and agencies issue their regulations on the funds cut-off provision, & until the equal employment provisions take effect.

Finally, ~~I would~~ a word about ~~two~~ major premises, which, as Justice Holmes reminded us, are all important: Democracy is a thing we can not define, nor should we try. To define something is to stick it on a pin like a specimen to be labelled. Democracy, on the contrary, is something ~~we are~~ men in their generations are constantly perfecting & fashioning better to their hopes & ~~their~~ to their ~~deepest~~ deepened intelligence. We shall never have a democracy: we shall have only the struggle for one. Democracy is struggle, unending. From the ~~point of view~~ major premise, what has happened ~~since to~~ since World War II in the South ~~is~~ a bright chapter in the history of democracy, because American can be seen as

democracy has been ~~gi~~ given new meanings + ~~a~~ new ~~reality~~ ~~dimension~~ depths of realism. The struggle continues, + the victories of the democratic spirit will continue also.

File Ford Fd. 1964

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

The Ford Foundation

REGARDING:

Financial Assistance in support of Rural Advancement Project.
(proposal submitted along with 8 others)

DATE

July 31, 1964

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

"Rural Advancement Project"
(Joint project of SRC, NSF, AND State Councils on Hum. Rels.)

Rec'd 8/19/64

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

August 17, 1964

File

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In the absence of Mr. Pincus, I should like to acknowledge your letter of August 6 and the attached copy of your letter of June 24 to Mr. Keppel with regard to an educational program on race relations.

Mr. Pincus is on vacation and your letter will be held for his return to the office in September.

Sincerely,

Lucile C. Gurksnis

(Mrs.) Lucile Gurksnis
Secretary to Mr. Pincus

PA
VT
Mary
Lewis

Rec'd 8/26/64

file →

✓ MJ - copy for FB & file

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

August 24, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I wish to thank you for your letter of August 3 addressed to Mr. Heald, with enclosures, in which you inquire about the possibility of support for a rural advancement project. Mr. Heald has referred your proposal to the Public Affairs program. It is now being circulated for staff review and comment. We will let you know our reactions as soon as possible, allowing for summer vacation schedules.

Sincerely,

Christopher F. Edley

Christopher F. Edley
Program Associate

Rec'd 9/18/64 file

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

September 17, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

I just came back to the office and found your very moving and thought-provoking letter of August 6.

Like you, I don't know how to start on the problem. If I don't know what to do myself, I certainly can't convince someone else, especially with the reservations many people have about adult education as well as other problems in the field of race relations.

Maybe you could get some people together somewhere to discuss possible lines of action. I should certainly be happy to try to participate and contribute.

If you are coming up this way, come in for another talk and maybe you and I can come up with some answers.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Bill

William Pincus

File: Ford Foundation

August 6, 1964

Mr. William Pincus
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Bill:

By the time you receive this letter you may already know that we have submitted a formal proposal to the Foundation (addressed to Mr. Heald). It is a rather specialized thing, in which we are only a co-sponsor, along with the National Sharecroppers Fund and the state Councils on Human Relations. It is a good idea, we think, and it is going to several other foundations as well as Ford.

What I am writing to you about, however, is something else, and is not a proposal. I want to suggest to you some thoughts, and if you find them of interest perhaps we could set up something to explore and develop them further.

The amount of resources and the amount of attention being applied today to racial issues are tremendous, as compared with anything before Birmingham. The civil rights law has been enacted, and, in addition to the prohibitions of that law, it is furthering the process (especially through its Title VI) of institutionalizing non-discrimination within the federal bureacracy. This same institutionalizing process is moving ahead in state governments and

municipal governments all over the North and West, is beginning in the border states, and even a spot here and there in the South. Foundations have been making greatly enlarged efforts, particularly for Negro higher education. There is a growing and deepening recognition of the complexity of the educational tasks, running down into pre-school ages, and all kinds of experimentation about that. The word has finally got through that Negroes tend to be poor and, relatively, are getting poorer, and that something big has to be done. And so forth. All over the country, we in other words, are facing around to confront and do something about hard problems. This is replacing the older emphasis on "communication," on appeals to people to change their minds and re-arrange their prejudices. Even the churches are shifting into action programs.

On the whole, these new trends are healthy and promise progress. But the danger is, that by moving vigorously on the objective realities, we may be stretching even thinner than it now is the elastic of democracy and intercultural respect which unites this country.

For example, I am enclosing a copy of a letter I wrote several weeks ago to Commissioner Keppel. I have tried to say in that letter that there are danger signals to the public school system, regardless of how all the court cases come out.

More generally, we are facing all over the South a southern version of what you have already gone a long way toward perfecting in the North, and that is a narrowing of the public sector of society, and this is a lousy price to pay for civil rights. Every time a restaurant converts to a private club, a public swimming pool closes down, a child is pulled out of public school (whether because of overt prejudice or "just" to be with other children of his own class) because the Negro enrollment is increasing, or a church moves from downtown to the suburbs -- American democracy winces.

The basic decisions about the kind of race relations we shall have in this country, and, therefore, the kind of society we are going to have, are not

going to be made by President Johnson (or President Goldwater!) or by Martin Luther King, Jr., or by the Ford Foundation. They are going to be made by hundreds of thousands of homeowners, union members, parents of school children, etc. They are going to be making the economic and social decisions, and sometimes they will vote those same decisions, which will determine the shape and quality this society is going to have in the next decades; and (unless we write ourselves a new Constitution) those decisions, and not anything initiated in Congress or in the state legislatures or in the courtrooms, are going to be determinative.

Any sound thought about race relations has to begin with the question of why Negroes want integration.

This is something understood satisfactorily by only a few white people; these may be and to a considerable extent are persons who are public spokesmen and even public leaders, but who, on the whole, are not so powerful; witness the impotence of national church and union leaders to affect the thinking of their memberships.

How do you explain to the Irish of Boston, the Poles of Gary, the Italians of Baltimore, or the blue bloods of Charleston, who always wanted their kids to go to school with other Irish, Poles, Italians, and blue bloods, and to church with them, and to live with them, and if possible to work for them, why Negroes want integration, and why the country must have it? Beyond this, how do you explain to white people generally (others too, but it is the white people who have been in charge of most of the world) that civilisation has been on a cultural Ranges which has already landed in a new world, in which we have only a little time to get acclimated.before our supply line to the old becomes clogged and useless?

What I am trying to say is that we have been doing a great thing here lately in addressing ourselves to the objective realities that underlie the miserable race relations in this country (and the world), but that it would be futile to believe a solution to them would be a truly democratic one, even if attainable, unless there is a mind-changing and a mind-growth in this nation.

Is it intellectually out of line to mention that after 30 years of democratizing our economic structure and institutionalizing controls over it, and getting more and more and still more of our youth to savor the benefits of college education, that we have in this year 1964 the awesome issues and conflicts we have? I think Walter Lippmann is correct in saying that these derive from too many people of the West "being lost in a universe where the meaning of life and of the social order is no longer given from on high and transmitted from the ancestors, but has to be invented and discovered and experimented with, each lonely individual for himself.... The modern liberal democracies are in the early stages of the vast creative effort to invent and to make work the kind of authority and discipline and government under which free men can enjoy freedom."

What is of special concern is that the next few years are likely to be the crystallizing period for race relations in this country for decades hense. We are moving now at a very fast pace of change, and it is now that decisions are being made. If I am correct, this means that it is today's adults who will be giving form to this society of ours.

What I would like for you to think about is the wisdom and feasibility of an educational program vast enough and serious enough to teach and strengthen minds today. Only a really big program would be useful. We need this in the South, and I am convinced that you probably need it even more in the North. I do not know how to do this, and the Ford Foundation has probably had as much recent experience with adult education programs as anybody. I would, of course, be eager to help think about what can be done, and we would be pleased to have any part in it. The only specific suggestion I can make -- and I make it very strongly -- is that you get some people together to give some thought to what is, as I have already contended, at too great length, a root dilemma.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Keppel ltr.)

File
Ford Foundation

October 6, 1964

Mr. Christopher Edley
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Chris:

I enjoyed talking with you this morning. Enclosed is the manuscript I spoke of, which is to be one of a series, I understand, written by staff heads about their agencies. It represents my own effort to see SRC plain.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
LWD Article for ~~ANNUAL~~ ANNALS of the Amer. Academy of Political and Social Science.

Rec'd 10/20/64

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

October 14, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 6 in which you enclosed a copy of a manuscript on the history of the Southern Regional Council. I have read this with great interest, and particularly appreciate certain nuances indicating the difficulties of the past and the future for SRC. At this time, it is not possible to predict whether our taking a closer look at SRC will generate program interest in your activities. In any event you know that we are informing ourselves about SRC and its activities.

In my last telephone conversation with you, we spoke extensively about the National Sharecroppers Fund. You indicated that this organization has its headquarters in New York City. I am wondering whether or not it would be advisable or possible to talk with a key person on its staff here in New York. Please let me have your views and suggestions. As I indicated to you on the telephone, in our staff discussions there have been no great interest in the specific proposal jointly submitted by SRC and the National Sharecroppers Fund. However, there is some staff interest on the problem of rural poverty in general which would justify a discussion if it can be conveniently arranged.

Sincerely yours,

Chris a.a.

Christopher F. Edley

October 20, 1964

Mr. Christopher Edley
Public Affairs Program
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Chris:

It would be entirely appropriate for you to talk with Miss Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund; her address is 112 East 19th Street, New York, and her telephone number is GRamercy 3-0284. In fact, I am a little surprised that she has not been in touch with you.

If your discussion were of a conference variety, I would suggest that you consider inviting Dr. Frank Graham to take part. Besides being president of the National Sharecroppers Fund (and a members of the Southern Regional Council also), Dr. Frank is on the United Nations staff and is available in New York.

Of course, I am delighted with the first papagraph of your letter. May I make another suggestion in the form of an invitation? Our Annual Meeting will be held November 20-21. Preceding it will be, on November 19, a day-long

special session devoted to the affairs of the state Councils on Human Relations. We do not yet have the program prepared, though I am enclosing a preliminary announcement which will give you the essential details.

Why don't you and/or someone else from the Foundation come down? I promise you that we shall not try to twist your arm. I do think, however, that you would find this a most interesting organization, and not only for what you might learn about the Southern Regional Council. I dare say that no other meeting brings together quite as knowledgeable a group, and I think you would find the chance for corridor and meal-time conversation worthwhile. Why don't you let me know that one or more of you will come down?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures: Bd List
Annual Mtg. Announcement

December 4, 1964

Mr. Christopher F. Edley
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Chris:

Thank you so much for your letter of November 30. I can't tell you how delighted I was that you changed your mind and stayed for the whole meeting. Somehow, you got away before I could say good-bye. So let me say now, it was a pleasure having you here.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

VJ
PA
SW-file

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

November 30, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

The Southern Regional Council meeting was great! SRC's cordiality, hospitality and conviviality were superb! I got much out of the meetings and I am indebted to you, Vernon, Paul and the others.

I will be in further contact with you soon.

Sincerely,

Chris

Christopher F. Edley

Rec'd 11/6/64

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

VI
SW file

October 30, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 20 and the kind invitation to attend your annual meeting. I know that your annual meeting provides an observer with an excellent opportunity to get to know better the inner workings of the Southern Regional Council. Unfortunately, I cannot say definitely that I will attend. With your permission, I would like to reply to your invitation at a later date.

I received a letter from Miss Bennett on the same day that I received your reply, and have arranged an appointment for her.

I have also received your note sending me the material on the Southern Consumer Cooperative of Lafayette, Louisiana.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Chris

Christopher F. Edley

File Ford

February 8, 1965

Mr. John Ely
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Ely:

It was gery good to talk with you last week though I am afraid I was not much help with your problem.

I do hope that you will make the trip to Atlanta which you mentioned. Although I am going to be here pestty much all the time the rest of this month, life is going to be very ragged until after February 17. Could we find a date after that?

On February 23-24, we are having one of the periodic meetings of the staff directors of the various Councils on Human Relations. You might decide that this is an attraction or the reverse. Some of my time those two days will be taken up by the meeting, but my schedule will be very flexible. There is also some possibility I may have to go to New York one day later this month. Whether or not, I shall be in New York for a long stay sometime during March.

For your possible interest, I am enclosing a couple of documents. One is a report I helped with on an interesting program of work last summer with Negro colleges. The other is an outline of my remarks at our Annual Meeting last November; Christopher Edley had to listen to them.

All best wishes, and I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm
Enclosures

February 10, 1965

Mr. John Ehle
Special Adviser in Public Affairs
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear John:

Sorry I got your name wrong in the last letter.

I have no fixed commitments for late next week. Delighted you can come. (Max Hahn of the Field Foundation may be here about the same time.)

Let me know when you are coming. May I get you a room, etc.?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

Rec'd 2/10/65

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

February 9, 1965

Dear Leslie:

I hope to be in Atlanta the latter part of next week. Can I see you?

Sincerely,

John/mm

John Ehle
Special Adviser in
Public Affairs

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Read 2/12/65

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

File

February 10, 1965

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

May I acknowledge and thank you for your letter of February 8, addressed to Mr. Ehle, in which you very kindly enclosed an outline of your remarks at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council, as well as an Evaluation of the Southern Teaching Program. Mr. Ehle is out of town this week, but I will be glad to refer your letter to him upon his return to the city.

I also want to apologize for my slip in addressing you as "Dear Leslie" in Mr. Ehle's note to you of February 9. This was a case of "Dictated but not read by Mr. Ehle", and I am sure he would never have taken such a liberty if he had had the opportunity to read it before he left the city.

Sincerely yours,

Marie Aroldi

Secretary to Mr. Ehle

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

February 19, 1965

Mr. Henry T. Heald
President
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Heald:

Some time ago we placed before you a request for consideration of assistance to the "Rural Advancement Project," to be sponsored by the National Sharecroppers Fund, the state Councils on Human Relations, and the Southern Regional Council.

There has been some progress with this project. A grant has enabled us to initiate the program in South Carolina under the supervision of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. In addition, we have on hand approximately $5,000 toward the cost of the program in Georgia.

As the programs of the federal government continue to develop we see an increasing need for this kind of assistance. At best, the success of these programs will rest on a partnership between the government and the people. This partnership is not possible for those who most need it without considerable assistance. There is a great need for information, for guidance on organization, for competent observers to determine that the disadvantaged share in the planning and eventually become the recipients of the benefits of these programs. At this point few of these needs are being met. Also at this early stage, there are distressing signs that programs are not being properly developed and will not generally benefit those most in need.

The inability and determination of the poor and disadvantaged to help themselves is incredible. The publicity about the national "war on poverty" has given these people tremendous hope, which is now a stimulus, but which could become a cruel disappointment.

In the final analysis there is no way to break the cycle of poverty or to eradicate 300 years of discrimination but to take people where they are, individual by individual and hamlet by hamlet, and help them to help themselves. We believe the Rural Advancement Project is one means toward this and that the returns will be very great for the investment. Therefore, we do appreciate your consideration of the request which you have before you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mm

February 22, 1965

Mr. John Ehle
Special Adviser in Public Affairs
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear John:

Sorry to get your letter of February 15. Glad to know, however, that you will be coming this way some time soon.

I shall be in New York on March 2 for a full day of conferences and will be staying over on March 3 for a lunch. It would be a pleasure to meet you, even though perforce briefly. I'll phone when I get up, to see if you are in town and would have a few minutes in the morning or after lunch on the 3rd.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
bcc: John Wheeler

John -- At this time, it looks as though my annual money raising jaunt to New York will be either the week of March 29 or the week of April 5. If you could set up something with Ylvisaker I could adjust to most any time in those two weeks.

Rec'd 2/16/65

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

February 15, 1965

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I'm sorry to say that my visit to Atlanta will be delayed a few weeks. Looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

John Ehle

John Ehle
Special Adviser in
Public Affairs

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

February 24, 1965

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

It would be a pleasure to see you on the 3rd, and even a greater pleasure to see you on the 2nd, because sometime on the 3rd I have to make my way to New Haven where I am to speak to a few people that evening. Please phone when you get to town.

Sincerely,

John Ehle

John Ehle
Special Adviser in
Public Affairs

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 12, 1965

Mr. Christopher Edley
90 Vaughn Avenue
New Rochelle, New York

Dear Chris:

You asked me to write regarding some of the plans and hopes of the Council. I have purposely refrained in the paragraphs below from lengthy discussions. I believe you and your associates know our operation well enough so that I do not need to do that; come back to me, please, for any elaborations.

I feel that I want to say one prefatory word. Stubbornly -- maybeeits dull-witted, stubborn pride -- we have tried to keep clean of projectitis. We think we belong here, that we do a good job that is helpful to all, and we don't chase money by scheming up projects; as long as I am here, we won't. The projects we undertake, in distinction from our general operations, are one's in which we believe, and because we believe in them we invite foundation interest. They are not devised as a means of getting support.

And so the first idea I want to advance, because you already have it before you, is that we think the Rural Advancement Project is a feasible if small-scale approach to the need for instilling competence into rural communities.

Second. The Councils on Human Relations began with a large Fund for the Republic grant. We believe that they are now proving the investment wise. I am enclosing some exhibits, which reflect

them as they now are. They are ready -- not for merely increased program but -- for a qualitative jump ahead. They need support measured in terms of ten thousands, and not thousands. They are moving into exciting youth programs, exciting programs where bi-racial bodies tackle community needs.

Third. The Southern Regional Council needs general support. We believe we can demonstrate that philanthroply gets more return, dollar for dollar, from general support than from project support. You know my argument here, and so I don't need to repeat it. At the risk of sending you more than you can read, I am enclosing a somewhat unusual form of documentation to illustrate what goes on here. In January, I had Vernon Jordan and Paul Anthony keep desk logs for one week each; they are enclosed. Paul, of course, has to give most of his time to looking after the state Councils (and that, too, is a "general operations" item); but note all the other things he did. And note the range of Vernon's activities in what was, I give you my word, an abnormally quiet week for him.

Fourth. We intend shortly to go before the foundations which supported the Voter Education Project, and present the case for a modified resumption.

Fifth. There is a pressing need for continuing study of public policy as it is developed and applied for race relations, including anti-poverty programs. Frankly, I have talked about this for years without succeeding in getting anybody to understand me. So I hesitate to do more now than to say that if Ford is interested I'll write or talk as long as you want on the subject. But I can illustrate what I mean. Item. In 1957, 1960, and -- again! -- in 1964 the President proposed and Congress passed voting laws which were not designed to do the job; and so we, unnecessarily, have Selma. Item. The northern states mostly all have FEPC's and Herb Hill is more right than wrong in contending that they are worthless. Item. The southern states and municipalities will soon begin legislating positive programs; thus a whole new phase of policy making will begin, and will need informed guidance. Item. How much economic sense do the anti-poverty programs make? In design? In execution? Item. The federal government is now embarking on, for the first time, vast administrative programs: Title IV, VI, and VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; the Economic Opportunity Act; Appalachia; pending federal aid-to-education; there needs to be continuous outside evaluation of the effectiveness of these programs as administered in the South -- and there is no one but us to do it.

Sixth. John Wheeler has a beautiful idea for subsidizing the employment for a year or more of Negro reporters by southern newspapers (both "white" and "Negro"). This is a terribly good idea. It could build up a cadre of good newsmen. It could bring a new and badly needed set of insights into southern "white" papers. It could enrich the "Negro" papers. Selection and placement procedures would have to be formulated and administered. This is an appropriate place to mention one of the too-little appreciated facts about SRC's resources, and that is the strength and versatility of our board. For example, we could put together, from our membership, an advisory committee of newsmen including Sylvan Meyer, Herbert Davidson (Daytona Beach), Pat Owens (Arkansas Gazette), Tom Young, Hodding Carter, Ralph McGill, and Carter Wesley. Similarly strong committees of lawyers, educators, etc. can be put together to over-see special ventures.

Seventh. I believe that one of SRC's most valuable functions is administering a fairly small revolving fund entrusted to us by the New World Foundation. By it we are enabled to make small grants, for tax exempt purposes though usually not to exempt groups. We are enabled to do jobs too small for almost any foundation or for the government, and in doing so to lay the basis for growth. We helped with a few hundred the Southern Consumers CO-Op when no foundation could have taken notice of it; now it can stand on its own feet. We helped, with two grants totaling about $1800, the Norfolk Committee for Improvement of Education; now it is established, and merits, we believe, sizeable assistance. There is so much more we could do with a larger fund, to produce self-help by incompetent communities on their way to competence.

I do hope you know how much I and all of us here are grateful to you for the interest you have given SRC. Come to see us.

All best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosures

Paul

This is the ltr. I believe Les refers to -- it was written to John Ehle rather than to Glevisker

MJ

March 12, 1965

Mr. John Ehle
Special Adviser in Public Affairs
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear John:

I greatly enjoyed the discussion at Berkeley. I surmise that your own hopes for it were somewhat disappointed by the astonishing circumstances of Meyerson's resignation and Al Loewenstein's loss of his father. Certainly I would have benefited from hearing either outline some ideas. Loewenstein, whom -- curiously -- I have never met, might well have brought some clearer sight to the discussion. Not that clarity and realism was absent in the understanding of problems; it did seem to me that we all, and I as much as any, were lacking in our sense of what to do about them.

About the most profound thing uttered, it seems to me, was, sir, by you, when you remarked that this generation of students believes not only in criticism but in reforming action. (I can say this without flattery because you may recall how fast I was to register my second.) I think we have got to start taking this fact seriously -- I mean really seriously. Kerr and Meyerson hung over us the other night as evidence of how seriously this fact can and does upturn our lives.

With the news coming in from Berkeley, Yale, Brooklyn, St. Johns, Kansas, Chapel Hill, Arkansas, and maybe others that I don't recall, we need to give serious thought to the probability that the campuses today are where the South was at this time 1960 -- at the beginning of a direct action period which will spread and not stop until it has achieved its deep-felt goals.

Broadly speaking, there are two kinds of actions coming out of the students. On the one hand, a whole lot of projects that we all applaud as constructive: tutorials, etc, etc. On the other, disturbances of the peace -- Mississippi, of campuses, of college towns, of Washington probably next. Those of us at Berkeley all gave these disturbers a partly intellectual, partly emotional approval, but really we are anxious about them and afraid of them. The ideas we came up with, following Lou Winnich, pretty well ignored them and, to some degree, would isolate them from those whom we could channel off into "constructive"service.

The above is not meant as a criticism of Lou's notion which, as I understand it, is that every campus ought to have Phillips Brooks house sorts of things, and ones big enough to be adequate. I agree, very, very strongly.

But I don't think this is all that we can do. First of all, we the disturbers and the "constructive" workers overlap. Second, we need to think about the youngsters who are no longer on the campus -- chiefly SNCC, but also SSOC and other organized ones who have a tremendous influence on what happens on the campus. Third, we have to think about the campus disturbers -- do we really wish to say to them, in effect,: "we'll help you fix up the community, as a way of diverting your energies from fixing up the campus?" Maybe I put it unfairly; in fact, I believe I do. But what I am trying to do is put it the way it may be put -- and not unfairly -- by all the Savios.

On the other hand, I don't see how universities or foundations can sensibly subsidize these fellows. But we can try to free up the climate around them, so that they can reform the hell out of us (take that literally, and not as slang) without getting radically embittered and poisoned in the process.

To be specific, you might think about some of the following:

1. Scholarship aid, by some jargonese restricted to to the civil rights veterans, to get them back into school, knowing full well that a good percentage of them will, a la Savio, turn their enegies to campus reform, but believing that it is nevertheless wise and good to get these fellows back within our institutions. (I am not clear, and have been frustrated in small efforts to find out, what has happened to the various grants made for scholarships, by WELD through the National Council of Negro Women, by Field through the American Baptists, and others. I have gained

the impression, which may be inaccurate and unfair, that Jim Forman and others at SNCC have been enabled to use these as a form of patronage. If more and larger help is given -- as it should be -- let's have enough self-respect to administer it by educators.) Scholarships will have to be given, though, on factors in which academic qualification does not predominate.

2. Find a way to put some money into SSOC and into the Northern and Western Student Movements, and NSA. Make a wager on these people. (I don't suggest getting money into SNCC; the time for that is past and lost, except for special things like your retreat.)

3. But more important, look into the student off-shoots of the North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and Georgia Councils on Human Relations. If you find, as we believe you will, that these represent the campus groups really doing much of not most of the work in their states, give them support. Do not give money to start similar student off-shoots in other states; I no longer believe that we are capable of igniting these movements. They have to start from the student level. Be ready, however, to support them when they do.

4. I was serious in the question I threw out during our Berkeley discussion. If a student group turned its attention and energies to finding out about, and then reforming, a social institution -- a county welfare department, local public schools -- and found along the way that it could use some money, would it be good if it had a source to turn to -- a source which could stand the flak and which would have a basic sympathy for the proposition that the naive questions and methods of students can often cut through the barriers and protect social inefficiency? I would not believe in offering them a cent, of money or advice; I could possibly believe in responding to requests.

5. Give our Councils on Human Relations the money to draw young Negro veterans of the civil rights campaigns out of battle against white society and into leadership roles in a bi-racial re-direction of society.

6. Always be kindly disposed toward supporting student - conceived, - planned, and - directed ideas, such as the Southern Teaching Project, Books for Equal Education, and the others that have and will come along. But is Ford flexible and fast-moving enough to do this directly?

Well, these are all the thoughts which occur to me now.

Could I close with a couple pseudo-philosophical remarks, which may suggest my own strong intellectual (I hope) agreement with this new breed of youngsters, despite many day-to-day disagreements?

Secretary Wirtz said recently that he doubted that unemployment could be reduced below 5% by maximum anticipated economic growth; that to do better required, not attention to the economic system as a whole but, manpower development that pays "attention to people as individuals." In their own way, it seems to me the students sense all the immense implications of this, and more clearly than do the rest of us.

Second, I trust their social results in a way that I don't trust those of Martin King. I speak here from prejudices, too deep to be overcome; but, I hope, also rationally. There is a part of me which just doesn't respect or admire all those preachers flocking into Selma, lusting to have at the Alabama police. There's too much similarity. Those Alabama police can't restrain themselves; when they can bash a Negro's head they're like alley dogs aroung raw meat. Are these preachers equally impassioned -- to confront and contemn and martyr themselves and shine before these brutes and the cameras? I think there is moral treachery in this business of "witnessing"; worse than that, it may be religiously and socially treacherous. I am one of the few civil rights people who has never complained that the church wasn't "leading." That's the last thing I have ever wanted, because I have believed in the civil rights movement. And so have the students. They have made countless mistakes. But they have been realists all the way. They don't posture. They don't confuse work with witnessing. They may attack and sometimes tear down, but underlying all has been a wonderfully pervasive and consistent assumption of responsibility for dealing with society's real problems, and a search for realistic methods.

Not always in accord with your own ideas, and it's important to be mindful of that. During the Voter Education Project, we put money into SCLC, and most of it was fruitless; too many of those people don't know how to work. (There are exceptions, such as Hosea Williams.) We put money into SNCC, and they did work. Not to our satisfaction, though. They never shared our belief in numbers, and we disagreed -- openly and candidly -- with their disbelief in numbers. But they worked -- in Mississippi, southwest Georgia, and elsewhere, building political awareness and community leadership, and maybe they were more right than we. At least, they adopted feasible methods toward a realistic goal, and if it were not our choice of goals it was nevertheless an intelligent one.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

March 15, 1965

Mr. Paul Ylvisaker
Director
Public Affairs Program
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Ylvisaker:

It was a pleasure to attend the Berkeley meeting on March 9. I believe and hope something valuable will come from it.

I am enclosing my expense report.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure - 1.

Rec'd 3/8/65

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

March 5, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

This will confirm arrangements made by John Ehle for you to join him at a dinner meeting at University House, on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley, at 5:30 p.m. on Tuesday, March 9th.

It is understood that the Ford Foundation will cover your travel and another other expenses you may incur in attending the meeting. I am enclosing expense report forms for this purpose.

With best wishes,

Paul Ylvisaker

Paul Ylvisaker
Director

Enclosures

March 22, 1965

Mr. Christopher Edley
90 Vaughn Avenue
New Rochelle, New York

Dear Chris:

Enclosed are the exhibits regarding the state Councils on Human Relations which I left out of my last letter. These have been selected to exemplify present activities and directions.

All the best,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosures

Rec'd 4/1/65 mj

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

✓ I ✓
MI - file

March 30, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

The informal materials that you sent me on SRC have been received.

As of this date, I have not had an opportunity to discuss the proposed meeting with Paul Ylvisaker, because of our travel schedules. By the end of this week, I hope to telephone you in regard to the next step.

Sincerely yours,

Chris

Christopher F. Edley

P.S. I am referring to the summary of needs in the letter and the later items you sent to my home.

via air mail

April 14, 1965

Mr. Henry Heald
President
Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Heald:

Mr. John H. Wheeler, President of the Southern Regional Council, and I would like to have an opportunity to discuss with you some program plans of the Council. I believe you are familiar with the Council and its role in the South. Those problems which have concerned us are entering a new stage with new program necessities that are, we believe, pertinent to the established role of the Ford Foundation.

Mr. Wheeler informs me that except for April 22-23 he could come to New York on any date within the next few weeks you might suggest. He and I both know how crowded your time is, and shall be most grateful for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Board List)
bc: Mr. John H. Wheeler

Foundations, Ford

April 22, 1965

Mr. Henry Heald
President
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Heald:

Thank you for your response of April 20. Mr. Wheeler and I look forward to meeting with you and your associates in your office on May 11 at 9:30 a.m. It is very good of you to see us.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. John H. Wheeler

... 32 - 6376

Vernon -

I phoned John K's secretary & told her to put him on his calendar. She said he already has a date to speak to the Winston-Salem Lyceum; he has to cancel. Maybe you could get a substitute for him. I. Carlyle, Mac Smith, somebody.

At any rate, I left word with her to have him call you on Thursday & confirm. If he doesn't, you call him & then tell Mildred to reply to Mr Heath

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

HENRY T. HEALD
PRESIDENT

April 20, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of April 14. I shall be glad to see you and Mr. Wheeler as you request, and suggest Tuesday, May 11, at 9:30 a.m. I shall ask our vice president, Mr. Clarence Faust, and perhaps a few others of the staff to join us.

My office is on the 11th floor at the above address. I hope the date is convenient.

Sincerely yours,

Henry T. Heald

Henry T. Heald

April 28, 1965

Mr. John Ehle
6 East 10th Street
New York 11, New York

Dear John:

I have tried to cover in the enclosed memorandum all the questions which you gave to Vernon. Let me know if I have overlooked anything.

I am enclosing also a copy of our 1965 budget. The one which Vernon left with you had not been corrected to show audited expenses for the full twelve months of 1964. Please destroy it and use the one which is enclosed.

It occurs to me also that it might be worthwhile for you to have a complete set of annual reports since 1961. They, too, are enclosed.

I am sending along the New York Times and Los Angeles Times reports of last Sunday on our release.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mj
Enclosures

1. <u>Relationship church related groups</u>.

Several denominations and other church groups contribute regularly to SRC, about $5,000 per year. CHR's receive also modest financial help. Church people are prominent in SRC history and present membership, though during the last few years an unstated policy has been to lower the proportion of clergymen in membership. Church people, including clergymen, typically were the backbone of organizing efforts of CHR's; their leadership role tends to diminish somewhat as the CHR gains strength though everywhere they remain of greatest importance. Until 1962, the SRC Executive Committee always included a Protestant minister, a Catholic priest, and a rabbi; this custom was rather abruptly halted that year, not because of any anti-clericalism (the leading advocate of the move was himself a clergyman), but through disapproval of the principle of representation involved. The staff director of several CHR's are ex-clergymen.

One project of SRC - the Fellowship of the Concerned - is specifically a church-related project (see page 16-17 of Annual Report).

Between 1962-64 we had a joint project with the National Council. Since the NCC in 1964 shifted its policies and methods in this field we have had little working relationship with it. We do have close and

continuous relationships with such groups as AFSC, the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, and the Committee of Southern Churchmen. Because of similarity of methods, our association with AFSC and CSC is of a working, program nature; we were, in fact, very active in the formation of CSC.

2. Relationship with federal agencies and officials.

(A) Prior to 1958 there was little opportunity for working relationships. Our reports got read, particularly by some Congressmen. In 1957 our voting statistics formed the framework of Congressional debate.

(B) With the establishment of the Commission on Civil Rights and the Civil Rights Division, we began a close association. I was not with SRC until 1959, but Harold Fleming and the others who were here contributed hugely to (a) educating the early CCR staff, (b) advising on southern appointments to the state advisory committees, and (c) to researching the CCR's first report, that of 1959 (the voting data, e.g., in that report came entirely from SRC, though not acknowledged.) The Civil Rights Division also got in the practice of discussions with us; this particularly became so after Harold Tyler (now Judge) became head of the Division.

(C) Since 1961.

1. First of all, let me say that this would

almost require a book.

2. We greeted the new administration with the Federal Executive and Civil Rights (see the notebook you have for press comment). This was an immensely influential document, read widely by the New Frontiersmen. The policy guidelines in it were taken very seriously; the President's employment order borrowed heavily from it; many other of its recommendations have been implemented in time. We followed it a year later with Executive Support of Civil Rights (see notebook for press and official reaction); the White House ordered 1,000 copies -- what it did with that many I don't know. Our report on South Carolina farmers led the Department of Agriculture to make immediate reforms; so, too, did our report on Plans for Progress in Atlanta.

3. My predecessor - Harold Fleming - left SRC in 1961 to found the Potomac Institute, with the major interest of consultation with federal offices. This did not diminish our contacts, but instead has probably

increased them. Since 1961, a large portion of our staff time has been taken up with consultations with federal offices and officials. It is part of the SRC style that we seldom initiate consultations. Moreover, our research staff is steadily called on by federal offices for information. Moreover, the Commission on Civil Rights and the Community Relations Service draw on both SRC and CHR staff in some of their field work. Moreover, since the passage of Title VI and the Economic Opportunity Act, the Office of Education and the OEO have been in almost daily touch with this office. Moreover, the CCR, the OEO, the CRS, and O. of E. have called on us repeatedly for suggestions and advice regarding staff recruitment. (I was in Washington, John, the day you came to Atlanta on this. Bill Taylor, after months of frustrating search for a Research Director made necessary by the Act of '64, asked me to take several months leave to organize and staff the CCR's "national clearinghouse." I, of course,

can't do it, but I am acting as advisor to Bill on staff and organization.)

4. After Vice-President-elect Humphrey was designated by the President to oversee all federal civil rights programs, we were asked by his office to prepare the memorandum from the perspective of private agencies, assessing federal activities and administration in this field.

5. We persist in believing that one of SRC's peculiar functions is informed criticism. We do not criticize lightly or carpingly, but we have when we saw a need. Our reports on Albany, on Mississippi law enforcement, on Plans for Progress, on South Carolina farmers, and, of course, Executive Support for Civil Rights, are examples. On April 25, 1965 we released a special report on discrimination within the federal courts of the South; see the New York Times of that date for coverage and comments (two stories - a double column report and a comment).

6. Occasionally we put non-publicized analyses and recommendations before the administration. Two recent examples have been a paper on

federal judgeships in the South, and on the administration of federal civil rights and poverty programs. The former represented an action by the whole SRC in Annual Meeting and the latter by the Executive Committee. A third example is a memorandum I have recently sent to the Office of Education on administration of Title VI.

7. Our working association, once close, with the Civil Rights Division became strained after the Albany events and particularly after publication of our second Albany report. We have stayed friends with the CRD people, however, and I have no reason to believe that Burke Marshall and John Doar do not respect us; certainly we respect and admire them. The Plans for Progress report made the Vice-President (Mr. Johnson) and Hobart Taylor very upset; the fact that we were later proved right may or may not have helped. At any rate, Hobart and I now get along comfortably.

8. Several of our southern Congressmen are within our range of contacts. James Mackay and Charles Weltner of Georgia call on us

frequently. Ross Bass, Richard Fulton, and George Grider are close to the Tennessee CHR. There are a few federal judges in the South who have personal contact with us (with one of them, we discussed in full our recent report on discrimination within the federal courts).

9. There is a great deal of overlap between SRC membership and that of the state advisory committees to the CCR and also that of the southern contingent of the National Advisory Committee to the CRS. Many of the non-SRC members on these bodies are CHR people.

10. FBI agents call on us frequently in the course of their various investigations.

3. Relationship with state governments.

The governor of North Carolina is by law the honorary chairman of the North Carolina CHR; Sanford took note of this after he left office which is the most anyone has done. the N.C.C.H.R. has always had low-level contacts with the state government, but a few of its officers and board members as individuals have had very firm influence. (The President, the Executive Director, and another member of the N.C.C.H.R. have an appointment April 27 with Governor Moore.) Rather curiously, the South Carolina CHR probably

enjoys the most working cooperation from state offices, not usually high-level. The Georgia CHR staff director is accepted by the Sanders administration as a legitimate, somewhat useful, always respected gadfly. The Tennessee CHR has now an institutional and public recognized relationship with the state government.

At SRC, we occasionally have a chance to work with a state agency. During the Southern Leadership Project (1959-64), our staff person, Benjamin Muse, built up many contacts with state officials and personages, including six or seven governors; I think Muse did a fine educational job on men such as Hodges, Collins, and Albertis Harrison, but little came from this in the way of working relationships. (For whatever it's worth, Governor Sanders appointed me a Colonel on his staff!) (See concluding paragraphs of my annual report.) We are getting under way studies, along the line of the Federal Executive and Civil Rights and the report we helped to do a couple years ago for the International City Managers' Association, of recommended policies for state governments; James Y. Holloway (Ph.D. - Yale), professor of political science at St. Andrews Presbyterian College, will work for us during the Summer of 1965 preparing the research findings for the report.

4. Relationships with city governments.

This does not admit a simple answer. In a number of cities (Richmond, Charlotte, Columbia, Savannah, Atlanta, Huntsville, Nashville, Knoxville, Little Rock, Miami occur to me), either we or the state or local CHR have recently cooperated with the city on some issue. In Houston last year, the city council awarded a two-year grant of $15,000 to the CHR.

5. Grant-in-aid program with state councils.

The Fund for the Republic grant of 1954 was for the purpose of establishing as the CHR's with projects that show a freshness of thinking and cover an (There was even some thought that with their establishment SRC would go out of existence.) CHR's were established in each state, SRC ceased being a membership organization, and from 1954-57 the CHR's were part of SRC, their staff appointed by SRC and their bills paid by SRC. According to plan, the CHR's became legally autonomous; each applied for and by 1959 or 1960 each had obtained its own tax exemption. With the exception, that is, of Mississippi and Louisiana which were crushed by opposition, and Texas, which collapsed from internal reasons. Since 1959, we have been enabled by continuing grants from Field and Taconic to distribute $50,000-a-year among the CHR's: the allocation involves some hard decisions. The pie wedges were made smaller a couple years back when last year and this we were, happily, able again to include Louisiana and Mississippi. The program ought to be increased to at least $100,000. (See pages 13-15 of annual report)

6. Youth programs of the CHR's.

Six of the CHR's are affiliated with student organizations. Four of these, North Carolina Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights, South Carolina Student Council on Human Relations, Georgia Students for Human Rights, and Jefferson Chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Rights, are well-organized, active organizations with projects that show a freshness of thinking and cover an

impressive breadth of area. North Carolina students have a tutorial program at present involving 10 colleges and have held two conferences, jointly sponsored with the National Student Association. The South Carolina Council, the longest established student affiliation, is directly responsible for 20 of the 26 Negro students now attending previously all-white institutions of higher education in South Carolina, and continues an active recruitment program which includes teams of students touring the state's all-Negro high schools with information on opportunities in South Carolina colleges. Bi-racial teams make an impact. Georgia, though organized only this past fall, has held two state-wide conference and is involved in tutorials and has summer projects planned for students to work in poverty areas throughout the state. Recently, a Saturday spent in Atlanta clearing a lot for a playground grew into the acquisition of a house for a community center. The Virginia Council has sponsored panel discussions with groups of students visiting local churches and civic clubs and also has a tutorial program. Recently, 900 students signed petitions to the CHR for a state-wide newsletter. Their goal is a chapter on all 44 Virginia campuses. Both Alabama and Florida have plans under way for state student councils. At present Alabama holds an annual essay contest held each Human Rights Day and Florida has local chapters in Miami and Vero Beach, the latter a high school chapter. In addition to the programs in these six states, the Houston Council on Human Relations has a

fine high school council with over 100 students participating in tutorials, panel discussions, and a unique bus tour of the city in school buses showing the variety of the living quarters in Houston. Students are on the move and new ideas are not wanting, but the need is great to expand these programs to include more students and to provide links between existing groups.

7. Local C.H.R.'s (as of January 1, 1965)

ARKANSAS

Conway
Fayetteville
Fort Smith
Jonesboro
North Little Rock

ALABAMA

Birmingham
East Alabama
Huntsville
Mobile
Montgomery
Muscle Shoals
Talladega
Tuscaloosa

FLORIDA

Broward County
Central Brevard
DeLand
Ft. Pierce
Gainesville
Halifax Area
Greater Jacksonville
Lee County
Melbourne
Greater Miami
Palm Beach
St. Petersburg
Upper Pinellas
Tallahassee
Tampa
Dundedin
Ocala
Vero Beach

GEORGIA

Albany
Athens
Augusta
Brunswick
Columbus
LaGrange
Macon
Rome
Savannah
Statesboro
DeKalb County

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
Lafayette
New Orleans

MISSISSIPPI

Greenville
Gulf Coast
Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte
Durham
Wilmington

Pending

Asheville
Goldsboro
Greensboro

SOUTH CAROLINA

Aiken
Beaufort
Columbia
Greenville
Hampton County
Jasper
Rock Hill
Sumter
Winthrop

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga
Jackson
Knoxville
Memphis
Murfreesboro
Nashville
Oak Ridge

TEXAS

Houston

VIRGINIA

Alexandria
Arlington
Blacksburg
Charlottesville
Danville
Fairfax County
Fredericksburg
Franklin
Giles County
Hanover

VIRGINIA - cont.

Mercer-Tazewell
Norfolk
Peninsula
Prince Edward County
Radford
Richmond
Roanoke
Rockingham County
Williamsburg

Hold monthly mtgs. but do not pay dues

Covington
Lancaster County
Loudoun County
Petersburg
Prince William County
Warrenton

8. Relationship with private agencies.

Without immodesty, it can be said that SRC is the hub of human relations agencies in the South. This is indicated in formal ways by our role as secretariat for the Southern Interagency Conference and by our leadership of Operation Opportunity (see pages 15-16 of the annual report). Less formal things are even more important. We are a meeting place, a cross road, involved constantly in other agencies' programs. I believe we are looked to by them as a keystone. The only human relations agency now active in the South with which we do not have cooperative working association is that of the National Council of Churches.

We have routine, close relationships with groups such as the U. S. Conference of Mayors and the AFL-CIO.

We are frequently consulted by foundations regarding proposals from other agencies.

With the civil rights groups we have a different but equally fruitful relation; VEP is an illustration (see pages 4-5 of the annual report). In my first (1961) annual meeting report as Executive Director, I said that SRC would resist classification under any such labels as "militant," "conservative," etc., that my only intention was that SRC be a "trusted" organization; I believe that has been the case.

9. Relationship to universities.

Atlanta University is the depository for our records.

Otherwise, we have no formal relationship with universities as such. A considerable number of scholars are in touch with us for consultation or information. We have jobs done by academic people, both of research and field kinds. We do not, and cannot, subsidize academic research.

Lately, I seem to be drawn more and more into the circle of people worrying about and getting consulted on problems of Negro higher education.

Our membership, of course, includes a number of distinguished educators, and others are prominent in the CHR's.

10. Cadre of researchers.

This is answered in part by the by-lines of people on our publications. Dan Pollitt (N.C. - Law), Ross Green (Emory - Educ.), Vivian Henderson (Fisk - Econ.), Elliott Rudwick (Southern Ill. - Soc.), Kenneth Morland (Randolph-Macon Womans - Soc.), Robert Coles (Harvard - Psychiatry), Howard Zinn (Boston - Pol. Sci.), Donald Dewey (Columbia - Econ.), et.al. Besides these, there is a larger group who in one way or another get involved in our research or field work, men whom we feel free in calling on for assistance and/or advice and do: e.g., James Silver (Miss. - History), Tilman Cothran (Atlanta - Soc.), Daniel Thompson (Dillard - Soc.), Eli Ginzberg

(Columbia - Econ.), T. E. McKinney (Southern - Pol. Sci.), Robert Steamer (Lake Forest - Pol. Sci.), William Harvard (Massachusetts - Pol. Sci.), James Jordan (Emory - Educ.), Edward Ladd (Emory - Educ.), Donald Strong (Alabama - Pol. Sci.), Paul Gaston (Virginia - History), Ray Marshall (Texas - Econ.), Donald Matthews (N.C. - Pol. Sci.), James Prothro (N.C. - Pol. Sci.), Lewis Killian (Florida State - Soc.), Samuel Cook (Atlanta - Pol. Sci.), C. H. Parrish (Louisville - Soc.), Henry Clark (Union Theological - Ethics), Jim Holloway (St. Andrews - Pol. Sci.), Eric Lincoln (Clark - Soc.), G. Franklin Edwards (Howard - Soc.). Each of these men has had some part, either as research or field consultant, in our work during the last four years.

11. Press contacts.

I take every call from the press -- I am nevery too busy. If the White House were calling in on one line and Claude Sitton on another, I'm not sure which I would take first. This indicates our valuation of press relationships. We are a constantly used resource, and I suspect no agency - private or official - and no person has over the last few years had equal influence on the reporting and interpreting of the news. Reporters are, generally, an astute bunch. They would not continue to come to us and our files for information if they did not find it almost 100% reliable. They would not continue to come to us for story ideas, for interpretations, for suggestions of

contacts, if they did not find us, again, reliable, attuned to their needs, and helpful. We have no press officer. Reporters come to whomever on the staff they wish; e.g., Bob Baker of the Washington Post, seems to prefer dealing with Paul Anthony, our field director: for the Post, therefore, our press officer is our field man.

We have had a traditionally cordial relationship with the New York Times, first with John Popham, then with Claude Sitton, now, I am sure, with Roy Reed. Other media with Atlanta regional bureaus are Newsweek (Joe Cummings and Bill Cook), Business Week (Jack Patterson), Time (Harry Johnson), Los Angeles Times (Jack Nelson), Wall Street Journal (Ken Slocum and Neal Maxwell).

Other national media, such as U. S. News and World Report, NBC, and CBS frequently phone. (Twice in recent years NBC has asked me to nominate a southern reporter to research for documentaries they were doing, and both times have hired my nominee.)

We are advisors sometimes to special film productions. National Educational TV turned to us, e.g., for advice when it decided recently to do a show on a "good" southern town. They accepted our nomination of Brunswick and used us as local consultants. We were asked by Time-Life Films to help distribute its one-half hour film on Lillian Smith; did so. We are currently advising with moviemaker Bill Jersey,

engaged by the CRS to do a film on "good" interracial dialogue in the South; we showed him around, helped him decide that Laurel (Miss.) was his place, and are working with him still. We have been extensively consulted by the ad agency engaged by CRS to advertise civil rights. Etc.

12. Who Runs SRC?

The Executive Director has very large freedom and responsibility. The Executive Committee is, nevertheless, strong and thorough in its interest; it meets quarterly.

John Wheeler was Chairman of the Executive Committee when I became Executive Director, and, in the absence of any clear formulation in our By-Laws as to the respective program responsibilities of the President and the Chairman, I always turned to John for consultation and guidance. Now that he is President, I still do.

Raymond Wheeler, presently Executive Committee Chairman, is deeply respected by all and I confer with him on all important decisions. He, John Wheeler, Josephine Wilkins, Stephen Wright, and Franklin Williams (Miami) make up the Personnel Committee, which must approve all professional appointments and salaries.

The By-Laws require that the Nominating Committee be made up entirely of persons who held no other office.

These committees over the years have very independently decided who the officers and Executive Committee members will be, what SRC members will be dropped each year (the By-Laws make this necessary), and what new people will be elected to membership.

The whole membership meets but once a year. It can hardly be a decision-making body. Discussion there do, however, strongly influence the course of subsequent decisions.

Although I, as Executive Director, have entire staff responsibility, the professional staff both collectively and individually feels a responsibility for helping formulate all important decisions.

We are privileged to have cordial, very close relationships with our foundation supporters. Moreover, I turn to some of their officials, particularly Vernon Eagle (New World) and David Freeman (Rockefeller Brothers), for advice. I often discuss SRC affairs with Harold Fleming. Max Hahn (Field), David Hunter (Stern), and Stephen Currier (Taconic) are other frequent contacts.

The only internal division within SRC comes with a small group which wants SRC to be primarily a fund-raiser and service office for the CHR's.

13. Staff qualifications.

Executive Director

Leslie W. Dunbar, Ph.D Cornell University (Political Science); formerly SRC Director of Research, faculty of Emory University and Mount Holyoke College, staff of U. S. Atomic Energy Commission, Guggenheim Fellow

Secretary to the Director - Mrs. H. D. Johnson

Assistant to the Director

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., B.A. DePauw University, L.L.B. Howard University; member of the bar, Arkansas; formerly Georgia field director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Director of Research - (vacant)

Staff Economist - Lloyd J. Elliott, A.B. St. Mary's University; M.B.A., University of Houston, Ph.D University of Texas; formerly associate professor of economics, William and Mary College

Research Associate - Mrs. Ed. A. Albright, formerly editor Southeast News of Congregational Christian Churches

Research Assistant (Senior) - Mrs. Jack Patterson, A.B. Vassar College. Librarian - Mrs. Bernice Morrison, long time administrative employee, TVA. Research Assistants - Mrs. Harry Rusche, certificate, Central Academy of Commercial Art, Cincinnati; Beth Livesy, A.B. Pembroke College

Director of Field Activities

Paul Anthony, A.B. University of Miami; formerly SRC Assistant to the Director

Assistant Field Director - (acting) - Al Ulmer, A.B. and M.A. Florida State University

Administrative Secretary - Marge Manderson
Secretary - Mrs. Johnnie C. Howard

Director, Women's Work - Mrs. M. E. Tilly, A.B. Wesleyan College, A. M. Garrett Seminary (Sociology). Mrs. Tilly's biography is too full of past assignments even to begin to select.)

Director of Information

W. P. Watters, Jr., A.B. Emory University, M.A. University of Iowa (Journalism); formerly city editor and columnist, Atlanta Journal

Editor, New South

Margaret Long, novelist, formerly staffer and columnist Atlanta, Richmond, Louisville, Macon, and Columbus newspapers and Associated Press

Secretary - Mrs. C. J. Anderson

Director, Voter Education Project

Wiley A. Branton, L.L.B. University of Arkansas, member of bars of Arkansas, Georgia, U. S. Supreme Court

Secretary - Mrs. T. O. Shortt

Secretary-Treasurer

Mrs. Ruth House Alexander, certificate, Morris Brown College of Business

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer

Janet Smith, B.S. Berry College, M. A. Emory University (Political Science)

Mail Room Supervisor - Mrs. Bernice C. Cook

Clerk - Albert Paul Brinson

Receptionist - Mrs. W. T. Knox

In addition to the above, two other professionals have just been engaged, and will report to work during the Summer of 1965:

Samuel L. Adams - B.A. West Virginia State College, A.B. Wayne State University, M.A. University of Minnesota, formerly staff reporter with Atlanta Daily World, Des Moines Register, and St. Petersburg Times. Mr. Adams will join the Research staff.

Emory F. Via - A.B. Emory University, Ph.D. University of Chicago (Political Science), Associate Professor of Labor Education, University of Wisconsin and formerly Labor Consultant, SRC. Dr. Via will join the Research staff and also lead a new program of labor education.

This is a versatile staff, and its influence goes beyond the framework of specifically SRC activities. Jordan has unequalled contacts within the Negro leadership of Georgia, the NAACP leadership of the whole South (and the New York office), and with a good many political leaders of the Atlanta area. Anthony has a very special relationship with the National Student Association and all its off-spring. Mrs. Tilly is deep within the United Church Women, and on the national board of both ACLU and ADA. Watters has extensive and close press contacts. Margaret Long has a very wide circle of influential friends, plus a very special relationship with SNCC. Branton is one of the nation's top Negro leaders.

Dunbar is pretty much as seen. One of the things of which he is proud is his role in the book explosion of 1964. Not that he was guilty of contributing a book himself, though he did write the lead chapter for one (The American South in the 1960's, originally published as an issue of the Journal of Politics). His more gratifying role was in assisting some of the writers of some of the better books. His closest collaboration was with James Silver (Mississippi: The Closed Society) and Benjamin Muse (Ten Years of Prelude). Other authors who acknowledged my help were Samuel Lubell (White and Black), Charles Silberman (Crisis in Black and White), Howard Zinn (The Southern Mystique and SNCC: The New Abolitionists).

Authors of two 1964 books outside SRC's special field did also: Lincoln and Alice Day (Too Many Americans); and Walter Bennett (American Theories of Federalism). I am the 1965 William C. Cook Lecturer at the University of Michigan, where in the Fall I shall give five university lectures titled, "Ascendancy of American Liberalism." The U. S. - South Africa Leader Exchange Program asked me last year to go to South Africa, and I have tentatively agreed to do so early in 1966.

No discussion of SRC staff would suffice without mention of past staff. I have come to believe that one of SRC's special uses is as a training center. Our "alumni" are key persons in many agencies. It is not at all unimportant that this fact gives SRC unequalled ease of communication and influence with certain other groups. In the six years I have been with SRC, we have exported the following senior people: Harold C. Fleming (Executive Vice-President, Potomac Institute); Frederick B. Routh (left us to direct the Michigan FEPC; now executive director of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials); John Hope (Assistant Director, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities); Paul M. Rilling (Executive Director, District of Columbia Commissioners' Council on Human Relations); Robert Coles (Research Psychiatrist, Harvard University); James Moss (U. S. Department of State); John Constable (U. S. Information Agency); Staige Blackford

(Reporter and editorial writer, Norfolk Virginian Pilot); Randolph Blackwell (Research Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference); Emory F. Via (Associate Professor of Labor Education, University of Wisconsin). Ex-state CHR directors are now working for such organizations as the North Carolina Fund, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, the Presbyterian Church (southern), and the Illinois Commission on Human Relations.

Junior staff have gone from here, during the same period, immediately into the following jobs: Roland Blanding (Human Relations Assistant, Grand Rapids Human Relations Commission); Joseph Tucker (Georgia State Representative, NAACP); John Due (Southeastern regional staff head, CORE Scholarship Education and Defense Fund).

Finally, I can write that by the time, or shortly after you read this, appointment of Wiley Branton as staff director of the Cabinet Committee overseeing all federal civil rights programs will have been announced. Branton will work directly under the Vice-President, who is the committee chairman.

14. Composition of boards of CHR's.

We have selected two -- one Deep South and one upper South.

Alabama Council on Human Relations

Board of Directors

President: Nat Welch, Auburn. Business man. Member, National Citizens Committee of the Community Relations Service. Federal Representative to the Southern States' Nuclear Board.

First Vice President: Dr. Lucius Pitts, Birmingham. President, Miles College.

Second Vice President: Rev. J. C. Wilson, Tuskegee Institute. Methodist minister.

Third Vice President: Father Brice Joyce, Sheffield. Priest, pastor of a church in a Negro neighborhood.

Secretary: Mrs. Lois Reeves, Tuskegee Institute. Secretary of campus YM-YWCA.

Treasurer: Mrs. Moreland Smith, Montgomery. Wife of the chairman of the Alabama Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. Mr. Smith is an eminently successful architect and prominent citizen of Montgomery and the state. He is also active in the Democratic Party.

Mrs. Earl Andrews, Montgomery.

Mrs. Joan Cashin, Huntsville. Wife of a dentist. Both are vigorous in the activities of the Huntsville SCLC affiliate organization, as well as ACHR. Dr. Cashin is on the Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission.

Gordon DeCoudres, Sylacauga. Executive, Kimberly-Clark.

Mrs. John Drew, Birmingham. Wife of insurance executive who is one of the prominent Negro businessmen in Birmingham.

Mrs. Virginia Durr, Montgomery. Wife of well-known local lawyer. Sister-in-law of Justice Hugo Black.

Rev. V. A. Edwards, Tuskegee Institute, Baptist minister. First Negro elected to Macon County Board of Revenue (County Commission). (One of the first Negroes ever elected to anything against white opponent in Alabama).

Dr. Luther H. Foster, Tuskegee Institute. President, Tuskegee Institute.

Dr. Ray Fowler, Tuscaloosa. Head of the Psychology Department, University of Alabama. President of local human relations council.

Dr. C. G. Gomillion. Professor of Social Science at Tuskegee Institute. Recently elected to Macon County Board of Education. -- another of the first in the state to be elected against white opponents. Veteran Negro leader and strategist.

Dr. E. B. Goode, Mobile. Negro physician.

Rev. Phillip Huckaby, Florence. Methodist minister to students at Florence State College.

Rev. Duncan Hunter, Huntsville. Methodist District Superintendent. Past President of ACHR.

Mr. Oliver T. Ivey. Professor at Auburn University.

Rev. Otis Kirby, Tuscumbia. Methodist minister.

Dr. Frederick Kraus. Both a Ph.D and an M.D. Medical Research at University Hospital in Birmingham.

Dr. Herman Long, Talladega. President, Talladega College.

Dr. Beryl McClaskey, Birmihgham. Ph.D in Sociology who subsequently became a licensed realtor. Has now returned to teaching at Miles College.

Mrs. Paul McCoy, Birmingham.

Rev. Powers McLeod, Mobile. Methodist District Superintendent. Past President of ACHR.

Rev. C. H. Oliver, Birmingham. Presbyterian minister who is President of "Inter-citizens Committee of Birmingham." Collects facts on police brutality.

Mr. Allan Parker, Tuskegee. President of the Alabama Exchange Bank.

Dr. J. E. Pierce. Montgomery. Educator at Alabama State College.

Mr. Stanley Rosenbaum, Florence. Retired businessman. Now teaches at Florence State College.

Rev. J. L. Ware, Birmingham. Veteran leader of the Negro community.

Mr. S. C. Watkins, Tuscumbia.

Mrs. A. W. West, Montgomery. Veteran leader of the Negro community.

Mr. James F. Kidd, Birmingham.

Dr. Herbert Eber, Birmingham. Clinical Psychologist.

Mr. Jerry Roden, Auburn. Editor of the Alumni Magazine, Auburn University.

Rev. Vernon Jones, Tuskegee Institute.

Mrs. Jane Reed, Huntsville.

Mr. Franklyn W. Taylor, Montgomery. Principal of a high school.

Rev. M. C. Griffin, Florence.

Mrs. Laura N. Daly, Talladega.

Mr. Alfred Radney, Talladega.

Tennessee Council on Human Relations

Officers, 1965:

President: Mrs. Martha Ragland, Nashville, civic leader. Former Democratic national committee woman.

Vice President: Louis Sinclair, Knoxville. TVA economist.

Secretary: Mrs. Ernest Silver, Oak Ridge. Civic leader.

Second Vice President: Dr. Vascoe Smith, Memphis. Dentist, civil rights leader.

Treasurer: Dr. G. J. Tarleton, Nashville. Radiologist, civic leader.

Board, 1965:

Mrs. Ray Allen, Memphis.

Mr. George Barrett, Nashville. Attorney. Campaign manager Congressman Fulton.

Rev. Will Campbell, Nashville. Director, Committee of Southern Churchmen.

Mr. Carl Carson, Memphis. Owner of trucking company. Head of employment committee, Memphis Community Relations Council.

Mr. David Caywood, Memphis. Attorney.

Mrs. Lawrence Coe, Memphis, Civic leader. Member Memphis School Board.

Mr. Wilkes Coffery, Murfreesboro. Attorney.

Mr. John J. Compton, Nashville. Vanderbilt professor.

Rev. W. T. Crutcher, Knoxville. Civic leader.

Mr. Maclin P. Davis, Nashville. Businessman.

Mrs. Garland Fisher, Bristol.

Mr. James S. Gilliland, Memphis. Attorney.

Rev. James Glass, Nashville. Vanderbilt Divinity School Professor.

Mr. LeRoy Graf, Knoxville.

Mr. W. D. Hawkins, Jr., Nashville.

Mrs. W. B. Hembree, Knoxville. Civic leader.

Dr. Vivian Henderson, Nashville. Fisk professor. Newly elected President, Clark College).

Mrs. John C. Hull, Nashville. Civic leader.

Mrs. G. W. Stanley Ish, Jr., Memphis.

Mr. Clayton James, Murfreesboro.

Rev. Major Jones, Chattanooga. Minister, civil rights leader.

Mrs. Eugene S. Kilgor, Johnson City.

Mr. James Kirby, Nashville. Professor of law at Vanderbilt.

Mr. Hunter Lane, Jr., Memphis. Attorney.

Mrs. Phil Livingston, Chattanooga. Civic leader.

Mr. Matt Lynch, Nashville, President, State AFL-CIO.

Mr. M. D. Merriwether, Jackson.

Rev. John Charles Mickel, Memphis.

Mrs. Rilla Moran, Nashville. Civic leader.

Mrs. Hugh J. Morgan, Nashville. Civic worker

Mrs. Fred Muhleman, Chattanooga. Businesswoman.

Dr. William Pollard, Oak Ridge. Head of Institute of Nuclear Studies.

Mr. Albert Porter, Jackson, Professor at Lane College.

Mrs. R. D. Present, Knoxville. Civic leader.

Mr. Horace Raper, Cookeville.

Mr. Ewell Reagin, Knoxville.

Mrs. Earl L. Sasser, Nashville. Assistant Personnel Director, Tennessee A & I.

Mrs. Bernard Schweid, Nashville. Owner of book store.

Mr. Clifford Seeber, Knoxville.

Mr. Walter Sharpe, Nashville. Former professor of Fine Arts at Vanderbilt. Civic leader.

Rev. Kelly Miller Smith, Nashville. Civil rights leader.

Mrs. Phillip C. Sottong, Chattanooga.

Mrs. Lee Spalding, Tullahoma. Civic leader.

Mr. Roscoe Strickland, Murfreesboro.

Miss Martelle Trigg, Memphis. Student.

Rev. Dogan W. Williams, Bristol. Minister.

*Mr. William R. Willis, Jr., Nashville. Attorney. Campaign manager, Sen. Bass.

*past presidents.

15. A candid look at the CHRs

Virginia - has been the strongest, largest membership, largest number of locals, traditionally well-led; presently under new lwadership.

North Carolina - prior to 1964, weak in program and centered too much in Charlotte; always, however, favored with a prestigious board, which was not put to good use; year after year, the NCCHR fell into financial difficulty; now, with new staff direction and a new spirit, a very promising organization.

South Carolina - one of the two CHR's with same staff head for 10 years; membership is largely Negro; program is sound and often imaginative.

Georgia - almost the ppposity of the pre-1964 North Carolina CHR: strong program, statewwide emphasis, few prestigious board members, financially sound.

Florida - strong membership, both in numbers and quality, imaginative program by locals; present staff head is both servicing locals and emphasizing state positions.

Alabama - despite intense pressures, has stood up

through the years, maintained good quality membership, kept solvent. Now, it is able to do more than defend its existence, and is carrying on and planning good program.

Mississippi - newley re-organized in 1962, in 1965 engaged staff. Vibrant and interesting organization.

Louisiana - newly re-organized 1965. Not as yet staffed. Leadership is coming from outside the factional strife of New Orleans, and that promises well.

Houston - a very strong group, stronger than a couple of the state CHR's, filling the role in Houston of an Urban League as well as a CHR. Beginning to give guidance to other Texas cities (notably Dallas) in forming local CHR's.

Arkansas - the other CHR with original staff director, has a very able associate director, who is one of the key Negro state leaders, and an excellent group of lay leaders. Has traditionally had "power structure" contacts and influence. Like the North Carolina CHR, tended in the past to be a one-city group (Little Rock), but in the last couple years has spread.

Tennessee - prestigious board, weak program. Now with

new staff direction, this will change.

Ought to be one of the very strongest.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

May 4, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I though I would pass along to you the letter from the Radcliffe student who is trying to start a southern newspaper. I do so without any opinion one way or the other, because I have no way to evaluate the thing.

It sure was good to see you and your wife last Friday.

Sincerely,

John Ehle
Special Advisor
in Public Affairs

Foundations - April, 1965

via air mail

May 17, 1965

Mr. Henry Heald
President
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Heald:

Mr. Wheeler and I wish to thank you for the opportunity we had last Tuesday to discuss with you the work of the Southern Regional Council. We greatly enjoyed the occasion.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1207 (4-55)

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To DR. JOHN EHLE JUNE 17 1965

Street and No. THE FORD FOUNDATION

Care of or Apt. No. 477 MADISON AVENUE Destination NEW YORK, NEW YORK

RECEIVED YOUR LETTER TO MR. DUNBAR THIS AM. WILL NOT EXPECT MR. EDLEY. HOTEL RESERVATIONS ARE CONFIRMED FOR YOU FOR TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY NIGHTS (22nd & 23rd) AT THE AMERICAN MOTOR HOTEL, 160 SPRING STREET, N. W.

MILDRED M. JOHNSON

SECRETARY TO THE DIRECTOR

Senders's name and address (For reference)

Sender's telephone number

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

Rec'd 6/17/65

June 15, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

It appears at the moment that Chris can't come to Atlanta. He is going to Europe for six weeks the first of July, and between now and then he has practically no time at all to finish up his office work. Therefore I'll probably come alone.

Sincerely,

John

John Ehle
Special Advisor
in Public Affairs

file — Ford Fd. - 1965

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Randall, Mr. George W.
Director
North Carolina Prison Department

REGARDING:

Possible project on crime and penal system in the South (Provision for this program included in proposal to Ford Foundation dated July 1965)

Date(s)

~~LRD~~
LWD ltr. dtd. July 15, 1965

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Folder marked: "~~Ra" general~~. Randall, George W.

VIA AIR MAIL

July 16, 1965

Mr. Paul Ylvisaker
Director
Public Affairs Program
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Ylvisaker:

This is to place before the Foundation a proposal for four-year support of special programs of the Southern Regional Council.

I.

These projected programs are described in this letter in only a general way. They have, however, been discussed at length with members of your staff, and we would expect to prepare more detailed descriptions as they may be required.

Enclosed with this letter are certain documents of reference regarding the Council. They are:

a. Treasury letter of tax-exemption

b. Audit, 1964

c. Budget, 1965

d. Annual Report, 1964

e. Southern Regional Council, 1944-1964

f. Membership roster

Enclosure "f" is of particular note. The ability of the Council to carry out the programs set forth below is made possible by the resources of leadership, judgment, and experience embraced in its membership.

Because it has been our established practice to budget only modest amounts beyond expectable income, the 1965 budget (enclosure "c") does not reflect the scope of the programs proposed here.

II.

The civil rights drive of recent years has dominated the domestic politics of this nation. It has also transformed the politics of the South and deeply affected that of the rest of the nation. It has reached the point where it has produced a clear decision by the federal government to support its aims. First, tentative steps in the same direction have been taken by some state and local governments of the South.

To legislate or decree civil rights is, however, only to decide to undertake the huge and complex national purpose of effectively equalizing opportunities and of integrating disadvantaged people into the institutional life of this country. Neither moral nor political decisions, necessary as they are, will accomplish this. They will be realized only when those decisions are supported by a structure of public policies.

In this democracy, public policies -- i.e., policies that shape and determine public life -- are only in part devised by government.

The civil rights campaign has resulted from the interaction of men and historical changes. An event, for example, such as Selma and all that eventuated from it would not have occurred without the people who led it, but neither could it have been possible without the telephone, the airplane, and the television cameras

and viewers. In another sense, it could not have occurred without the broad social, economic, and demographic re-alignments that today make this country responsive to civil rights and have made anachronistic the social system of the Black Belt.

Further progress toward equalizing opportunity and toward making disadvantaged people a fully productive part of the nation will likewise come from interacting men and trends. To overlook the need for policies would be, however, a profound mistake. In a period when one system of social, economic, and political relationships is being or has been discarded, and another not yet securely fashioned, policy is crucial.

The consequences of all the forces, both impersonal and voluntary, which have produced the civil rights gains are immense and many of them constitute already pressing problems for our society.

The migration of rural peoples to the cities, South, North, and West, and the subsequent enormity of educational, welfare, and manpower problems; the progressive decline in the white population of our central cities, and its implications for political rivalry with suburbia, for the tax base of the cities, and for the cities traditional role as the guardian of arts and letters; the enfranchisement of millions of new, unschooled, and unsophisticated voters; the tragic irony that Negro Americans are finally escaping from planned and deliberate discrimination at a time when the abrupt escalation of job and educational standards makes their entry into the mainstream of American life extraordinarily difficult -- these are some of the realities shaping the character of contemporary America.

Other issues could be enumerated, but such is not necessary, for these are well-understood concerns of the Ford Foundation.

A leading premise of this proposal is that there is a realistic possibility in the South of meeting many of these problems before they rigidify, and of directing social change into paths beneficial and satisfying to the whole community.

A second premise is that private organizations, among which the Southern Regional Council has achieved recognized standing, have a necessary function in the working out of society's problems. Conversely, the strengthening of the staffs of these organizations by drawing to them qualified and dedicated people, and their growth in professional skills, is a substantial benefit to society.

We do not, of course, suggest that the programs proposed here can be of more than contributory value, though we believe that will be great.

We believe that because the purpose of this proposal is to strengthen the existing institutions and community organizations of the region and to effect larger and freer participation within them.

III.

We propose to do this in a number of ways, utilizing methods in which over the years our staff has acquired skill and recognition. These include research and publication, the use of specialized consultants, the convening of conference and seminars, and the administration of small grants to other organizations.

Administration will draw not only on the Council's staff and research facilities, but will draw active support from our affiliated Councils on Human Relations. There is a Council on Human Relations in every southern state except Texas, and each is staffed except that of Louisiana; a strong and well-staffed local Council on Human Relations is in Houston. Altogether, these bodies have a membership of some 10,000, professional staff of 21, and an annual budget of approximately $300,000.

A special committee of Council members (see enclosure "f") will be appointed by the President to supervise planning and administration.

IV.

The programs for which we request the Ford Foundation's support are as follows:

	1 Yr.	3 Yrs.	4 Yrs.
I. Governmental Programs			
A. Evaluate governmental programs, assist CHR's and other private agencies to render constructive services to them, provide consultants to governmental bodies, hold technical seminars, and do public policy studies; in the fields of: -- city planning -- fair employment (fed., state, local) -- anti-poverty (fed., state, local) -- housing -- school integration -- others as may be indicated	$ 80,000	$240,000	$320,000
B. Administrative overhead	16,000	48,000	64,000
II. Special Studies			
A. To undertake and distribute fact-finding and interpretive studies dealing with fields that specially affect the poor in southern states, provide consultants, and to assist CHR's and other agencies, public and private, to work in these same problem areas; in the fields of: -- welfare programs -- rehabilitation of criminals -- penal administration			

	1 Yr.	3 Yrs.	4 Yrs.
-- technological unemployment			
-- others as may be indicated	70,000	210,000	280,000
B. Administrative overhead	14,000	42,000	56,000
III. Technical Assistance			
A. To provide technical assistance, training, and materials to groups seeking to organize themselves for self-help and new patterns of human relations; in the fields of:			
-- Negro community organization			
-- credit unions			
-- agricultural co-ops			
-- southern labor unions			
-- Negro voter education			
-- others as may be indicated	120,000	360,000	480,000
B. Administrative overhead	24,000	72,000	96,000
IV. State and Local Councils on Human Relations			
A. Grants-in-aid for strengthening of staff and staff training (3-year terminal)	125,000*	475,000*	475,000*
B. Central services to CHR's	25,000	75,000	100,000
V. Community Service by Students			
A. To administer small grants on application from established students or other yough groups in the South for			

	1 Yr.	3 Yrs.	4 Yrs.
assistance with off-campus projects of community service.	35,000 *	105,000*	140,000*
B. Administrative overhead	7,000	21,000	28,000
	$516,000	$1,648,000	$2,039,000
*The entire amount of these items would be for other agencies; therefore, the amount of the requested grant which is for SRC programs would be:	$356,000	$1,068,000	$1,424,000

V.

These programs will enable the Council to

-- support and evaluate the federal efforts under Titles VI and VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Economic Opportunity Act, and other statutes;

-- carry on public policy studies dealing with state and local governmental action;

-- carry on studies of municipal growth, public facilities planning, and housing patterns, as they affect the racially and economically disadvantaged;

-- prepare sound studies of program use to those public and private agencies specially concerned with the hardships of the poor;

-- in all of the above areas, provide consultant services to public and private agencies;

-- encourage the growth of Negro community organization, in both urban and rural settings;

-- strengthen the receptivity of southern labor to the requirements of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act;

-- make a constructive contribution to the enormous need for citizenship education on the part of the newly enfranchised Negroes of the Black Belt;

-- elevate the professional skills and qualifications of workers in human relations agencies;

-- assist student initiative for constructive community service.

VI.

ADMINISTRATION

As is indicated in Section IV above, a principal feature of this proposal is the use of specialized consultants and researchers. The Council has had considerable experience in selecting and employing outside specialists in the past, and is able to draw the ablest talent to its assignments.

Additional staffing within the Council will be required, and we have already held, as will be indicated below, some informal discussions. Subject to later study and revision, and to recruitment experience, we have the following present plans.

A Director of Special Projects will, under the supervision of the Executive Director, plan and direct the Governmental Programs, the Special Studies, Technical Assistance, and Community Service by Students.

The Director of Special Projects will coordinate all his plans and activities with the Research and Field staffs of the Council.

A committee of Council members will be appointed by the President of the Council to give regular and frequent advice on the five programs covered by this

proposal to the Executive Director and the Director of Special Projects. As with all Council activities, ultimate control will be exercised by the Council's Executive Committee.

The Governmental Programs, Special Studies, and Technical Assistance will absorb a presently existing special project called Economic Counselling and Study (see page 3, 1965 Budget). Technical Assistance will absorb in greatly modified and greatly reduced scope the Rural Advancement Project (see page 3, 1965 Budget). All other present activities of SRC will continue and will be financed separately from this requested grant.

The staff training and development program with the Councils on Human Relations will be administered by the Director of Field Activities.

It is estimated that the following full-time professional staff will need to be engaged:

A Director of Special Projects

Governmental Programs
A planning or housing expert (Interest has been expressed in the position by an outstanding architect and planner, president within the past two years of his state society.)

Our present Staff Economist will be re-assigned to this program.

Special Studies
(We are assured of the availability of a nationally recognized penologist.)

Technical Assistance
An expert in citizenship education and community organization

An expert in labor education (We are assured of the availability of the man we would wish.

State and Local Councils on Human Relations
An Assistant Director of Field Activities

Community Service by Students
An Assistant to the Director of
Special Projects

VII.

In the budget estimates set out above, we noted that a very substantial portion of the requested grant would go in full to agencies and groups other than SRC. In point of fact, the entire purpose of the Technical Assistance program also is the strengthening of other groups, and this purpose is likewise contained in the Governmental Programs and Special Studies.

We call attention to this because it underscores the basic intent of this proposal. The constant concern and aim of the Southern Regional Council is the strengthening of the South's ability to confront and manage its problems through its own great human resources. We believe this proposal promises to contribute importantly to that end.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/js
Enclosures - 6.

File
Foundations –
" Ford, 1965 –

via air mail

July 29, 1965

Mr. Paul Ylvisaker
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Ylvisaker:

Thank you for your letter of July 27. We shall proceed at once to prepare the information you have requested, and will have it completed sometime next week.

I do look forward to a chance to talk with you and John Ehle in Durham next week. The morning plane from Atlanta gets in there only just before the meeting will begin. I could, however, come up the evening before either to see you then or at breakfast on Friday morning. Or, I could stay over after the meeting ends. If you could have word telephoned to me as to your schedule and wishes, I would be most grateful. Mr. Vernon Jordan of our staff will, incidentally, be attending the meeting with me.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

MJ - file

MEMORANDUM August 2, 1965

To: Paul Anthony

From: Leslie W. Dunbar

You may need to know at some date how I arrived at the budget figures in the letter to Ford of July 31, 1965 for the rural projects (page 11), and the southern labor unions (page 12).

For the former, I simply eliminated SRC and NSF overhead from the amount budgeted in the RAP proposal for each state Council. This left $12,320 per state, and twice that is $24,560. I then arbitrarily put in $6,000 for NSF's services. But you will please notice that this is a sum you could negotiate with NSF, depending on how much service they were providing.

The three-year budget on the NILE project totals $132,780. I subtracted from it the items for health and welfare, office supplies, and overhead, equalling $34,280, and leaving a three-year total of $98,500, which represents $32,833 per year, and on a four-year program $131,332. I then subtracted from this the Taconic $30,000, leaving $101,332 needed for the four-year period, or $25,333 per year. I then arbitrarily added to this $6,000 for NILE services, giving a composite one-year total of $31,333, which I rounded off to $31,335. Again, please note that the $6,000 is a negotiable figure which should be based on the services you want from NILE.

File: Ford Fd. 1965

August 9, 1965

Mr. John Ehle
Special Advisor in Public Affairs
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear John:

Thank you for the report of the University of Oslo. It made me very sad. I think we shall pass it around among some of the student groups down here.

It was good seeing you at Quail Roost.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

LWD

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

Rec'd 7/16/65

July 12, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

The attached report shows the extent of student participation in the academic and community affairs of the University of Oslo, where they have a lot of power. Two lawyers in Oslo were kind enough to prepare the report for me.

I send it along with best wishes.

Sincerely,

John

John Ehle
Special Advisor
in Public Affairs

Rec'd 8/12/65

file

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

PA
MI - file

August 11, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

In order to simplify the changing of the docket item, yet give the Southern Regional Council the flexibility it needs, I settled on the following wording, which has been approved for use:
"...to provide technical assistance, directly and through affiliated state and local human relations councils, to local community groups...."

Sincerely,

John

John Ehle
Special Advisor
in Public Affairs

File - Ford Fd., 1965

August 13, 1965

Mr. John Ehle
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear John:

I suspect this is too much for you to read, but even a quick scanning of it may give you and Paul a better understanding of why we do recommend to you the cause of the state Councils on Human Relations as strongly as we do.

Most of these documents relate to the Georgia Council. The "Nine Months Report" is, I believe, a record of good accomplishment. The July 1965 financial report shows how desperate is the financial situation. The letter of August 12, 1965 gives further emphasis to that.

The membership and financial report of the Alabama Council, which is also enclosed, shows, I believe, how responsibly this body is working in local fund-raising and how impressive is its membership growth.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

File: Ford, 1965

His:

August 19, 1965

Mr. John Ehle
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear John:

I thought the enclosure might be of some interest to you. It has been prepared by a good friend and former student Elliott Levitas. Elliott just got elected to the state Senate, and plans to introduce a bill along this line when the Legislature convenes.

Some of it may remind you of SRC's proposal to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

"Outline of Proposed Georgia Community Resources and Development Agency" Elliott Levitas.

Check Pfwallers files for original copy

File: Ford Fd.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

SUBJECT:

PA's letter to John H. Wheeler on October 4, 1965

RE:

Possibility of instituting an advisory committee made up of SRC Board people for Ford Foundation-sponsored projects.

SEE:

BOARD - John Wheeler

See Food Fd - 1965

October 15, 1965

Mr. Paul Ylvisaker
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Paul:

You are a hard man to reach. Thanks for the appointment at 11:00 a.m., on October 27. I shall be there.

I had hoped to discuss with you the idea incorporated in the letter from the Foundation Treasurer. However, as you will see from the enclosed copy, we have gone ahead with the request for funds, since it would be good to begin making modest expenditures immediately. I hope the suggestions in that letter are agreeable with you and consistent with Foundation policy.

On Monday, October 11, our Executive Committee heard the details of the new programs, and as the proposal stated, a special committee of our Members was appointed. Dr. Charles G. Gomillion of Tuskegee was made chairman. The members are: Dr. James A. Colston, (Tenn.); Mr. Courtney Siceloff, (S.C.); Mr. Moreland G. Smith, (Ala.); Dr. H. Franklin Williams (Fla.); and, Mr. Thomas W. Young, (Va.). The President and Chairman of the Executive Committee are ex-officio members.

Also, our Personnel Committee has authorized the transfer of the Economist, Lloyd Elliot, to the Project, and the appointment of Albert C. Ulmer as special staff person for the Negro community self-help provisions of the proposal. Al is an outstanding Floridian, Peace Corps returnee, who spent the last year as our intern. We are releived that he is staying on at SRC rather than accepting one of a host of lucrative offers elsewhere.

Vernon Jordan, whom you met at the Quail Roost Conference, has been appointed the VEP director, and the Ford grant will enable us to staff that project and begin some detailed planning with David Hunter and others as well as to initiate programs.

We have opened negotiations with Moreland Smith of Montgomery, Alabama, and are hopeful that he will accept the city planning slot. My conversations with him this week make me all the more anxious to get him, since I find that his ideas, skills, and acquaintances in this area are even greater than we had anticipated.

Sorry to bother you with so many words, but I did want you to know the above developments.

I look forward to seeing you on the 27th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

File Grant Ff. 1965

only file copy (please return) wj

October 15, 1965

Mr. Thomas H. Lenagh
Treasurer
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Lenagh:

Following the directive of Mr. Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr., this is to request the first annual installment of $324,000 of the Foundation's three-year grant of $972,000.

If acceptable to you, we shall use such modest portions of these funds, between the time of receipt and December 31, as are necessary to begin recruitment and staffing for the project and for related costs. Thereafter, we shall consider the project year to begin January 1, 1966 to run for the calendar year. This will allow the project year to conform to our present accounting and auditing procedures, all of which are on a calendar year basis. Under this procedure we would provide you with an accounting of funds expended through December 31, 1965, as well as a project year-end accounting.

This request is based on our anticipation of spending the funds as indicated in our proposal to the Foundation. Any modification of this would, of course, be made only after consultation with the Foundation staff.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Paul Ylvisaker

(mailed in duplicate)

October 7, 1965

Mr. Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr.
Secretary
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. McDaniel:

We are cheered by your letter informing us of the Foundation's grant. We have noted the terms and conditions applicable to this grant, and shall abide by them.

It is the policy of the Council not to make public announcement of funds received, but to leave this matter to the donor; we shall adhere to that policy in this instance.

Please know that we are deeply grateful for this support and for the Foundation's expression of confidence in the Southern Regional Council. We shall make every effort to merit that confidence.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Pc: Mr. Paul Ylvisaker

THE FORD FOUNDATION, 477 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

TERMS OF GRANT

Grantee: Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Date: October 5, 1965

Amount: $972,000

Period: Three years

1. Expenditure of Grant Funds. Under the laws of the United States Government applicable to the Foundation all grants, including this one, must be expended solely for "educational, scientific, or charitable" purposes. The grant is for the specific purposes stated in the accompanying letter of grant notification and may be modified only with the Foundation's approval.

2. Return of Grant Funds. Grant funds will be returned to the Foundation

   if the grantee is a United States organization and loses its tax-exempt status under United States federal laws; or

   if the grantee is a foreign organization and loses its tax-exempt status under comparable laws of the nation in which its charter was issued; or

   if these funds are not expended or committed for the purposes of the grant and within the period stated.

3. Reports to the Foundation. A written report will be furnished to the Secretary of the Foundation upon completion of the project or program for which the grant has been made. Where the period of the grant exceeds one year, interim reports will be furnished annually, in addition to the final report. These reports should contain a financial accounting by categories of expenditure, a narrative account of what was accomplished by the expenditure of the funds, and reference to any publications resulting from the grant which have appeared or are in preparation.

4. Public Announcements. The Foundation lists all grants in its annual report. Arrangements for announcement in a press release are stated in the accompanying letter of grant notification. If the letter states that the Foundation plans to make a press announcement, the grantee may issue more detailed information at the same time or later without prior clearance from the Foundation. The Foundation's Office of Reports would like to receive copies of press releases, photographs, film scripts, or any published material about the grant or the work it has made possible.

5. Commitment. This grant is made with the understanding that the Foundation has no obligation to provide other or additional support for the grantee, unless otherwise stated in the accompanying letter of grant notification.

FF-027B
(6/1/61)

October 7, 1965

Mr. Paul Ylvisaker
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Paul:

On receipt of the announcement today I tried to reach you to thank you for your considerable part in our good fortune.

Let me assure you that I will make every effort to expend these funds responsibly in keeping with the spirit of as well as very close to the letter of the proposal.

I leave town shortly for two days and on Monday our Executive Committee meets here, and will hear the good news. As soon after that as possible I would appreciate an opportunity to discuss this with you by phone. Also, I plan to be in New York October 26 - 28, and hope it will be possible for you to see me then.

With best wishes, and our most sincere gratitude.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

JOSEPH M. McDANIEL, JR.
SECRETARY

October 5, 1965

Mr. Paul B. Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am pleased to advise you that The Ford Foundation has approved a grant of $972,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. over a three-year period for studies and technical assistance related to human relations programs in the South. This grant is being made in response to Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar's request of July 16, 1965 addressed to Mr. Paul Ylvisaker of the Foundation staff, as modified by Mr. Dunbar's letter of July 31, 1965 and by this letter.

The grant funds are to be used for support of Parts I, II and III as described on pages 5 and 6 of Mr. Dunbar's proposal of July 16, 1965 and as further detailed in his letter of July 31, 1965. The funds requested for Parts IV and V of the July 16 proposal are not included in this grant.

The Foundation will refer to this grant at a later date in a press release that will be sent to you in advance. Please consult with the Foundation's Office of Reports should you wish to make an earlier announcement.

Payment of the grant funds will be made in annual installments based upon your estimates of funds needed each year, and upon receipt of your requests, in duplicate, directed to Mr. Thomas H. Lenagh, Treasurer of the Foundation.

The attached statement sets forth further terms and conditions applicable to this grant. We particularly call your attention to paragraph 3 of this statement concerning reports to

the Foundation. Interim reports should precede or accompany all requests for payment of grant installments after the initial payment. If there are any points in the statement or in this letter that need clarification, or if you wish additional information, please do not hesitate to communicate with us.

On behalf of the Foundation may I extend every good wish for the success of these programs.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr.

Secretary

Attachment

cc: Mr. John H. Wheeler

August 31, 1965

Mr. Paul Ylvisaker
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Ylvisaker:

We submit herewith on the attached pages the more detailed explanations of Parts I, II, and III of our proposal of July 16, 1965 to the Foundation, as requested by your letter of July 27.

I hope that if these explanations do not fully clarify the proposal you will let us know of any further questions you may have.

In our proposal of July 16, we used the phrase "others as may be indicated" in several places in describing projected programs. The phrase was intended only to build in a degree of flexibility of program emphasis over the four-year period of the requested grant. As the attachments make more clear, these "others" were not budgeted. We now think it best to rely on consultation with you from time to time for any flexibility needed, and accordingly now ask that the phrase be disregarded.

Should you wish further information on Parts IV and V of our proposal, we shall be glad to supply it. The attachments make clear our statement on page 4 of the proposal that administration of Projects I, II, and III will draw on the Councils

on Human Relations. Part IV, which would strengthen their staffs, is, therefore, an integral part of the whole proposal, as well as being aimed at strengthening the general effectiveness of the Councils on Human Relations and enlarging the supply of trained professionals.

Your letter of July 27 suggests that the Foundation may wish to consider Projects I, II, and III separately from the rest; inasmuch as they would have common administrative direction, such a procedure would be completely agreeable to us.

Finally, we wish to note that the attachments may not make sufficiently clear that Project I, II, and III will have common planning and direction, and that we do not intend the various programs to be compartmentalized from each other. They will mutually support each other and be supported by the general program of SRC.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure

FOAM BOND

I. Governmental Programs

A. Evaluate governmental programs, assist CHR's and other agencies to render constructive services to them, provide consultants to governmental bodies, hold technical seminars, and do public policy studies; in the fields of:

1. City Planning

The purpose will be to focus attention of governmental bodies and community groups on city planning as it affects equality of opportunity.

Southern cities (much the same is true of non-southern) have been meticulously planned to maximize residental and school segregation. This has not required stated policies (though often they have been stated), but has proceeded naturally from a commonly shared premise of municipal governments, realtors, banks, and other decision-makers. The location of every expressway, school, branch library, park; land use zoning; annexation directions; even the siting of churches and cemeteries -- all decisions, hardly with exception, have been factored by an intention to enlarge and make more secure segregation. State policies, insofar as applicable, have reinforced the same end, and, more importantly, so have those of the federal housing, highway, and other public works programs.

Apart from any ethical issues, the result is a steady and rapid ghettoizing of the cities, accompanied by a growing ratio of Negroes in the central cities. Social and economic rigidities of a radically serious nature result.

As our letter of July 16 notes (page 9), a widely respected architect, who has in his career had a special interest in planning, has already been approached as to his availability. Either he or another qualified person would direct a program whose primary aim would be the education of community groups in what is at stake in planning decisions; and whose secondary aim would be consultative and research service to officials and other decision-makers, and the alerting of the planning profession to issues involved.

This would be accomplished through project research at SRC and commissioned studies, some of which would be for publication, others for limited distribution, and others as background papers for seminars with planning specialists; through close consultation by the SRC specialist and outside consultants chosen by him with state and local Councils on Human Relations, Urban Leagues, NAACP branches, and other community groups; through the availability of the same consultative services to officials and other decision-makers.

Salaries (including secretarial) $20,000. Travel $2,000. Consultant fees and travel $6,000. Outside research $5,000. Total $33,000.

2. Fair Employment (federal, state, local)

3. Anti-Poverty (federal, state, local)

The purpose will be a continuing evaluation of these governmental programs, constant liaison with them, and bridging the communication gap between them and community groups.

New federal programs under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Economic Opportunity Act are vast in scope and administration. The Community Action Program of the latter makes it uniquely complex, and involves state and local governments heavily; other titles of the Economic Opportunity Act also depend on state and local administration in part. Title VII, by its offer of suspending federal jurisdiction (Sec. 709b), will predictably induce state fair employment legislation, if for no reason other than to control administration and jobs; because of the proven inadequacy of state FEPC's in the non-South (on which Title VII is too largely modeled), the need for informed policy studies to guide southern legislatures is great.

We are convinced of the need for constant independent evaluation of these programs, from the standpoints of both administrative methods and effectiveness and results; such evaluation need sometimes to be made public and at other times can be sufficiently effective when submitted to officials. We know from long experience with federal agencies that they value and seek consultation with SRC staff; similarly useful relationships are being and will be developed with state and local agencies

charged newly with responsibilities in these areas. We are increasingly reminded, as are all other persons involved with these problems, of the discouraging attrition of information about governmental programs as it passes down to the people intended to be benefitted.

Some SRC activities during 1965 may illustrate the extent of our present involvement in this area. A lengthy memorandum on Negro employment in federal civil rights programs and on Negro participation in Community Action Programs was submitted to the Vice President and Mr. Shriver, with copies to other federal officials; considerable dialogue ensued and corrective action has been marked, at least in the CAP area. A brochure describing the federal poverty programs was prepared for use by Negro community groups, and sold in bulk below cost; two printings (11,000 and 7,500) were distributed in about a month's time. Federal officials working from Atlanta regional offices with responsibilities for civil rights met together monthly at SRC, with an SRC staff member presiding, to share informally experiences and administrative ideas. During the summer of 1965, Professor James Y. Holloway, of Berea College has been engaged to do initial work on what will be an examination of public policy requirements facing southern state governments and SRC recommendations for state action. The final report will be comparable to our 1960-1 study, The Federal Executive and Civil Rights, and our 1962-3 study for the International City Managers' Association, "The City Government and Minority Groups."

We have discussed "fair employment" and "anti-poverty" together because we intend to program these interests together.

This will be accomplished through project research at SRC (no outside research seems indicated), some, but not all of which will be for publication; through staff consultation with governmental agencies and through preparing the staff of Councils on Human Relations, by seminars and other training methods, to serve as communication links and advisors to community groups within their states.

As is indicated in our letter of July 16, (page 9), our Staff Economist (Dr. Lloyd J. Elliott) will be assigned to this project. We intend that he will contribute to all three of the projects covered by this

letter, but he will be specially responsible for the "fair employment" and "anti-poverty" work, and is charged here on the proposed budget.

Salaries (including secretarial) $15000. Travel $1000. CHR consultants and travel $6000. Total $22000.

4. Housing

The purpose will be to provide consultants to community groups interested in open occupancy housing and to local officials and other decision-makers.

We have no research plans in housing beyond the resources of our present Research Department budget. (This is an appropriate place to repeat what is stated on page 9 of our letter of July 16. Except as specifically indicated there and in this letter, this proposal to you does not cover, supplant, or assume the cost of present SRC activities. The level of research activity now carried on will continue entirely apart from the funds here applied for.) We have in progress now housing studies of Richmond and Atlanta, we anticipate the undertaking of a Houston study, and have hopes for doing a fourth city. It would be imprudent to plan further studies until the value and effectiveness of these can be appraised.

We are convinced that housing is the issue around which all other issues of equal opportunity and human resource development revolve. On the other hand, beyond occasional studies and the provision of informed advisors and consultants, there is little an agency organized like SRC can do about it. We say this because of our conviction that housing discrimination and segregation will effectively yield only to authoritarian governmental action or extensive popular education, and that middle routes hold little promise. We do not favor authoritatian action and we are not organized for extensive popular education. The Councils on Human Relations are, and if the Foundation can support Item IV in our proposal of July 16, their ability to make impact will be greatly enhanced.

Our proposal to you embraces, over and above present SRC activities in this field, the employment of outside consultants for opportunities that do and

may exist of advising federal, state, and local officials and assisting community groups to make representations.

Consultant fees and travel $3,000. Total $3,000.

5. School Integration

The purpose will be continuing evaluation of school integration in the South, including the policies of the U. S. Office of Education under Titles IV and VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and continuing program support for state and local Councils on Human Relations, NAACP branches, and other community groups interested in integrated education. The underlying purpose will be to help shift southern policies from the containment of desegregation to an exclusive concern for the educational interests of the child.

Within southern cities and large towns, the question is whether overt segregation will be succeeded by de facto; i.e., whether they will have to pass through northern-style problems to achieve schools that satisfactorily serve their Negro residents. In southern small towns and rural areas, the country has its one best chance, because of residential patterns, of achieving quickly, truly integrated schooling.

We do not believe that the school systems should be asked or required to adopt integration policies in order to compensate for housing segregation and other forms of discrimination. We do believe that integrated classrooms are one of the more important values that school administrations should pursue; that the school system belongs to all the people and its administration should be representative of all of them; and that the public school system has a basic obligation to strive unceasingly to compensate educationally for the cultural shortcomings any child may have and to encourage every child to develop his talents to the fullest.

We shall publish this fall (or perhaps in late summer) a study, with recommendations, of rural schools, prepared for us by Professors D. R. Green and James Jordan of the Emory Teacher Education Division. The key word in the last sentence is "recommendations." The work of the Southern Education Reporting Service should in the future as it has in the past supply most of the need for descriptive reporting. What school systems, North and

South, have been short of is disinterested analysis and recommendation. The New York School system, for example, has been badly failed by the academic community, which has not had available for it a body of informed research and counsel to draw on, and has been caught in a cross fire of intensely partisan demands without authoritative guidelines. Through our own Research Department and through outside researchers, we shall continuously evaluate southern developments and federal policies and propose alternatives as indicated; some studies will be published.

But the public school systems are, in the last analysis, responsive to public opinion. It is crucially important that community groups interested in integrated education form their programs and demands intelligently. We shall direct our consultant services at them. Working with the Councils on Human Relations, we shall program outside specialists to community groups, to advise them in the formulation of their positions.

Consultant fees and travel $5,000. Outside research $5,000. Total $10,000.

Project Budget

Governmental Programs

1.	City Planning	$ 33,000
2.	Fair Employment (federal, state, local))	
3.	Anti-Poverty (federal, state, local))	22,000
4.	Housing	3,000
5.	School Integration	10,000
1 through 5.	Printing	10,000
1 through 5.	Seminars	2,000
		$ 80,000
	Administrative overhead*	16,000
	Total, one year	$ 96,000

*See explanation on final page.

II. Special Studies

A. To undertake and distribute fact-finding and interpretive studies dealing with fields that specially affect the poor in southern states, provide consultants, and to assist CHR's and other agencies, public and private, to work in these same problem areas; in the fields of:

1. Welfare Programs

The purpose will be to strengthen the effectiveness of governmental and philanthropic programs of assistance to the ppor through critical study and through representation of the interests of the indigent.

Federal funds now being invested through the Economic Opportunity Administration are small compared to federal and state funds already being expended through established welfare and relief programs; these are further supplemented by vast outlays of private charity, such as the Community Chests. No one any longer seriously regards these expenditures as a cure for poverty, but only as means to maintain life and sustain purchasing power in the economy. Welfare programs are forbiddingly vast, administratively complex and over-layered, and distastefully unsuccessful.

Traditional social work methods are under increasing challenge and criticism.

SRC has found over the years that carefully selected research questions, skillfully handled, can lead to publications that open up large problem areas for public discussion and action. The purpose of an SRC publication is not to be definitive, but to engage the attention of influential circles, provoke discussion and action, and to be superseded by more thorough research stimulated by it. We shall chiefly rely on engaging outside researchers to analyze and interpret the effectiveness of public and private welfare programs from the standpoint of how well they serve their intended beneficiaries and society at large.

The state and, more especially, the local Councils on Human Relations provide a large reservoir not only of

staff but of bi-racial lay volunteers for community service. We have no intention of entering them into the established field of social work. What we shall attempt, through extensive seminars and other training methods, led by our staff and outside consultants, is to educate a large number of outherners in the life of the poor. The local CHR's can be in southern cities and many towns a watchman for the interests of the poor and a source of counsel to neighborhood groups. Moreover, CHR staff, with minimal training, can represent the interests of the poor in consultation with public and private agencies.

Outside research $5,000. Consultant fees and travel $3,000. CHR consultants and travel $7,000. Total $15,000.

2. Rehabilitation of Criminals

3. Penal Administration

The purpose will be to produce significant upgrading of southern practices, particularly on the state level, through extensive consultation with officials, supported by fact-finding studies.

Some southern states have made conspicuous progress in recent years in criminal rehabilitation and prison reform. This movement has included large steps toward prison integration and non-discriminatory rehabilitation services. Because we are confident of the availability of one of the outstanding leaders of this progress, we propose through his services and those of consultants selected by him an intensive program of expert consultation with state officials. Outside research will be commissioned, not expectably to produce publications but to equip the consultants with data and to produce memoranda for distribution to officials.

Salaries (including secretarial) $21,000. Travel $2,000. Consultant fees and travel $6,000. Outside research $5,000. Total $34,000.

4. Technological Unemployment

The purpose will be to enlarge the understanding of affected persons and classes of persons by interpretive research.

The displacement of human jobs by machines is at least as old as the Industrial Revolution, complicated in our time by the specific phenomenon known as automation. The history of southern agriculture demonstrates that new technology can cause permanent loss of economic usefulness unless new skills are learned and unless the displacee -- through counsel, foresight, or luck -- moves to where he can profitably market his labor.

People need to know what is happening to them. We are convinced that a better understanding by low income groups threatened by new technology will improve their chances of making intelligent decisions. Through our own Research Department and commissioned researchers we shall prepare published presentations of the dimensions of technological employment, the public and private services available to displacees, and the implications of such unemployment for general society. These publications will be intended primarily for the audience represented by bi-racial and Negro community groups; the South will predictably become during the next decade or so, because of enfranchisement and re-apportionment, a powerful pressure for extending the welfare state, and it will be to the national iterest for low income voters of the South to understand better the basic issues.

Outside research $6,000. Total $6,000.

<u>Project Budget</u>

Special Studies

	1. Welfare Programs	$ 15,000
	2. Rehabilitation of Criminals }	34,000
	3. Penal Administration }	
	4. Technological Unemployment	6,000
1 through 4.	Printing	10,000
1 through 3.	Seminars	5,000
		$ 70,000
	Administrative overhead	14,000
	Total, one year	$ 84,000

III. Technical Assistance

A. To provide technical assistance, training, and materials to groups seeking to organize themselves for self-help and new patterns of human relations; in the fields of:

1. Negro Community Organization
2. Credit Unions
3. Agricultural Co-Ops

The purpose will be to strengthen efforts within the Negro community toward self-help and toward the gradual transition of incompetent communities into competent ones, through field counsel, special materials, and bridging the communication gap with concerned public and private agencies.

The rationals for such program is explicit in earlier discussion. Poverty is nothing new in America. The solution now, as it always has been within the American economic system, is individual initiative within a structure of expanding opportunities. Private agencies such as SRC can do little to expand economic opportunities, but can help through technical assistance to stimulate initiative on the part of persons who, for reasons peculiar to themselves in all the annals of the American poor, have been taught to stifle initiative.

The so-called Battaglia Project of the Houston Council on Human Relations has achieved remarkable success by a process of identifying the unbelievably large number of Negro community organizations in the city, ascertaining what their chief wants and goals are, and helping through counsel and liaison with appropriate public and private agencies to achieve them. The South Carolina Council on Human Relations has had similar success with a program of technical help for Negro farmers; although the program includes other things, essentially it consists of counselling regarding federal agricultural benefits and programs, and representing the interests of these farmers before federal and state offices. Finally, we have been much impressed by the progress of the Southern Consumers Co-op in southwest Louisiana, an organization with which we have been closely associated, in building a

credit union and co-op for the farmers of the area.

Program here would be built around these approaches. An expert in community organization, at this level, will direct training of other community organizations, urban and rural, in the methods of the Battaglia project and the Southern Consumers Co-op. The rural project of the South Carolina Council is now being adopted by the Georgia Council; funds requested here will permit us to establish similar rural projects in two additional states. The South Carolina program has utilized the advisory and conference planning services of the National Sharecroppers Fund, and this feature has been adopted by Georgia; it is included, therefore, in the plans here for two additional states. For the entire program, we plan a heavy use of specially prepared printed and audio-visual materials.

Salaries (including secretarial) $14,000. Travel $2,000. Rural projects in two states $24,560. Advisory and conference planning services of National Sharecroppers Fund $6,000. Total $46,560.

4. Southern Labor Unions

The purpose will be to assist with training programs within the southern labor movement intended to strengthen worker readiness for the requirements of Tital VII and to encourage a better grasp of human relations among working class whites, through workshops and materials.

Employee resistance has been said by economists to have been the dominant support behind job discrimination. Tital VII will be of genuine or token success depending in large part on how well this is overcome.

To an extent not easily recognized by non-Southerners, lower middle class and lower income class southern whites are insulated from intellectual and moral leadership toward new patterns of human relations. For example, they typically do not belong to the church denominations actively and unambiguously advocating new outlooks. One of the few institutional settings where a significant number may be reached is within unions.

We are assured of the availability of a nationally recognized expert (Dr. Emory Via, Associate Professor of Labor Education, University of Wisconsin), and under his direction will program 3 - 5 day workshops over the

South, supported by specially prepared materials. The AFL-CIO has promised (a) to recruit attendees and to press their locals to send them to the workshops as delegates, thus paying their wages and expenses; (b) not to abate its own southern program through its Civil Rights and Education divisions; and (c) to support this program with staff and other services as requested. We shall also seek the technical and advisory help of the National Institute of Labor Education.

The total four-year cost of the program (a copy of the budget has already been submitted to you) is $131,332 when all overhead items are removed. We have in hand $30,000. The required remaining cost per year is $26,335. For advisory and technical services of NILE, $6,000. Total $31,335.

5. Negro Voter Education

The purpose will be to assist Negro community groups develop programs of voter education, sound in both content and outreach.

The ending of voter discrimination in the South, combined with the success of voter registration drives, adds and will add hundred of thousands Negro voters to the rolls. Gratification over this result should not obscure the reality of ill preparation for citizenship's obligations. An immense need is for sustained voter education under non-partisan auspices. We are convinced through our own experience with the Voter Education Project of 1962-64 that effective programs must have a base in local Negro community organizations.

We propose to appoint a staff person of proven ability and to employ consultants to work with such groups in planning and carrying out program. We emphasize, however, that this will be only a partial response to a huge problem, and that a chief product may be the development of more adequately sized programs.

Salaries (Including secretarial) $19,000. Consultants $5,000. Total $24,000.

Project Budget

Technical Assistance

1. Negro Community Organization)
2. Credit Unions) $46,560
3. Agricultural Co-ops)

	4. Southern Labor Unions	$ 31,335
	5. Negro Voter Education	24,000
1 through 4.	Printing	15,000
11through 5.	Seminars	3,105
		$120,000
	Administrative overhead	24,000
	Total, one year	$144,000

Summary Budget

I.	Governmental Programs	$ 96,000
II.	Special Studies	84,000
III.	Technical Assistance	144,000
	Total, one year	$324,000

Note: Each figure containes a 20% allowance for administrative overhead, as shown in the preceding explanations. This will cover the salary and secretarial expenses of the Director of Special Projects (see page 8 of our proposal of July 16), and his office; fringe benefits for project staff; the costs of materials distribution; supplies and office equipment; rent; salary increases; telephone; postage; and a nominal share of SRC administrative expense.

MJ

file Ford Fd - 1965

VIA AIR MAIL

July 16, 1965

Mr. Paul Ylvisaker
Director
Public Affairs Program
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Ylvisaker:

This is to place before the Foundation a proposal for four-year support of special programs of the Southern Regional Council.

I.

These projected programs are described in this letter in only a general way. They have, however, been discussed at length with members of your staff, and we would expect to prepare more detailed descriptions as they may be required.

Enclosed with this letter are certain documents of reference regarding the Council. They are:

a. Treasury letter of tax-exemption

b. Audit, 1964

c. Budget, 1965

d. Annual Report, 1964

e. Southern Regional Council, 1944-1964

f. Membership roster

Enclosure "f" is of particular note. The ability of the Council to carry out the programs set forth below is made possible by the resources of leadership, judgment, and experience embraced in its membership.

Because it has been our established practice to budget only modest amounts beyond expectable income, the 1965 budget (enclosure "c") does not reflect the scope of the programs proposed here.

II.

The civil rights drive of recent years has dominated the domestic politics of this nation. It has also transformed the politics of the South and deeply affected that of the rest of the nation. It has reached the point where it has produced a clear decision by the federal government to support its aims. First, tentative steps in the same direction have been taken by some state and local governments of the South.

To legislate or decree civil rights is, however, only to decide to undertake the huge and complex national purpose of effectively equalizing opportunities and of integrating disadvantaged people into the institutional life of this country. Neither moral nor political decisions, necessary as they are, will accomplish this. They will be realized only when those decisions are supported by a structure of public policies.

In this democracy, public policies -- i.e., policies that shape and determine public life -- are only in part devised by government.

The civil rights campaign has resulted from the interaction of men and historical changes. An event, for example, such as Selma and all that eventuated from it would not have occurred without the people who led it, but neither could it have been possible without the telephone, the airplane, and the television cameras

and viewers. In another sense, it could not have occurred without the broad social, economic, and demographic re-alignments that today make this country responsive to civil rights and have made anachronistic the social system of the Black Belt.

Further progress toward equalizing opportunity and toward making disadvantaged people a fully productive part of the nation will likewise come from interacting men and trends. To overlook the need for policies would be, however, a profound mistake. In a period when one system of social, economic, and political relationships is being or has been discarded, and another not yet securely fashioned, policy is crucial.

The consequences of all the forces, both impersonal and voluntary, which have produced the civil rights gains are immense and many of them constitute already pressing problems for our society.

The migration of rural peoples to the cities, South, North, and West, and the subsequent enormity of educational, welfare, and manpower problems; the progressive decline in the white population of our central cities, and its implications for political rivalry with suburbia, for the tax base of the cities, and for the cities traditional role as the guardian of arts and letters; the enfranchisement of millions of new, unschooled, and unsophisticated voters; the tragic irony that Negro Americans are finally escaping from planned and deliberate discrimination at a time when the abrupt escalation of job and educational standards makes their entry into the mainstream of American life extraordinarily difficult -- these are some of the realities shaping the character of contemporary America.

Other issues could be enumerated, but such is not necessary, for these are well-understood concerns of the Ford Foundation.

A leading premise of this proposal is that there is a realistic possibility in the South of meeting many of these problems before they rigidify, and of directing social change into paths beneficial and satisfying to the whole community.

A second premise is that private organizations, among which the Southern Regional Council has achieved recognized standing, have a necessary function in the working out of society's problems. Conversely, the strengthening of the staffs of these organizations by drawing to them qualified and dedicated people, and their growth in professional skills, is a substantial benefit to society.

We do not, of course, suggest that the programs proposed here can be of more than contributory value, though we believe that will be great.

We believe that because the purpose of this proposal is to strengthen the existing institutions and community organizations of the region and to effect larger and freer participation within them.

III.

We propose to do this in a number of ways, utilizing methods in which over the years our staff has acquired skill and recognition. These include research and publication, the use of specialized consultants, the convening of conference and seminars, and the administration of small grants to other organizations.

Administration will draw not only on the Council's staff and research facilities, but will draw active support from our affiliated Councils on Human Relations. There is a Council on Human Relations in every southern state except Texas, and each is staffed except that of Louisiana; a strong and well-staffed local Council on Human Relations is in Houston. Altogether, these bodies have a membership of some 10,000, professional staff of 21, and an annual budget of approximately $300,000.

A special committee of Council members (see enclosure "f") will be appointed by the President to supervise planning and administration.

IV.

The programs for which we request the Ford Foundation's support are as follows:

	1 Yr.	3 Yrs.	4 Yrs.
I. Governmental Programs			
A. Evaluate governmental programs, assist CHR's and other private agencies to render constructive services to them, provide consultants to governmental bodies, hold technical seminars, and do public policy studies; in the fields of: -- city planning -- fair employment (fed., state, local) -- anti-poverty (fed., state, local) -- housing -- school integration -- others as may be indicated	$ 80,000	$240,000	$320,000
B. Administrative overhead	16,000	48,000	64,000
II. Special Studies			
A. To undertake and distribute fact-finding and interpretive studies dealing with fields that specially affect the poor in southern states, provide consultants, and to assist CHR's and other agencies, public and private, to work in these same problem areas; in the fields of: -- welfare programs -- rehabilitation of criminals -- penal administration			

	1 Yr.	3 Yrs.	4 Yrs.
-- technological unemployment			
-- others as may be indicated	70,000	210,000	280,000
B. Administrative overhead	14,000	42,000	56,000
III. Technical Assistance			
A. To provide technical assistance, training, and materials to groups seeking to organize themselves for self-help and new patterns of human relations; in the fields of:			
-- Negro community organization			
-- credit unions			
-- agricultural co-ops			
-- southern labor unions			
-- Negro voter education			
-- others as may be indicated	120,000	360,000	480,000
B. Administrative overhead	24,000	72,000	96,000
IV. State and Local Councils on Human Relations			
A. Grants-in-aid for strengthening of staff and staff training (3-year terminal)	125,000*	475,000*	475,000*
B. Central services to CHR's	25,000	75,000	100,000
V. Community Service by Students			
A. To administer small grants on application from established students or other youth groups in the South for			

	1 Yr.	3 Yrs.	4 Yrs.
assistance with off-campus projects of community service.	35,000 *	105,000*	140,000*
B. Administrative overhead	7,000	21,000	28,000
	$516,000	$1,648,000	$2,039,000
*The entire amount of these items would be for other agencies; therefore, the amount of the requested grant which is for SRC programs would be:	$356,000	$1,068,000	$1,424,000

V.

These programs will enable the Council to

-- support and evaluate the federal efforts under Titles VI and VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Economic Opportunity Act, and other statutes;

-- carry on public policy studies dealing with state and local governmental action;

-- carry on studies of municipal growth, public facilities planning, and housing patterns, as they affect the racially and economically disadvantaged;

-- prepare sound studies of program use to those public and private agencies specially concerned with the hardships of the poor;

-- in all of the above areas, provide consultant services to public and private agencies;

-- encourage the growth of Negro community organization, in both urban and rural settings;

-- strengthen the receptivity of southern labor to the requirements of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act;

-- make a constructive contribution to the enormous need for citizenship education on the part of the newly enfranchised Negroes of the Black Belt;

-- elevate the professional skills and qualifications of workers in human relations agencies;

-- assist student initiative for constructive community service.

VI.

ADMINISTRATION

As is indicated in Section IV above, a principal feature of this proposal is the use of specialized consultants and researchers. The Council has had considerable experience in selecting and employing outside specialists in the past, and is able to draw the ablest talent to its assignments.

Additional staffing within the Council will be required, and we have already held, as will be indicated below, some informal discussions. Subject to later study and revision, and to recruitment experience, we have the following present plans.

A Director of Special Projects will, under the supervision of the Executive Director, plan and direct the Governmental Programs, the Special Studies, Technical Assistance, and Community Service by Students.

The Director of Special Projects will coordinate all his plans and activities with the Research and Field staffs of the Council.

A committee of Council members will be appointed by the President of the Council to give regular and frequent advice on the five programs covered by this

proposal to the Executive Director and the Director of Special Projects. As with all Council activities, ultimate control will be exercised by the Council's Executive Committee.

The Governmental Programs, Special Studies, and Technical Assistance will absorb a presently existing special project called Economic Counselling and Study (see page 3, 1965 Budget). Technical Assistance will absorb in greatly modified and greatly reduced scope the Rural Advancement Project (see page 3, 1965 Budget). All other present activities of SRC will continue and will be financed separately from this requested grant.

The staff training and development program with the Councils on Human Relations will be administered by the Director of Field Activities.

It is estimated that the following full-time professional staff will need to be engaged:

A Director of Special Projects

Governmental Programs
A planning or housing expert (Interest has been expressed in the position by an outstanding architect and planner, president within the past two years of his state society.)

Our present Staff Economist will be re-assigned to this program.

Special Studies
(We are assured of the availability of a nationally recognized penologist.)

Technical Assistance
An expert in citizenship education and community organization

An expert in labor education (We are assured of the availability of the man we would wish.

State and Local Councils on Human Relations
An Assistant Director of Field Activities

Community Service by Students
An Assistant to the Director of
Special Projects

VII.

In the budget estimates set out above, we noted that a very substantial portion of the requested grant would go in full to agencies and groups other than SRC. In point of fact, the entire purpose of the Technical Assistance program also is the strengthening of other groups, and this purpose is likewise contained in the Governmental Programs and Special Studies.

We call attention to this because it underscores the basic intent of this proposal. The constant concern and aim of the Southern Regional Council is the strengthening of the South's ability to confront and manage its problems through its own great human resources. We believe this proposal promises to contribute importantly to that end.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/js
Enclosures - 6.

Rec'd 7/29/65

file — THE FORD FOUNDATION - 1965

477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

July 27, 1965

file

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We appreciate your sending in the proposal of July 16 describing five programs which are of special interest at this time to the Southern Regional Council.

You mentioned in your letter that you would be willing to send further more detailed information about these programs. Please do so, if you will, for the first three: the ones having to do with studies and the one having to do with technical assistance. John Ehle and I will be at the meeting at Quail Roost on the sixth of August and can talk with you further about this at that time, if you like.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Ylvisaker

Paul Ylvisaker

File -
Ford Fd. - 1965

September 7, 1965

Mr. John Ehle
Ford Foundation, Inc.
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear John:

For your information I enclose one copy each of the Vickburg Citizens' Appeal and The Voice of Prince Edward County.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

File - Ford Fd. 1965

via air mail

September 22, 1965

Mr. John Ehle
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear John:

I am enclosing a memorandum which Harold Fleming did some 8 years ago regarding attacks on SRC. Despite the date, it is still in a sense current, because although the snipers still occasionally shoot at us, they invariably use the same statements which The Firing Line employed, and which Harold here rebuts. The one charge which is always made against us is that, according to the Daily Worker, James Jackson founded the Southern Regional Council; that this charge gets repeated must represent the only occasion when the Red baiters ever believed anything in the Daily Worker.

I am enclosing also a Congressional Record reprint with two editorials. The one from the Richmond Times Dispatch is of particular interest, because the paper was not, in 1958, friendly.

There is more of this kind of material I could send up. But frankly, I have always been personally reluctant to answer these charges or employ this kind of material. We do, for example, have in the

files an old letter from the Un-American Activities Committee stating that we have never been cited by it for anything. I don't like the Un-American Activities Committee, and I, consequently, don't like to invoke its name in our behalf.

Finally, I have asked Ralph McGill to write a letter to Paul Ylvisaker simply for Paul to have with him to use when and how and if he desires. IN CASE YOU ARE NOT IN THE OFFICE WHEN THIS LETTER OF MINE ARRIVES, WILL YOUR SECRETARY PLEASE TELL PAUL WHY HE IS GETTING THE LETTER FROM MR. MCGILL.

All best wishes, and many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Encls: The Firing Line Checklist - 1957 by H.C. Fleming
Cong. Record Reprint on Sec's Origins
& Aims
~~Richmond Times Dispatch~~

Rec'd 10/21/65

NOTE PAGE 245

News from the Ford Foundation

477 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022
Office of Reports PLaza 1-2900

file
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file

PLEASE OBSERVE RELEASE DATE

FOR RELEASE TUESDAY, P.M., OCTOBER 26, 1965

For further information: Richard Magat or Walter Ashley

NEW YORK, Oct. 26 -- The Ford Foundation today announced grants related to the effectiveness of state government, urban poverty, domestic and international population problems, human relations in the South, the preservation of architectural and historical landmarks, and labor relations.

Noting that the grants represent a cross-section of several fields in which the Foundation is active, Henry T. Heald, president, said they were announced simultaneously, "as a tangible reminder of the important role private effort can and must play even as government expands its concern for social welfare." The grants are:

-- $750,000 to the recently formed Citizens Conference on State Legislatures for a national program to stimulate citizen action for the improvement of state government (Details on page 3);

(MORE)

-- $600,000 to the Urban Training Center for Christian Mission (Chicago) and $80,000 to the National Council of Churches to help urban churches play a more active part in antipoverty efforts (Details on page 4);

-- $800,000 to the University of North Carolina for research, consultation, and teaching on domestic and overseas population problems (Details on page 4);

-- $972,000 to the Southern Regional Council for evaluation of Federal and state-government programs in the South and technical aid to community groups through affiliated state and local human-relations councils (Details on page 5);

-- $366,000 to the National Urban League to initiate a nationwide program to assist Negro entrance into selected labor unions, primarily in special-skill trades (Details on page 5);

-- $1.2 million to the City of Oakland, California, for further support of its community-development program (Details on page 6);

-- $130,750 to the United States Conference of Mayors for a study of government assistance in preserving architectural and historical landmarks (Details on page 7);

-- $130,000 to Brown University for analyses of Federal legislation relating to labor-management relations (Details on page 7).

"Even as the Federal government greatly expands its role in education and social welfare, the responsibilities of private effort increase," Mr. Heald said. "These grants illustrate some of the reasons. For example, private agencies must continue to pioneer in important affairs from which the government is absent or inadequately involved; population problems (and the University of North Carolina's program is one of an extensive series the Foundation is supporting) is such a field.

(MORE)

"In fields where government is very active, efforts supported heavily or in part by private funds (such as Oakland's antipoverty activities) can play a valuable part as models, demonstrations of parallel approaches, or as supplements for activities Federal programs do not cover. Moreover, government programs may tend to amplify the status quo approaches, and private agencies with proven ability to innovate, experiment, and sometimes to challenge -- as the churches are increasingly doing on urban social problems -- are important sources of social progress.

"Government itself is not always the best judge of its own performance, and independent agencies (as in the case of the Brown University, Conference of Mayors, and Southern Regional Council programs) can often evaluate and monitor government efforts more effectively. The private sector can also organize itself -- as in the case of the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures -- to work toward improvement of the machinery of government itself.

"In short, the American tradition of pluralism -- actions and decisions taken at many points in a free society -- is as relevant and productive today as ever. And the way to preserve pluralism lies not in rolling back government, but in maintaining and strengthening independent, private institutions capable of contributing to the well-being of American society with energy and originality."

Citizens Conference on State Legislatures ($750,000 grant)

The Conference, which was formed last year, is a national effort by top-level leaders in business, labor, agriculture, publishing, education, and other fields to focus public attention on shortcomings in the organization, procedures, and functioning of state legislatures. It will use its grant to publish major research reports, bibliographies, and pamphlets; to stimulate

(MORE)

reform; and generally serve as a clearinghouse of information on state legislative modernization. The Conference's principal offices will be in Kansas City, Missouri.

Although state-government activities in education, welfare, and other services are growing rapidly, the state machinery, particularly legislatures, still suffers a range of disabilities -- from inadequate staff and poor compensation to outmoded procedure and lack of facilities. Previous Foundation grants to help improve state government have been made for legislative internships in thirteen states, assistance to the National Municipal League for research and materials on reapportionment, and a Duke University study headed by Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina on the future role of state government.

Urban Training Center for Christian Mission ($600,000 grant) and National Council of Churches ($80,000 grant)

The center, sponsored by thirteen Protestant denominations, will expand its seminars (lasting from one to six months) in which clergy and selected laymen divide their time between urban studies and work with an agency engaged in antipoverty programs. Foundation funds will provide fellowships for ministers who cannot afford to attend, as well as internships in other church programs. The center will also engage urban experts to consult with staff and trainees and design ways of evaluating the effectiveness of the program over the next four years. The grant to the National Council of Churches will enable the Commission on Urban Life, a unit of the council's Division of Christian Life and Mission, to arrange a series of national conferences to acquaint church leaders with significant urban work by church groups.

University of North Carolina ($800,000 grant)

The university's Population Center will undertake a broad program of research on fertility limitation, including patterns of fertility change, the

(MORE)

effects of family spacing on health, and the development of family-planning methodology. The center will also prepare case studies of administrative problems in family planning to help meet the needs for practical teaching material. Staff will help overseas institutions develop their own programs of birth-control research and training. The center will also arrange short courses, seminars, and conferences, and will place major emphasis on doctoral studies as other countries develop master's degree programs of their own. The state of North Carolina, which has a broad range of economic levels, ethnic composition, social problems, and development programs, is expected to furnish a variety of settings for the center's research.

Southern Regional Council ($972,000 grant)

The council is a research and action agency, with headquarters in Atlanta, concerned with antipoverty and economic-development efforts as well as strictly racial issues. It will use part of its grant for studies of Federal programs in city planning, fair employment, antipoverty, housing, and school integration, and a second group of studies dealing with state welfare programs, rehabilitation of criminals, penal administration, and unemployment caused by technological change. The grant will also help the council provide technical assistance and training to Negro and other groups trying to help themselves through community organizations, credit unions, and agricultural cooperatives; will support training in human relations within Southern labor unions; and will help carry out a program of voter registration.

National Urban League ($366,000 grant)

The League, which is active through affiliates in seventy-three localities throughout the nation, will undertake to coordinate and sponsor activities in selected communities designed to stimulate Negro preparedness

(MORE)

to qualify for union membership and to enlist the cooperation of local union leadership in accepting Negro applicants. The program was developed in response to concern expressed by some union leaders at the slow pace of integration in parts of organized labor. It will operate under and with the assistance of the League's Trade Union Advisory Council, which is composed mainly of prominent labor officials and representatives of government and business. The grant will enable the League to recruit staff for its national and regional offices, to organize and coordinate local action programs. These in turn will include information and interpretation within the Negro community about job prospects and membership requirements in organized trades, contacts with local union authorities, recruitment of prospects for and coordination of pre-apprenticeship and other training programs for Negro youths, and job placement activities. The funds will cover a three-year period, after which the League hopes to be able to support the program through its regular budget.

City of Oakland, California ($1.2 million grant)

Oakland received the first Foundation grant -- $2 million in December 1961 -- in a series of efforts to mobilize local resources to combat human problems of the nation's "gray areas." Subsequent grants were made in Boston, New Haven, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., and the state of North Carolina, and aspects of these programs provided models for later antipoverty programs by the Federal government. Among the projects supported under the early grant in Oakland were preschool education, youth employment and training, adult employment, and pretrial release of persons accused of crimes. Oakland also achieved a successful coordination of public and private agencies in support of common objectives that gained national attention. Oakland will use its new grant for

(MORE)

new projects which may ultimately be financed from other sources and for a project history and evaluation of the program's first three years.

United States Conference of Mayors ($130,750 grant)

The Conference will do research intended to provide a factual basis for future government programs dealing with the preservation of architectural and historical landmarks. Most of these are at present privately owned, and are subject to the forces of the real-estate market. Despite limited Federal assistance and private intervention, 2,500 of the 10,000 landmarks identified in the nineteen-thirties have already been destroyed, and cooperation among Federal, state, and local agencies is needed to help salvage the remainder. Accordingly, the studies to be undertaken will set up alternative procedures and guidelines for Federal, state, and local laws, and will review possible channels of Federal aid to localities. Scholars will draft model laws and redraft existing ones for the attention of state and local officials.

Brown University ($130,000 grant)

Two types of studies of Federal activities in labor-management relations will be conducted. The first will examine the functioning of the National Labor Relations Board as it was set up under the National Labor Relations Act of 1935 (amended by the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947), and evaluate the board's influence on the collective-bargaining practices, policies, and powers of unions and employers. The second part will deal with the impact of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (Landrum-Griffin Act), which sought to curb abuses in union administration by encouraging rank-and-file participation in union activities. The study will assess the effect of the act on union democracy and management, on the relationship between union leaders and the rank and file, and on the ethical practices of union officers.

(65-40) #

The Chattanooga Times

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER, 27, 1965.

Ford Fund Gives Millions In Support of Pluralism

Special to The Chattanooga Times

NEW YORK — The Ford Foundation announced Tuesday a multimillion-dollar support program to help strengthen American pluralism through wide use of independent and private institutions to augment the expanding role of government concern in social welfare.

Foundation officials noted that pluralistic practices are essential to the free society because they involve the whole range of actions and decisions taken at countless points of community interaction. This in turn challenges the private sector to share in social progress through experiment and innovation.

"The way to preserve pluralism," the officials noted, "lies not in rolling back government, but in maintaining and strengthening independent, private institutions capable of contributing to the well-being of American society with energy and originality."

Tuesday's action concerned nine separate grants, totaling $5,028,750, and including two major awards to Southern projects —$972,000 for the Southern Regional Council to study and evaluate a broad range of human welfare programs, and $800,000 to the University of North Carolina for comprehensive research on population problems.

Henry T. Heald, foundation president, noting that the nine grants represent a cross section of several areas in which the foundation is active—urban poverty, population, human relations preservation of great national landmarks, labor relations, and effectiveness of state government —said they were announced simultaneously "as a tangible reminder of the important role private effort can and must play even as government expands its concern for social welfare."

The other grant-supported projects were:

1. $600,000 to the Urban Training Center for Christian Mission (Chicago), sponsored by 13 Protestant denominations, to help urban churches play a more active part in antipoverty efforts.

2. $80,000 to the National Council of Churches to arrange a series of conferences to acquaint church leaders with significant urban work by church groups.

3. $366,000 to the National Urban League to initiate a nationwide program to assist Negro entrance into selected labor unions, primarily in special-skill trades.

4. $1.2 million to the City of Oakland, Calif., for further support of its community-development program to mobilize local resources to combat human problems in the community "gray areas."

5. $130,750 to the U.S. Conference of Mayors for a study of government assistance in preserving architectural and historical landmarks.

6. $130,000 to Brown University for analyses of federal legislation relating to labor-management relations.

7. $750,000 to the recently formed Citizens Conference on State Legislature for a national program to stimulate citizen action for the improvement of state government.

The award to the Southern Regional Council, the foremost interracial organization working for human relations improvements in the South, was viewed by Southern moderate leaders as a major endorsement and tribute to the council's long years of service on meager funds in the interests of human betterment throughout the region.

Numerous Successes

Under the executive directorship, in order, of George Mitchell, Harold C. Fleming, Leslie Dunbar and Paul Anthony, the council, composed of white and Negro leaders from all walks of life in the South, has attained numerous successes in human betterment projects through education, persuasion and research studies.

The foundation grant is designed to help the council, with headquarters in Atlanta, study federal programs in city planning, fair employment, antipoverty, housing and school integration, along with a second group of studies dealing with state welfare programs, rehabilitation of criminals, penal administration, and unemployment resulting from technological change.

The council will also use the funds to provide technical assistance and training to Negro and other groups trying to help themselves through community organizations, credit unions and agricultural cooperatives. The council also will support training in human relations within Southern labor unions, and will help carry out a program of voter registration.

Heald noted that as the federal government greatly expands its role in education and social welfare, the responsilities of private effort increase in the pluralistic society. He added:

"The grants illustrate some of the reasons. For example, private agencies must continue to pioneer in important affairs from which the government is absent or inadequately involved—the population problem is such a field.

"In fields where government is very active, efforts supported heavily or in part by private funds—such as Oakland's antipoverty activities—can play a valuable part as models, demonstrations of parallel approaches, or as supplements for activities federal programs do not cover.

"Moreover, government programs tend to amplify the status quo approaches, and private agencies with proven ability to innovate, experiment, and sometimes to challenge — as the churches are increasingly doing on urban social problems—are important sources of social progress.

"Government itself is not always the best judge of its own performance, and independent agencies—as in the case of the grants to Brown University, the Conference of Mayors, and the Southern Regional Council—can often evaluate and monitor government efforts more effectively.

"The private sector can also organize itself—as in the case of the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures—to work toward the improvement of the machinery of government itself."

file
Ford Fd. 1965

October 28, 1965

Miss Jane Hincheriffe
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Miss Hincheriffe:

Thank you again for your hospitality, interest, and help. It was good having this opportunity to meet you. Please also express to Paul and Chris my thanks.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

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1965

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

November 17, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Many, many thanks to you and all your staff for your kindness and courtesy to me, and, my congratulations on a simply splendid meeting. I will be remembering the many fascinating things I learned for a long while. Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Jane

Jane E. Hinchcliffe

November 22, 1965

Mr. Norman W. MacLeod
Assistant to the Treasurer
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. MacLeod:

Enclosed please find the receipted copy of your letter of November 8 transmitting the Foundation's check of $324,000. We note the conditions of this grant, and shall abide by them.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Recd 11/9/65

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

November 8, 1965

Mr. Paul B. Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

11-9-65 is In response to your request, we enclose our check for $324,000 payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

This remittance represents the initial payment on our grant of $972,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. over a three-year period for studies and technical assistance related to human relations programs in the South. This grant's terms were set forth in Mr. McDaniel's letter to you dated October 5, 1965.

We would appreciate your signing the copy of this letter and returning it in the enclosed envelope.

Very truly yours,

Norman W. MacLeod
Assistant to Treasurer

Enclosures

for Foundations - "Ford" Cr. ref - State Councils on Human Relations Gen. corresp.

via air mail November 22, 1965

Mr. Paul Ylvisaker
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Ylvisaker:

This is to request consideration of a variation of our proposal that the Foundation consider support of the Councils on Human Relations which was first brought before you in Mr. Dunbar's letter of July 16.

We would be grateful for your consideration of a grant of $100,000 per year for a three-year period, or a total of $300,000, to strengthen and increase the staff of the state Councils in accordance with the background information left with the Foundation on my visit of October 26.

Should these funds be granted, we would want the total amount to go directly to the state Councils with no part being deducted by the Southern Regional Council for overhead or other expenses. If, however, it were possible for the Foundation to make total payment of this grant at one time, we would have the opportunity for short-term investment income which would help in covering our expenses and in providing additional services to the state Councils.

As our earlier conversations and reports have indicated, we believe this is a uniquely opportune time to give additional assistance to this interracial movement in the region. We have reached that point in Southern race relations when further progress must be based on encouraging the idea of people getting together in their own communities to bring their talents and concerns to the problems which remain. Enough progress has been made in this direction for us to feel this is now possible in a substantial basis.

We respectfully request the Foundation's consideration of this proposal.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 12/7/65

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

1965

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MS file

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

file

December 3, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Recently Paul Ylvisaker and I visited North Carolina and discussed with the North Carolina Fund people and Negro leaders a proposal for the development of consumer cooperatives in North Carolina. There is a great deal of Negro momentum, spearheaded by Floyd McKissick, behind the effort. Paul Ylvisaker thinks that you might be able to be of some assistance to this budding effort, especially during the early planning stage which will be getting under way immediately. Ultimately, an application for funds would be directed to the North Carolina Fund and/or the Foundation. George Esser has been told to contact you to see what assistance SRC might be at this point.

The purpose of this letter is merely to alert you that you can expect to hear from the people in North Carolina.

Sincerely yours,

Christopher F. Edley

D R A F T

Mr. Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr.
Secretary
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

This is being sent to you as a brief six month report as requested in your letter of December 19, 1965. The Foundation's grant of $300,000 for a three-year period of support for strengthening the staffs of state and local human relations councils continues to be administered in accordance with our proposal to the Foundation and the Foundation's terms of the grant.

For the year we have budgeted $150,000 for our grants-in-aid program to the councils on human relations. Of this amount $100,000 represents the support of the Ford Foundation. Enclosed is a schedule of grants made for the period January 1 through June 30. The schedule for the full year will be sent to you shortly after the end of the year in our annual audited statement.

Enclosed also is a brief report of the councils' director of Field Activities, the department immediately responsible for this program.

We continue to be most grateful for the Foundation's support of this important work. If further information is needed we will, of course, be happy to supply it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures

December 20, 1965

Mr. Eugene S. Staples
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Rocky:

Enclosed is a copy of our study of Rural School Systems. More are available if you have need of them.

It will probably be February before I get to New York again. I hope you will have an occasion to visit Atlanta before then..

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

OFFICE OF POLICY AND PLANNING

December 16, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I saw in the newspapers here that the study by some Emory professors of school systems in the South has been published. I wonder if you might send me a copy and if you would be good enough also to put me on your regular mailing list for publications.

I still hope to get back down to Atlanta sometime soon. In the meantime, I hope you will stop by to say hello any time you are in New York.

Sincerely,

Rocky

Eugene S. Staples

December 21, 1965

Mr. John R. Coleman
Associate Director
Economic Development and
Administration Program
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear John:

It was good to see you in Washington. Al and I thought the meeting was productive and hope we can have more like it. Enclosed is a brief preliminary report which I thought you might be interested in.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

December 21, 1965

Mr. Christopher F. Edley
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Christopher:

It was good to see you in Washington. Al and I thought the meeting was productive and hope we can have more like it. Enclosed is a brief preliminary report which I thought you might be interested in.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

December 21, 1965

Mr. Paul Ylvisaker
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Paul:

Being able to announce to the state council leaders the news of the Foundation's grant was a great Christmas present for them and for us. We thank you sincerely.

Please accept for the family and you our warmest wishes for the Season.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

December 21, 1965

Miss Jane Hinchcliffe
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Jane:

While I hope you are already on vacation and won't even see this until after the holidays, I have to express to you again the deepest thanks of all of us for your help in the grant for state councils. It made great Christmas greeting for all of them.

All good wishes of the Season to you and your husband.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

December 21, 1965

Mr. Thomas H. Lenagh
Treasurer
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Lenagh:

In accordance with information received from Mr. Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr., this is to request at your convenience payment of the grant of $300,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

We note the terms and conditions of the grant and shall abide by them, including the submission of semi-annual written reports and a full audit at the end of each calendar year.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

VAU
MJ-file

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PROGRAM IN ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

December 29, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for sending me the notes on Al Ulmer's observations on cooperative efforts throughout the South. It is helpful to see in written form what was a fascinating survey as presented orally.

I found the meeting very valuable and hope very much that there will be action in the South that stems from it. Certainly you have become involved in a very interesting possibility.

I'm glad that I know you now.

Sincerely,

Jack

John R. Coleman
Associate Director

cc: C. Edley

December 31, 1965

Mr. Christopher F. Edley
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Chris:

Thought you might be interested in the enclosed which represents the first breakthrough in our Urban Planning Project.

Happy New Year.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc. 1

See - Ford Fd. 1965

1. **Governmental Programs:**

A. City planning		
Salaries	$ 20,000	
Travel	2,000	
Consultants	6,000	
Research	5,000	$ 33,000
B. Fair Employment Anti-Poverty		
Salaries	$ 15,000	
Travel	1,000	
Consultants	6,000	$ 22,000
C. Housing		
Consultants	$ 3,000	$ 3,000
D. School Integration		
Fees and travel	$ 5,000	
Research	5,000	$ 10,000

2. **Special Studies:**

A. Welfare Programs		
Research	$ 5,000	
Consultants	3,000	
CHR consultants	7,000	$ 15,000
B. Rehabilitation of Criminals and Penal Administration		
Salaries	$ 21,000	
Travel	2,000	
Consultants	6,000	
Research	5,000	$ 34,000
C. Technological Unemployment		
Research	$ 6,000	$ 6,000

3. **Technical Assistance:**

A. Negro Community Organization
Credit Unions
Agricultural Co-Ops

Salaries	$ 14,000	
Travel	2,000	
Rural Projects (2 states)	24,560	
N.S.F.	6,000	$ 46,560

B. Southern Labor Unions

All	$ 31,335
NILE	6,000

SRC overhead - $4,500

$16,000
14,000
24,000
$54,000

Other:

Printing	Seminars
$10,000	$ 2,000
10,000	5,000
15,000	3,105
$35,000	$10,105

3-C **Voter Education:**

Salaries	$ 19,000	
Consultants	5,000	$ 24,000

Promise to economize in future

Dear Mr. Heald:

DRAFT

This is to place before the Foundation a proposal for support of special programs of the Southern Regional Council.

I.

These projected programs are described in this letter in only a general way. We thought that a submission in this brief yet definitive form would facilitate your initial consideration. We would expect to prepare more detailed descriptions as they may be required.

Enclosed with this letter are certain documents of reference regarding the Council. They are:

a. Treasury letter of tax-exemption

b. Audit, 1964

c. Budget, 1965

d. Annual Report, 1964

e. Southern Regional Council, 1944-1964

f. Membership roster

Enclosure "f" is of particular note. The ability of the Council to carry out the programs set forth below is made possible by the resources of leadership, judgment, and experiences embraced in its membership.

Because it has been our established practice to budget only modest amounts beyond expectable income, the budget (enclosure "c") does not reflect the scope of the programs proposed here.

II.

The civil rights drive of recent years has dominated the domestic politics of this nation. It has also transformed the politics of the South and deeply affected that of the rest of the nation. It has reached ~~finally~~ the point where it has produced a clear decision by the federal government to support its aims.

To legislate or decree civil rights is, however, only to decide to undertake the huge and complex national purpose of effectively equalizing opportunities and of integrating disadvantaged people into the institutional life of this country. Neither moral nor political decisions, necessary as they are, will accomplish this. They will be realized only when those decisions are supported by a structure of public policies. In this democracy, public policies -- i.e., policies that shape and determine public life -- are only in part devised by government.

The civil rights campaign has resulted from the interaction of men and historical changes. An event, for example, such as Selma and all that eventuated from it would not have occurred without the people who led it, but neither could it have been possible without the telephone, the airplane, the television cameras and viewers. In another sense, it could not have occurred without the broad social, economic, and demographic re-alignments that today make this country responsive to civil rights and have made anachronistic the social system of the Black Belt.

Further progress toward equalizing opportunity and toward making disadvantaged people a fully productive part of the nation will likewise come from interacting men and trends. To overlook the need for policies would

be, however, a profound mistake. In a period when one system of social, economic, and political relationships is being or has been discarded, and another not yet securely fashioned, policy is crucial.

The consequences of all the forces, both impersonal and voluntary, which have produced the civil rights gains are immense and many of them constitute already pressing problems for our society.

The migration of rural peoples to the cities, South, North, and West, and the subsequent enormity of educational, welfare, and manpower problems; the progressive decline in the white population of our central cities, and its implications for political rivalry with suburbia, for the tax base of the cities, and for the cities' traditional role as the guardian of arts and letters; the enfranchisement of millions of new, unschooled, and unsophisticated voters; the tragic irony that Negro Americans are finally escaping from planned and deliberate discrimination at a time when the abrupt escalation of job and educational standards makes their entry into the mainstream of American life extraordinarily difficult.

Other issues could be enumerated, but such is not necessary, for these are well-understood concerns of the Ford Foundation.

A leading premise of this proposal is that there is a realistic possibility in the South of meeting some of these problems before they rigidify, and of directing social change into paths beneficial and satisfying to the whole community.

We do not, of course, suggest that the programs proposed here can be of more than contributory value, though we believe that will be great.

We believe that, because the purpose of this proposal is to strengthen the existing institutions and community organizations of the region and to effect larger and freer participation within them.

III.

We propose to do this in a number of ways, utilizing methods in which over the years our staff has acquired skill and recognition. These include research and publication, the use of specialized consultants, the convening of conferences and seminars, and the administration of small grants to other organizations. As will be seen further on, we propose to develop also a method new to our operations, and that is the awarding of scholarships.

Administration will draw not only on the Council's staff and research facilities, but will draw active support from our affiliated Councils on Human Relations. There is a C.H.R. in every southern state except Texas, and each is staffed except that of Louisiana; a strong and well-staffed local ~~Council on Human Relations~~ C.H.R. is in Houston. Altogether, these bodies have a membership of some 10,000, professional staff of 21, and an annual budget of approximately $300,000.

Spell out

A special committee of Council members (see enclosure "f") will be appointed by the President to supervise planning and administration. The committee will include representatives of ~~education~~ education, law, press, business, and labor.

IV.

Areas which we propose initially to work in include the following:

1. City planning, especially as it involves the location of public facilities, is an absolutely crucial field. We shall seek to further an awareness of ~~the~~ issues and demands, on the part of planners, municipal administrators, federal housing agencies, and the public.

2. Southern state and local governments are just entering an era of public policy-making in behalf of equal opportunity. Policy studies, consultation, and reviews are needed. Given the general ineffectiveness of northern and western FEPC's, etc., ~~this~~ the need is especially clear.

3. Special programs, including if necessary the use of subsidies, are in order to improve coverage and interpretation of Negro news by the press, through bringing well-qualified Negroes onto the news and editorial staffs of both "white" and "Negro" papers.

4. Educational programs for the new voters, especially the Negro voters of the Black Belt, will be an increasingly appreciated necessity. Civics materials can be prepared, but the actual instruction should come through selected local Negro groups, with small grants as needed for expenses.

5. The federal government is embarked on vast and untried programs under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Economic Opportunity Act, and others in force or prospective. Periodic seminars for federal field officials, consultation, and outside evaluation of their problems, policies, and practices are indicated.

6. Labor unions are key to the success of equal employment efforts by both private employers and government administrators. Studies by economists (e.g., Donald Dewey, Gary Becker) have held that employee resistance is the greatest single barrier to non-discriminatory hiring. Human relations education within the southern labor movement is a need of such urgency that we have been promised the full support and assistance of AFL-CIO leadership in carrying it out.

7. The spirit of the civil rights movement has stirred American campuses and has also stimulated college students to protest their disapproval and grievances of other things. We regard this student ferment as a valuable resource. It should be helped to achieve clarity, understanding, and constructive expression. We would seek these ends through conferences, seminars, assistance in planning constructive community services, and small grants to support them.

Some of them need to find avenues of re-entry into the normal social processes; internships with organizations such as the Council on human relations would facilitate this.

8. There are youthful veterans of the civil rights movement who, having demonstrated their leadership qualities, are a resource this country can not afford to overlook. Many of them have interrupted their education. They should be returned to the campuses as the best means of assuring that their future leadership will not only be available but constructive. In most cases, they are not likely choices of normal scholarship programs. The educators in Council membership represent an ideal panel to select and counsel these persons for scholarships. ~~Others of the militant leaders need to find avenues for integration~~

and ~~local~~ official human relations committees

V.

The programs indicated in the section above constitute so many means toward strengthening the capability of existing institutions both to absorb integration and to give leadership of enduring benefit to southern society. Other programs consistent with this same purpose would be added as appropriate.

We think the value of such programs depends in considerable degree on how quickly and how sizeably they can be organized and carried out. We ask, therefore, that the Foundation consider a grant of $1,000,000 for a two-year period and that at the end of ~~that~~ the time the program be evaluated thoroughly and its continued usefulness determined. We shall, of course, report to you frequently and in such manner as you may wish. A detailed budget is attached.

We are keenly aware of the responsibility which the members, officers, and staff of the Southern Regional Council assume in advancing these plans and in undertaking to carry them out. We shall be most grateful for your consideration.

Sincerely yours

Lucile W. Duncan

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

January 5, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for the preliminary report on cooperative efforts in the South.

Ever since our meeting in Washington, I have been regretting the fact that I did not have a summary of Al Ulmer's oral report.

Sincerely yours,

Chris a.a.

Christopher F. Edley

January 6, 1966

Mr. Alan D. Ferguson
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Ferguson:

We would be pleased at the opportunity of discussing with you and Mr. Scanlon the recommendations in the report, Black Belt Schools.

Dr. Green and likely one of his colleagues and I, and others here, will be available throughout the day on Tuesday, February 22, or Wednesday, February 23 (Dr. Green will be available for the morning only on the 23rd).

If these dates are not convenient we will be happy to suggest others.

We look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

cc: Dr. D. R. Green
Emory University

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

January 4, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I have just read the brief report, Black Belt Schools... by Donald R. Green, James A. Jordan, W.J. Bridgeman and Clay V. Brittain, published under Council auspices. It is an impressive statement.

My real reason for writing is to ask if you and your colleagues would be willing to discuss further the recommendations of the report. Specifically, I wonder if Mr. John Scanlon, from this office, and I could come to Atlanta during the week of February 21 for this purpose, on a day suitable to you?

Very truly yours,

Alan Ferguson

Alan D. Ferguson

Rec'd
1/19/66

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

January 18, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of January 6. Mr. Scanlon and I will come to Atlanta on Wednesday, February 23. We will arrive about 11:00 a. m. and depart at 3:45 p. m. This should get us to your office around 11:30 a. m. and permit ample time for talking before we have to leave.

Sincerely yours,

Alan Ferguson

Alan D. Ferguson

John Scanlon - First for
Adv. J. S.

File
Ford Foundation
1966

January 28, 1966

Mr. Norman W. MacLeod
Assistant to the Treasurer
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. MacLeod:

In Mr. Anthony's absence, this will acknowledge receipt of the Foundation's check for $300,000. The receipted carbon copy of your letter of transmittal is enclosed.

Please know we are deeply grateful for the Foundation's support.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

January 18, 1966

Mr. Paul B. Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In response to your request, we enclose our check for $300,000 payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. 1-19-66 jg

This remittance represents payment of our grant to the Council for strengthening the staffs of state and local human relations councils over a three-year period. The terms of this grant were set forth in Mr. McDaniel's letter to you dated December 16, 1965.

We would appreciate your signing the copy of this letter and returning it in the enclosed envelope.

Very truly yours,

Norman W. MacLeod
Assistant to Treasurer

Enclosures

file 12-21-65

December 21, 1965

Mr. Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr.
Secretary
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. McDaniel:

We are deeply grateful for your letter of December 16 advising us of the Foundation's grant for the support of state and local human relations councils.

We note the terms and conditions applicable to the grant, including the request for semi-annual reports, and shall abide by them.

The Council will make no public announcement of this grant.

In our last letter to you we attempted to express our appreciation to the Foundation for its support. It was difficult to express the degree of that appreciation. Your further support makes it all the more difficult, but please know that we are most grateful and shall try to express that gratitude in the results we see from the use of these funds.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

December 21, 1965

FILE COPY
made 1/28/66 for mmj from notes
km

Mr. T omas H. Lenagh
Treasurer
Ford Foundation
New York, New York

cc: onionskin SRC with same letter

Dear Mr. Lenagh:

In accordance with information received from Mr. Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr., this is to request at your convenience payment of the grant of $300,000 to the Southern Regional Council.

We note the terms and conditions of the grant and shall abide by them, including the submission of semi-annual written reports and a full audit at the end of each calendar year.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony

PA/km

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

JOSEPH M. McDANIEL, JR.
SECRETARY

December 16, 1965

Mr. Paul B. Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am pleased to advise you that The Ford Foundation has approved a grant of $300,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. over a three-year period for strengthening the staffs of state and local human relations councils. This grant is being made in response to your request of November 22, 1965 addressed to Mr. Paul Ylvisaker of the Foundation staff.

It is understood that amounts allocated to each state council will be made available by the SRC on a quarterly basis, and contingent upon satisfactory quarterly reports from the recipient groups.

It is also our understanding that any interest earned on unspent balances of this grant over the three-year period may be used, if the Council so desires, for costs related to its administration of the grant, including the salary of an assistant field director, travel or other supporting costs.

The Foundation will refer to this grant at a later date in a press release that will be sent to you in advance. Please consult with the Foundation's Office of Reports should you wish to make an earlier announcement.

Payment of this grant will be made in full upon receipt of your request, in duplicate, directed to Mr. Thomas H. Lenagh, Treasurer of the Foundation.

The attached statement sets forth further terms and conditions applicable to this grant. We particularly call your attention to paragraph 3 of this statement concerning reports to the Foundation. It is requested that reports on this grant be submitted semi-annually. If there are any

points in the statement or in this letter that need clarification, or if you wish additional information, please do not hesitate to communicate with us.

On behalf of the Foundation may I extend every good wish for the success of this program.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph McDonald
Secretary

Attachment

cc: Mr. John H. Wheeler

THE FORD FOUNDATION, 477 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022

TERMS OF GRANT

Grantee: Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Date: December 16, 1965

Amount: $300,000

Period: Three years

1. Expenditure of Grant Funds. Under the laws of the United States Government applicable to the Foundation all grants, including this one, must be expended solely for "educational, scientific, or charitable" purposes. The grant is for the specific purposes stated in the accompanying letter of grant notification and may be modified only with the Foundation's approval.

2. Return of Grant Funds. Grant funds will be returned to the Foundation

   if the grantee is a United States organization and loses its tax-exempt status under United States federal laws; or

   if the grantee is a foreign organization and loses its tax-exempt status under comparable laws of the nation in which its charter was issued; or

   if these funds are not expended or committed for the purposes of the grant and within the period stated.

3. Reports to the Foundation. A written report will be furnished to the Secretary of the Foundation upon completion of the project or program for which the grant has been made. Where the period of the grant exceeds one year, interim reports will be furnished annually, in addition to the final report. These reports should contain a financial accounting by categories of expenditure, a narrative account of what was accomplished by the expenditure of the funds, and reference to any publications resulting from the grant which have appeared or are in preparation.

4. Public Announcements. The Foundation lists all grants in its annual report. Arrangements for announcement in a press release are stated in the accompanying letter of grant notification. If the letter states that the Foundation plans to make a press announcement, the grantee may issue more detailed information at the same time or later without prior clearance from the Foundation. The Foundation's Office of Reports would like to receive copies of press releases, photographs, film scripts, or any published material about the grant or the work it has made possible.

5. Commitment. This grant is made with the understanding that the Foundation has no obligation to provide other or additional support for the grantee, unless otherwise stated in the accompanying letter of grant notification.

FF-027B
(Rev. 2/65)

GRANTS-IN-AID TO STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

January 1 -- June 30, 1967

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Alabama	$7,650
Arkansas	6,800
Florida	6,500
Georgia	7,300
Louisiana	7,000
Mississippi	8,000
North Carolina	6,900
South Carolina	6,800
Tennessee	7,500
Virginia	6,550
Houston	2,500

Harpers Magazine Jan. 1966

File Copy

An Open Letter to the Ford Foundation

by Philip M. Stern

Since it is just getting a new High Command, the World's Biggest Cornucopia now has a chance to make some drastic—maybe revolutionary—changes. Here are a few friendly hints on what it has done wrong, and what it might do better.

On January 1, the fifteenth anniversary of its presence on the national scene, the Ford Foundation will undergo the most thorough change in leadership since its transformation from a local Michigan foundation to the largest philanthropic institution in history. The retiring president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Julius A. Stratton, will become the first new board chairman in seven years, succeeding John J. McCloy, and will be the first person to occupy that post on a full-time basis. Simultaneously, the first new president of the Foundation in ten years will likely be named to succeed Henry T. Heald.

The author of this open letter to these two gentlemen is something of a "philanthropoid" himself, presiding over two family foundations: one bearing his own name in Washington, D. C., the other established by his parents and headquartered in New York. This activity follows a tradition of philanthropy started by Mr. Stern's grandfather, the late Julius Rosenwald, whose philanthropic interests were focused mainly in the South on race-relations problems.

Dear Dr. Stratton and Mr. _____:

Congratulations. You are about to become two of the most influential individuals in the United States. Also two of the most kibitzed, next, I suppose, to the President of the United States and the manager of the San Francisco Giants—which is why I am hastening to put my two cents in early.

I envy you. I can think of no other positions in private life that offer more opportunity to advance human well-being. But you also have my sympathy—partly because second-guessing the Ford Foundation is becoming an increasingly favored pastime in many quarters, but more so because most of the kibitzers imagine that giving away money is easy and fun. They don't realize how tough it can be to get rid of it in creative and productive ways, especially if you're faced with disposing of a quarter of a billion dollars a year, as you two are.*

I know a great many people who are glib about ticking off society's problems, and dogmatic in faulting the Ford Foundation's approach to them. But when I ask them how *they* would spend the quarter of a billion, the glibness fades. Some of them can conjure up ideas worth, maybe, five million—but at that point, of course, Ford's year's work is only one-fiftieth done.

You deserve compassion, too, because the Ford Foundation is, more than any other American institution, the object, and often the victim, of Great Expectations—mine included. This is the price Ford pays for being such a standout in the philanthropic crowd. You can't be four times as big as the next-largest foundation (Rockefeller) and give away more than twenty times as much as Carnegie and not have people expect miracles of you and judge you by standards more severe than those applied to lesser institutions.

In the coming months, these expectations will be focused on you two gentlemen, for you have an unparalleled opportunity to effect crucial changes at Ford. Not only are you the first new occupants of your posts in, respectively, seven and ten years; two of your key vice-presidents are retiring soon, so you will be free to pick your own high command. Moreover, the next three years will see the greatest turnover among the Ford trustees

*Originally, the job description for the presidency of Ford was not nearly so tough; fifteen years ago, it was thought there would be a paltry fifteen million a year to dispose of.

in the Foundation's history, and you are bound to have a powerful voice in selecting the new trustees.

As you take office, there is a restive feeling that foundations ought to be more venturesome than they have been. "I believe," one recent speaker said, "that philanthropy generally is not attuned to the tempo of the times . . . [it is] prone to be too complacent, too willing to conform, too ready to settle for the tried and proven." Those are not the words of a Norman Thomas or a Walter Reuther, but of John D. Rockefeller III.

I have no reason to suspect that Mr. Rockefeller's words were aimed at the Ford Foundation, but many people feel that they apply to Ford all too directly, that Ford's performance has never quite lived up to its original promise. The trumpets, you will recall, were sounded by the Gaither panel, a distinguished group appointed in 1948 to chart the course the Ford Foundation should follow when it came into the fortune bequeathed by the two senior Fords. The call was clear enough: "The Ford Foundation," the Gaither group declared, "is free to interpret its own function in society *and to act boldly in implementing that interpretation.*" (Emphasis mine.) The Gaither agenda for action made few detours around controversial areas, and Paul Hoffman, the first president of the Ford Foundation, recalls he "was told that the Foundation would provide risk capital for social progress, and an opportunity to do some daring things."

But as I see it, the Foundation failed to live up to that role. Let me be very specific.

How to Stay Out of Hot Water

After just two years, Paul Hoffman and the trustees found themselves on different wavelengths, and over the long run Ford has tended to steer clear of the hotter items on the Gaither agenda: labor-management relations, for example, or the encouragement of participation in politics, or the development of the behavioral sciences (a target of one Congressional investigation, and later phased out by Ford). The touchy problems of free speech and civil liberties were shunted to the subsidiary Fund for the Republic, which was later publicly disavowed by Henry Ford II, and still later withdrew from all grant-making in this controversial field.

But it is on civil rights and race relations that Ford's abstention has been most conspicuous. During the crucial years following the Supreme Court school decision, such organizations as the Urban League, the Southern Regional Council (an Atlanta-based race-relations research and action group), the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP, even until 1963 the noncontroversial United Negro College Fund—all these received help from smaller foundations, but none from Ford (or from Rockefeller or Carnegie, I must add in fairness). Moreover, the Ford staff was led, however implicitly, to feel that civil-rights grants were out of bounds, and President Heald is felt to have given a decidedly frosty reception to a group of prominent Negro leaders.

Of course, a foundation grant doesn't have to be controversial to be worthwhile or innovative. For example, the question of whether to paint white lines on the edges of highways would hardly start a donnybrook at the AFL-CIO or the Union League club; yet a safety experiment financed by the little-known Dorr Foundation proved the efficacy of such lines in reducing accident rates and made them standard for highways throughout the country.

Not a world-shaking reform, perhaps, but in this somewhat homely example lies a lesson: the Dorr Foundation, by choosing a little-explored field of narrow dimension, was able, with an investment of only a few thousand dollars, to effect a change of national scope. Think of foundation money as a beneficent elixir. Squeeze a few drops into a thimbleful of water and a profound transformation occurs. But pour a barrel into the ocean, and the effect is negligible.

To me, Ford in its largest grants has been guilty of pouring too many barrels in the ocean. The clearest examples are the $200 million grant distributed among 3,254 private nonprofit hospitals, adding only infinitesimally to their aggregate operating budgets; and the $210 million for an endowment to raise faculty salaries at 615 private colleges by an average of only $4 per week per teacher. Another example, slightly less clear perhaps, is the $275 million devoted to the general development of some 70 private colleges and universities (which has attracted an additional $725 million in matching funds required by Ford.)

I am not saying these grants were harmful. I am well aware that each filled a need and resulted in measurable benefits. Yet in appraising the dispensing of two-thirds of a *billion* dollars (a third

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Philip M. Stern is the author of "The Great Treasury Raid," and coauthor, with his wife, of "O, Say Can You See: A Bi-Focal Tour of Washington," and, with George de Vincent, of the recently published "The Shame of the Nation," a photographic essay on American poverty.

of everything Ford has given away), I insist on asking, what is there to show for this prodigious sum, in new ideas sparked, new directions charted?

Agents of Change

To me, the unique and precious characteristic of foundations—especially of Ford's size and sophistication—is their capacity to be *agents of change*. Government, corporations, and wealthy benefactors often provide ample, and occasionally excessive, support for the status quo, but they usually have little interest in underwriting change. A foundation, on the other hand (as Ford's own charter group aptly observed), "has no stockholders and no constituents. It represents no private, political, or religious interests. This . . . endows a foundation with an inherent freedom of action possessed by few other organizations."

Their "freedom from entanglements" buys for Ford and other foundations—but especially for Ford—the privilege of failing, the capacity to make mistakes with extraordinary impunity. After all, what can anyone do to the Ford Foundation if it takes a risk and fails, or if it ventures into a legitimate but controversial area? True, Ford is unique among the giant foundations in that its name also attaches to a well-known automotive product—a fact of which the trustees are, I am told, periodically reminded. Yet as I look at the Mustang, the Magic Doorgate, and the Ford Motor Company's latest profits (up 28 per cent over last year), it is difficult for me to believe that Ford's hold on the car-buying public is frail enough to be significantly damaged by the Foundation's actions.

Of course, your lawyers—and perhaps your more apprehensive trustees—are likely to advise caution lest Ford's tax exemption be revoked. Realistically, though, such drastic retribution against a foundation whose generosity has been felt and appreciated in every state and most Congressional districts in this land is about as likely as Congress abolishing its own Rivers and Harbors committees.

My assessment of Ford's invulnerability heightens my distress over Paul Hoffman's recollection that "every time we got a dozen letters objecting to something we'd done . . . I'd have to spend hours reassuring the board," and over reports that headlines linking the Foundation to the commissioning of an opera about Sacco and Vanzetti were the cause of worried interchanges among the trustees themselves! Of course, with an institution as prominent as Ford, it is easy for those on the inside to feel constantly in the public consciousness. But the feeling is ill-founded. A Gallup poll taken at the height of the Foundation's supposed notoriety (after two Congressional investigations and some controversial Fund for the Republic grants) showed that only 2 per cent of the populace had negative views of Ford (compared with 27 per cent favorably disposed)—*and 60 per cent had never heard of the Foundation.* Ford dealers take note.

I know Ford hasn't been totally gun-shy of controversial fields. On the contrary, it has pioneered in such unpopular areas as East-West scholar exchanges and birth-control research. On balance, though, the Ford Foundation has not taken full advantage of its uniquely invulnerable position. "Why not?" I asked one of your long-time trustees. Ford's size, he answered. "That which is large will never be crusading," he told me. "It will look for the comfortable, the benign. It will want to maintain a successful image."

Ford's board of trustees is composed of honorable and thoughtful men, but with one probable exception there is not a non-Establishment man among the fifteen. Run down the 1965 list: in addition to the two Ford brothers and President Heald, there were Mr. McCloy (the head of Richard Rovere's half-fanciful Establishment), the prestigious Eugene R. Black, two university presidents (but no working professors), three editor-publishers (but no columnists or working writers), two corporation presidents, one former business-school dean, one federal judge, and one lawyer. But where is the man of letters on your board? Where the labor leader? Where a woman? And is there nowhere a Negro of sufficient breadth and wisdom to qualify for membership on your board?

Philanthropy, Ford-style, moreover, is a group-think affair. Decisions are shaped by over a hundred men. Every successful grant must be unobjectionable enough to survive the successive scrutiny of program assistants and associates, program directors, vice-presidents, the president, and the fifteen trustees. This is in contrast to the days when an Andrew Carnegie could single-handedly decide to devote some $43 million to the improvement of libraries, or when a Julius Rosenwald could produce from his desk drawer a check for $50,000 to experiment with what later became one of the most successful fellowship programs in philanthropic history (among its beneficiaries: Ralph Bunche, Marian Anderson, James Baldwin, Ralph McGill).

Now that I have unburdened myself about what I see *wrong* with the Ford Foundation, you are

entitled to turn the tables on me and ask what *I* would do to make it live up to my lofty standards.

A fair question. Herewith some suggestions:

(1) The Ford Foundation, in fashioning its larger grants, should pick fields of such a size and nature that the grants can provoke genuine change. By way of illustration, Ford might underwrite such things as:

...Building a model school-and-slum-community center as a showcase for what cities might do to transform urban slum living.

A group of Washington, D. C. architects has a plan for replacing one of the city's more scandalously antiquated and overcrowded slum schools, not with the cramped, inadequate school that has been requested of Congress, but with an integrated school-cum-community center, open from 7:00 A.M. to 11:00 P.M. It would contain a large floodlit elevated playground spanning a major Washington avenue; a recreation center for older people; a theater; a branch of "city hall," with service offices (health, welfare, and others) open at night and within walking distance of those who need them; classroom, art, and shop facilities open at night for adult education; and a branch of the public library. It would be a place where fragmented community energies might be knit together. By adding about $5 million to the $3.5 million Congress has been asked to vote for the replacement school alone, the Ford Foundation could transform an instantly obsolete school project into a showcase for the nation located within minutes of the Capitol.

...Building a pilot "educational park" as a possible solution to the urban-school-segregation dilemma.

One suggested solution to the impasse of segregated "neighborhood" schools versus cross-town busing of children is to supersede the separate neighborhood schools with an "educational park"—a cluster of elementary and secondary schools built on one huge tract of land, with a single campus (much like a university), using many facilities in common, and drawing children from an area large enough to naturally include white and Negro neighborhoods. The idea needs further study and development, but even if it proved a promising answer to the school-segregation dilemma, chances are it would be years before any city could scrape up the courage or the money to build an experimental school cluster. But Ford, and only Ford, could launch the experiment quickly, and the largely unused Welfare Island in New York's East River might be a site for it.

...Mounting a sustained crash research program in urban transportation.

Because research in this field has been so scant, some saw for Ford, a few years ago, before the government moved into the field, an opportunity to produce some desperately needed ideas for our auto-choked, smog-laden cities by underwriting a five-to-ten-year, multimillion-dollar research effort in urban transportation. The notion had a brief life at Ford, but was scrapped, out of reluctance to commit such large sums to a chancy project.

...Underwriting a massive birth-control clinic program in American poverty areas.

While the federal government is expanding into areas formerly reserved for philanthropy, the birth-control field is clearly wide open for foundation pioneering. Ford, to its great credit, has been a financial mainstay for birth-control research. Now those grants are paying off (the pill, for example, and the even more promising intrauterine "coil"). Now is Ford's chance to capitalize on its research investment with a broad program of clinics in poverty areas. To me, this is an example of the ideal large Ford grant, an opportunity to bring about a profound change of climate in a field of paramount importance that is untouched—and untouchable—by any except a large foundation.

(2) The Ford Foundation should create a number of special-subject foundations, and give each a large lump-sum grant, with instructions to dispense the entire sum in a specified number of years, and then disband.

Often in the past, the most creative and innovative grants have emanated not from the giant foundations, but from smaller, special-subject offshoots of the giants. One of the most change-provoking of foundation ventures—the Flexner Report, which produced a revolution in American medical education—was a Carnegie undertaking, but financed by the subsidiary Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Similarly, the most significant experimentation in education springs from Ford and Rockefeller money, not that of the principal foundations, but of Ford's Fund for the Advancement of Education and Rockefeller's General Education Board.

It is logical that such progeny should be more experimental than their parent foundations. They are smaller, and past experience shows that their boards can attract the most creative and illustrious brains in their special fields. Were their life limited, as I propose, they would, I think, be emboldened to undertake large-scale experiments (thus taking full advantage of Ford's unique size), and would be uninfluenced either by the hope of getting further grants from, or the

fear of being absorbed into, the parent foundation—the historic fate of most philanthropic offspring.

(3) The Ford Foundation should broaden its board of trustees by using a different method of selection, and limit trustees' tenure to two three-year terms and the president's tenure to two four-year terms.

Perhaps it is too much to expect a self-perpetuating body to take the initiative in inviting provocateurs into its sanctum sanctorum. One proposal for countering this self-limiting tendency is for foundation boards, when selecting new members, to enlist the temporary help of outside directors, who would vote on this one matter and then depart.

Moreover, if your board is to remain, in John D. Rockefeller's words, "attuned to the tempo of the times," it should have constant injections of new blood, far more than it has had in the past. Of the 1965 board, nine of the fifteen members had been on the board for at least ten years.

(4) The Ford Foundation should grant its staff members vastly more authority to make small grants at their own discretion.

Ford officers have authority to make small grants (less than $25,000) without trustee approval, but I am told that this practice is cumbersome and has been discouraged. I think that is too bad. In the foundations I am associated with, we have found manifold opportunities—often fleeting ones, to be grasped at the moment or lost—to exert a decisive influence with very little money. Some of our most productive grants have been small, requiring only executive approval.

Were you to broaden the discretionary authority of the Ford staff to make small grants (perhaps permitting grants of up to $5,000 by junior program associates, up to $50,000 by vice-presidents, subject to aggregate ceilings), I think you'd make a great many high-leverage grants with just a tiny fraction of your total resources, and you'd have an excellent device for training and evaluating your staff in the responsibilities of grant- and decision-making.

(5) The Ford Foundation should avoid "hardening of the categories" in its handling of applications.

Some departmentalization of your staff (into such categories as Education, Public Affairs, Humanities and the Arts, etc.) is, I suppose, inevitable. But innovative ideas are unlikely, by their very nature, to fit neatly into your existing categories. For example, the notion of building a slum school-community center might easily fall between Education and Public Affairs. So to avoid ideas dying for want of a home or sponsor within the Foundation, I hope you will actively *encourage* joint sponsorship of projects by more than one department of the Foundation.

(6) The Ford Foundation should liberally condition its grants on matching contributions by others.

By using this technique (as with the university development grants, where your $275 million has been matched by an added $725 million from other donors), you have not only engaged the dollars, but the interest and commitment of thousands of new givers.

A Creative Minority

If I have sounded one-sidedly critical in this letter, it is not out of unawareness of your manifold good works. But you will not lack for praise of your virtues. On the other hand, I assure you there will be no plethora of frank critics. Nearly everyone I have interviewed in the preparation of this letter has said, "Whatever you do, don't quote me." This is the price you pay for being everybody's potential benefactor.

So much rides on the spirit you two men bring to Ford. Foundations tend, like human beings, to lose their vitality as they age. But they can get new infusions of youth from the men who head them. This is of no mere institutional importance to the Ford Foundation. It is of critical significance to the United States. Seventeen years ago, an extraordinary philanthropoid, Edwin Embree, wrote in *Harper's Magazine*:

> Arnold Toynbee . . . points out over and over again the transforming power of the "creative minority" in the development of civilizations. He and many historians have recorded the decline of peoples when this minority becomes complacent and formalized—more interested in the preservation of itself and its world than in stimulating further growth. By the very nature of their organization, foundations are especially fitted to be the creative minority to spur society on.

About a year later, in charting the course the Ford Foundation should follow in the dispensation of the newly bequeathed Ford billions, the Gaither panel observed:

> The opportunity is great; the responsibility is equally great. If the opportunity is met with foresight, good sense and courage . . . the [Ford] Foundation can play a vital role in the . . . advancement of human welfare.

Respectfully,

Philip M. Stern

Harper's Magazine, January 1966

File MJ

News from the Ford Foundation

477 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022
Office of Reports PLaza 1-2900

PLEASE OBSERVE RELEASE DATE

FOR RELEASE MONDAY, A.M., FEBRUARY 7, 1966

For further information: Richard Magat or Walter Ashley
Home phones: Magat (914) MOunt Vernon 4-7078
Ashley (914) Peekskill 7-7280

NEW YORK, Feb. 7 -- Grants for efforts to combat racial discrimination in the United States and abroad were announced today by the Ford Foundation:

-- $243,000 to the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, a coordinating body for forty-one national religious, civic, labor, and minority-group organizations working to eliminate racial and religious restrictions in housing; (Details on page 2)

-- $275,000 to the Institute of Race Relations, in Britain, a leading world center, partially to support work on race relations in Britain and newly developing countries; (Details on page 3)

-- $300,000 to the Southern Regional Council, in Atlanta, to help strengthen state and local human-relations councils in eleven Southern states. (Details on page 5)

"Both private and governmental agencies in the United States and abroad have a responsibility to shed light on race relations and work toward better understanding and the elimination of discriminatory attitudes and practices,"

(MORE)

W. McNeil Lowry, a vice president of the Foundation, said today. "These new grants, to groups with proven skill in the fact-finding and organizational techniques for this task, are intended to enlarge the contribution of the private sector, which frequently provides the informed analyses and recommendations on which governmental action is based."

The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing will use its grant to expand information and consultation services for local and national voluntary groups, business firms, and government agencies over the next three years.

The committee was formed in 1950, a year after Congress, in the historic Housing Act of 1949, added to national housing policy the goal of "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family," and directed "the development of well-planned, integrated, residential neighborhoods."

Despite regulations against discrimination at the Federal level, in sixteen states and many cities the open-housing market for Negroes is still severely limited. Many national and civic organizations (including some one thousand voluntary local fair-housing groups whose growth the committee has helped encourage), government officials, builders, and others obtain information and guidance from the committee on the issues of race and housing.

In addition to its bi-monthly publication, Trends in Housing, the committee plans to publish such special reports as analyses of census data on housing or summaries of Federal activities to combat housing discrimination. Its manual, Guides for Fair Housing Groups, will be

(MORE)

expanded. The committee will help its forty-one member agencies and other groups conduct conferences and seminars on race in housing. It will also evaluate current housing programs and explore new approaches for achieving an open housing market, and help communities set up fair-housing groups.

The committee has conducted research or provided consultations for several Federal agencies -- the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Federal Intergroup Relations Service, and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Expanding businesses seeking housing for their staffs also use the committee's services. The expanded program is an outgrowth of the Princeton Conference on Equal Opportunity in Housing, which was co-sponsored with the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials in 1962 under a grant from the Ford Foundation. The conference brought together leading Federal officials concerned with housing, real estate and banking officials, labor, housing industry representatives, and professionals in the fair-housing field.

Britain's Institute of Race Relations has earned a worldwide reputation for the quality of its research on racial interaction in many countries and for its recommendations to improve interracial understanding and cooperation. Although scholars participate in its work, its emphasis is not academic. Rather, it seeks to provide factual and analytical guidelines for action by individuals, business and private institutions, and official agencies. The grant will be used for research and expanded dissemination of its findings, through publications, conferences, and seminars. Over a five-year period, two special studies also will be

(MORE)

supported. One is the institute's long-term survey of race relations in Britain. The other is a collaborative study with the Overseas Development Institute, another private British organization, of racial problems in developing countries.

The British race-relations project, begun in 1963, is roughly analogous to Gunnar Myrdal's An American Dilemma, the classic study of the Negro in American life. Stemming from the increasing immigration to Britain of non-whites from Commonwealth countries in the late 1950s, the study covers such questions as immigration policy, housing, employment, traditions, teaching about race, political implications, family patterns, health, and the role of the police and the press.

The study of racial problems in developing countries will be prepared by Guy Hunter, author of The New Societies of Tropical Africa and Education for a Developing Region: A Study in East Africa. It will examine the possibility of the less-developed countries and the United States and other highly-developed countries drawing on each other's experience in overcoming race-relations problems.

In addition to its research, the institute publishes the quarterly journal Race, a newsletter, and paperback books on critical racial questions. Under a 1960 grant from the Ford Foundation, the institute has conducted studies of race relations in Latin America and the Caribbean area, India and Pakistan, and Southeast Asia. Books comparing the findings in these regions with earlier institute findings about Africa are nearing publication.

(MORE)

The institute has received support from other British and American foundations, principally the Nuffield Foundation, and from British companies.

The Southern Regional Council, a research and action agency, will use its grant mainly to strengthen the professional staffs of human-relations councils in eleven states.* The state human-relations councils, which are autonomous, have grown in membership from 4,000 in 1947 to 11,000 in 1965. Cooperating college student human-relations councils exist in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, and North Carolina, and one is being formed in Mississippi.

The state councils assist local councils and other groups in efforts to eliminate discrimination and foster racial harmony. The state groups also help establish local councils. Activities vary from state to state, but they include assistance to local groups in improving education, employment, and housing opportunities; health services; administration of justice; and voter education. A number of local councils have conducted tutorial programs and collaborated in antipoverty efforts. Membership of the councils is interracial and composed of opinion leaders. Present professional staffs of the state councils range from a maximum of four to none in one state.

Following is a complete list of actions announced today by the Foundation:

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Institute of Race Relations (London) -- $275,000 grant, for expanded research on racial problems, particularly in Britain and the less-developed countries.

(MORE)

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*Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas (Houston), and Virginia.
This grant supplements a $972,000 grant the Foundation gave the Council in 1965 to make studies of Federal and state social welfare programs and to assist Negro and other groups in community improvement programs, voter registration, and training in human relations in labor unions.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

University of California (Berkeley) -- $99,200 grant, for the planning of a prison college at San Quentin State Prison. The university's School of Criminology will collaborate with the California Department of Corrections in designing the curriculum, faculty policies, admissions criteria, budget, and other aspects of the college. The university has already begun pilot courses at the prison. Although many thousands of prisoners across the country are enrolled in a variety of educational programs, college-level courses, except on a correspondence basis, are rare. The Berkeley-San Quentin project is designed to serve California and other states as a guide to high-quality post-high-school education in a prison setting.

-- Also, $98,500 grant, for advisory and other services to antipoverty programs in Oakland, California. The grant continues for two years Foundation support begun in 1961. The university's extension division assists in evaluating local poverty programs, conferences on such subjects as teen-age pregnancies, discrimination in housing, and liaison between such agencies as the Oakland probation department and university faculty members and students interested in participating in research, tutoring, and legal aid. The new grants will emphasize university and student assistance to community self-help projects.

Columbia University -- $25,000 grant, for a study by the School of Social Work on Britain's Citizens' Advice Bureaus. Directed by Alfred J. Kahn, the study will explore the possibility of adapting the C.A.B. system to New York and other American cities. The advice bureaus are information, service, and referral centers that help citizens make the best use of the complex of modern governmental services and private agencies. In Britain, the bureaus are privately supported, handle requests not only by the disadvantaged but by a cross-section of the population, are usually conveniently located, and publish manuals as well as handle inquiries in person. Most of the questions and complaints they receive concern housing, family problems, pensions, and installment buying.

Moton Memorial Foundation -- $200,000 grant, for the Moton Foundation's conference center in Capohosic, Virginia. Since the 1930s, the center has been the scene of private conferences originated by the late Robert Russa Moton, president of Hampton Institute, an influential Negro leader. It provides a setting in which interracial meetings (including leaders from diplomacy, industry, clergy, government, education, and voluntary organizations) can be held on an off-the-record basis. Half the grant will be used over the next five years for conferences on problems affecting Negroes; the rest is for building improvements and maintenance.

National Association for Community Development -- $25,000 grant, for a three-day conference on employment and manpower development. Held in Washington last December, the conference was attended by directors of Federally and privately financed community action programs. Among the principal problems discussed were lack of experienced personnel for local antipoverty programs, the need for closer ties between community action programs and groups concerned with economic and industrial development, and means of improving coordination among Federal programs.

(MORE)

National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing -- $243,000 grant, for expanded dissemination of information and for consultative services.

Rutgers University -- $350,000 grant, for the Eagleton Institute of Politics, a leading resource for research and advanced training in the field of politics and the electoral process. The grant will be used in part to increase the number of graduate fellowships. Half of the graduates of the program, which began in 1947, hold positions in government or politics. It will also finance case studies, which are widely used in college and university courses in political science and government. Subjects in the past have included national political conventions, extremist politics, the role of sales taxes and other controversies in state elections, and racial demonstrations. The institute prepared a basic high-school text The Problems and Promise of American Democracy, which has been adopted in several major school systems.

Southern Regional Council -- $300,000 grant, to strengthen the staffs of state and local human-relations councils.

* * * * * * * * * *

NEW GRANTS RECENTLY ANNOUNCED BY RECIPIENTS

NOTE TO EDITORS: The following new Foundation grants were recently announced by the recipient institutions. The Foundation does not duplicate such announcements, but offers this list as a service to newspapers and journals that may not have received an announcement from the grantee institution.

Action for Boston Community Development -- $245,000 grant, in continued support of community development programs (Dec. 17, 1965.)

Association for Graduate Education and Research of North Texas -- $112,000 grant, for expanded services in higher education in the region (Dec. 22, 1965.)

Brookings Institution -- $14 million grant, for endowment and general support of research and education (Dec. 26, 1965.)

California, State of -- $150,000 grant, in partial support of the study of the Los Angeles (Watts area) riots (Oct. 4, 1965.)

City Center of Music and Drama -- $3.2 million grant, for its activities at the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts (Nov. 16, 1965.)

Committee for Gracie Mansion -- $200,000 grant, in partial support of improved facilities for official domestic and international visitors to the official residence of the Mayor of the City of New York (Oct. 19, 1965.)

(MORE)

Community Educational-Television

Matching grants for stations operated by nonprofit groups:

Central Virginia Educational Television Corp. (WCVE-TV), $168,615 grant (Dec. 17, 1965.)
Connecticut Educational Television Corp. (WEDH), $70,716 grant (Nov. 30, 1965.)
Florida West Coast Educational Television, Inc. (WEDU), $72,986 grant (Dec. 22, 1965.)
Twin City Area Educational Television Corp. (KTCA-TV), $73,061 grant (Dec. 15, 1965.)
WHYY, Philadelphia, $500,000 grant (Dec. 1, 1965.)

Cornell University -- $4.4 million grant, for expansion of the Division of Biological Sciences (Oct. 29, 1965.)

Harvard University -- $2 million grant, for the new John F. Kennedy Institute of Politics (Dec. 17, 1965.)

-- Also, $66,000 grant, for special graduate courses in soil-mechanics (Oct. 28, 1965.)

Institute of Public Administration -- $298,500 grant, for studies of New York City programs of human resources development and neighborhood improvement (Jan. 17, 1966.)

Kansas, University of -- $200,000 grant, for Latin American studies (Dec. 30, 1965.)

-- Also, $400,000 grant, for assistance to the school of basic sciences at the University of Oriente, Venezuela (Nov. 8, 1965.)

Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities -- $928,000 grant, to assist in the development of the National Institute for Development Administration, Thailand (Dec. 2, 1965.)

New School for Social Research -- $300,000 grant, for a program for part-time students for master of arts degree in liberal arts (Jan. 5, 1966.)

Stanford University -- $975,000 grant, for graduate programs in journalism (Nov. 8, 1965.)

World Affairs Council of Northern California -- $97,000 grant, for general program (Nov. 22, 1965.)

#

(66-3)

via air mail February 14, 1966

Miss Jane Hinchcliffe
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Jane:

Last week the state council directors and presidents met in Atlanta to discuss the use and conditions of the Ford Foundation grant. Immediately thereafter, each state council submitted a request indicating what funds they needed for what purposes.

On the basis of this we have come up with our recommendations of how to spend the $100,000 for 1966. Enclosed you will find these recommendations and the general conditions about them. We are sending them to you on the assumption that you at the Foundation wish to review them before a commitment is made. We are comfortable with this arrangement, and like it. If the enclosed recommendations are satisfactory, the first quarterly payments will be made to the state councils immediately. I discussed this very beiefly with Chris Edley last Thursday when I attended Rocky Staple's luncheon. I

was very sorry not to have had an opportunity to at least say hello to you while there.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
("Expanded Grant-in-Aid Program for 1966: General Conditions")

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

EXPANDED GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAM FOR 1966

General Conditions

Duration

The Southern Regional Council's expanded grant-in-aid program is made possible by a three-year Ford Foundation grant. Commitment to the 1966 grant schedule, however, is for one year only Grants to state councils will be revised for the second year, and again for the third, in the light of their progress toward attaining the general purpose of the expanded aid program.

Purpose

The general purpose of the expanded grant-in-aid program is to enable the state councils to increase their membership and program and to become self-sustaining in their basic, staffed operations. As a means to this end, grants for the first year are mostly to make possible adequate or more stable staffed operations

Evaluation and Revision

The Southern Regional Council will consider this expanded program to be attaining its purpose only if it results in significant increase of both membership and financial support from the membership of the several state councils. Therefore

it should be clearly understood that performance in these two respects will weigh more heavily than need in the annual revisions of the grant schedule.

No "matching funds" provision is attached to the 1966 grants. It is expected, however, that each state council will make during 1966 a planned, systemmatic effort to enlist new members and new chapters and to raise funds from a broad base of individual contributors. The success of such an effort will weigh heavily in the annual evaluation. (This may be interpreted frankly to mean that failure of the membership to support the state council will result in less aid, not more, from the Southern Regional Council.)

It is probable that larger portions of the 1967 and 1968 grants will be designated for particular projects, and that support of staffs made possible by the 1966 grants will be proportionately reduced. For this reason policy boards of the state councils should consider both their determination and the possibility to assume rapidly support of whatever staffing is made possible by their 1966 grant. Should determination be lacking or the possibility doubtful, they should seriously consider rejecting the grant because of this condition and in fairness to employees and potential employees.

Payment Schedule

Except where noted, the annual grant will be paid in equal quarterly installments, due February 15, May 15, August 15, and November 15

The first quarterly installment of each grant will be paid as soon as possible administratively. Where one of the purposes of the grant is to employ additional personnel, expenses incurred in finding and moving the employee may be considered a part of the overhead expense. The second quarterly installment of grants for additional staff will be withheld, if necessary, pending actual employment of the staff person.

Reporting Requirements

Quarterly payments will be made only if (1) the last-due quarterly program report has been received by the Director of Field Activities of the Southern Regional Council and (2) monthly financial and membership reports have been received regularly (beginning with a report for April, 1966). Quarterly installments due on the fifteenth of the months mentioned above will be paid upon receipt of the statistical report for the preceding month, plus any past-due reports.

Monthly statistical reports, in order to be acceptable, must show the following:

1. A breakdown of receipts into membership dues, individual

contributions, corporate business contributions, S.R.C. grants, foundations grants, and miscellaneous receipts. The report must show for each category the amount received during the month and the total for the fiscal year to date in that category.

2. A chapter-by-chapter breakdown of membership growth for the month and each chapter's total for the membership year to date. (This may include out-of-state and at-large categories.)

3. A separate accounting for funds received from the expanded (Ford Foundation) grant-in-aid program, with a breakdown of each category of disbursement into expenditures for the month and the year to date. (We recommend, but do not require, a similar reporting for the disbursement of other funds.)

Grant Schedule

Alabama Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $9,000. ($9,000 requested)

Use. The grant is toward salary, travel, and overhead for a full time associate director; and to make possible the securing of an intern beginning in the summer or fall of 1966. (Approximately $3,000 of the grant is for the latter purpose.)

Special conditions. The Alabama Council is presently without an Executive Director. Therefore the second quarterly installment is subject to filling of both staff positions.

Should the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials discontinue their intern program, or for other valid reasons, use of approximately $3,000 of this grant may be re-negotiated with the Southern Regional Council.

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $8,000 ($12,450 requested)

Use. The grant is for needed increases in staff salaries; additional out-of-state travel for the staff, for the purpose of attending professionally edifying meetings and conferences or special consultations on program; and wages and overhead for part-time staff workers in school desegregation and community organization.

Special conditions. None.

Florida Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $7,000. ($9,000 requested)

Use. The grant is made toward salary and overhead for an intern or assistant to the director; and to strengthen the general operation of the Florida Council.

Special conditions. The first two quarterly payments will be made, in the case of Florida, but the third and fourth

will be contingent upon employment of an intern or assistant.

Georgia Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $9,000 ($13,000 requested)

Use. This grant is to be used toward payment of salary, travel and overhead for an additional staff person whose duties will include assistance of local chapters to strengthen organization and program and organization of new chapters.

Special Conditions. None.

Louisiana Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $10,000. ($10,000 requested)

Use. The Louisiana Council has no professional staff at present. This grant is to be used for staffing.

Special conditions. None.

Mississippi Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $16,750 ($16,750 requested)

Use. This grant is for employment of a staff person for work primarily with college students and faculty; for student conferences; and for work scholarships.

Special conditions. An irregular schedule of payments of this grant, as requested by the Board of the Mississippi Council, is approved.

North Carolina Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $8,000. ($8,000 requested)

Use. This grant is for general support, to assure a stable, staffed operation.

Special conditions. Since the N.C. Council's executive director post is presently vacant, the general condition concerning "additional" staffing applies in this case also.

South Carolina Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $9,000. ($12,600 requested)

Use. The grant is to help provide salary and travel for an additional, full time professional staff person.

Special conditions. None

Tennessee Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $11,000. ($14,000 requested)

Use. The grant is to enable TCHR to hire and provide expenses for an assistant or associate to the Executive Director; and to provide opportunity for the staff to travel to conferences and meetings out-of-state.

Special Conditions. None.

Virginia Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $8,250. (9,500 requested)

Use. This grant is for employment and expenses for an

Associate Executive Director; and for additional out-of-state travel and conference expense for professional edification of the staff.

Special conditions. Approximately $500 of this grant must be used for staff travel to out-of-state conferences and meetings which would provide helpful information or improve professional skill.

Houston Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $4,000. ($6,500 requested)

Use. This grant is toward the Houston Council's proposed "Battaglia Vista Project" -- coordination and direction for about twenty VISTA volunteers to be placed in five census tracts in the lower socio-economic areas of Houston.

Special conditions. None.

Rec'd 2/21/66

MT-file

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

1966

PROGRAM IN SCIENCE
AND ENGINEERING

February 18, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Many thanks for the Annual Report of the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and Black Belt Schools: Beyond Desegregation. . I am most grateful for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Carl W. Borgmann

Carl W. Borgmann
Director

FOR THE RECORD:

Persons at Ford Foundation who have been
put on SRC mailing lists as of Feb. 16 and Feb. 23, 1966

Mr. Frank Bowles
Mr. Marvin Feldman
Mr. Marshall Robinson
Mr. Carl Borgmann
Mr. James Armsey
Mr. Eugene S. Staples
Mr. Paul Ylvisaker
Mr. Christopher Edley

All at the request of Mr. Eugene Staples per his ltr. dtd. Feb. 11, '66

Miss Jane Hinchcliffe
Mr. J. Kellum Smith, Jr., Secy.
Mr. Alan D. Ferguson
Mr. Thomas H. Lenagh, Treasurer

See unif memo to E Lewis dtd Feb. 23, 1966

Rec'd 3/4/66

MS

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

March 3, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul Anthony:

Thank you for giving me your time last Wednesday morning. Although we didn't get far into the Black Belt Schools matter, I found the conversation most worthwhile.

Sincerely,

Alan D. Ferguson

Alan D. Ferguson

April 1, 1966

Mr. Paul Ylvisaker
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Paul:

We are familiar with the proposal from Robert Dennis, and studied it at some length earlier. Moreland Smity, our Director of Urban Planning, has talked with Dennis on several occasions and at one point even explored the possibility of having Dennis become attached to the School of Architecture at Tuskegee.Institute.

The following evaluation is based primarily on Moreland's observations of this. We see this program as being somewhat different from, but complimentary to, our own Urban Planning Project. It is essentially one of "shock value," as opposed to our emphasis on persuasion and providing professional services. We can imagine the two complimenting each other and, in Moreland's words, "We may, on more than one occasion, have to turn to the shock treatment ourselves."

We see considerable value in the program, though I have some reservations about the amount

of the budget in relation to what can realistically be accomplished.

This proposal is at least in several places, including The Field Foundation, and we have also talked with Les Dunbar, although I don't know what interest Field has in it.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

Paul - Tell us if "shock value" proposal seems to persuasion

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

March 29, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Do you see anything in the attached proposal that we or someone else should support -- anything that isn't already being accomplished in other ways?

Would be grateful for your reaction.

Best regards,

Paul

Paul Ylvisaker
Director

Enclosure

A PROGRAM FOR CITY PLANNERS & PLANNING STUDENTS TO SPEND THE SUMMER OF 1966 IN MAJOR URBAN AREAS UNDERTAKING EVALUATORY STUDIES OF THE IMPACT OF GOVERNMENT PLANNING, HOUSING AND RENEWAL PROGRAMS ON NONWHITES AND THE POOR

A. GOALS

The raison d'etre for this proposal is the assumption held by many planners, based on personal observation and sporadically collected data from several cities, that present government efforts in the field of housing, planning and renewal are at best failing to meet the true needs of the disadvantaged groups in our society and at worst are actually exacerbating their problems. The goals of the summer project are first to demonstrate through systematic, empirical study the validity or invalidity of this assumption, and second to provide resources and information to local groups involved with these issues.

Assuming the validity of this assumption, the results of the summer project have a fivefold purpose:

1) To confront the Federal Government (and state and local governments, where appropriate) with concrete evidence of the impact of its major housing and renewal programs, evidence which may demonstrate the failure to meet stated goals of the Great Society and may serve to document violation of Federal statutes and executive orders.

2) To confront the planning profession with a clear picture of the role which planners are playing in the development and implementation of programs which may have a deleterious effect on nonwhites and the poor. Such a confrontation will hopefully provoke a reassessment of the planner's role and the role of the American Institute of Planners, either through clarification of whether present activities violate the stated goals of the profession or its rules of professional conduct, or through possible restatement of the profession's purposes and responsibilities.

3) To confront the planning schools with the issue of how the tools of urban planning are being used and to pose the issue of the relevance of what is being taught in planning programs to the real problems that exist in our cities.

4) To provide individual planning students with an independent (although closely supervised) project which will require use of their best analytic and interpretive skills and which will teach them the maximum amount about urban problems and programs in the shortest amount of time.

5) To develop contact with local action groups, both as a source for information and ideas, and with a view to establishing future ties of a more directly helpful nature, whereby planners can assist local groups in the preparation of plans and and perform other advocate-planner activities. (These contacts will necessarily be limited by the extent to which they do or do not interfere with the primary research goals of the project).

B. RECRUITMENT

Both professional planners and planning students will be recruited following a program to publicize the project widely. For students an effort will be made to secure official credit for the summer project. Recruitment will be made under one of two alternate plans:

a) commitment of the entire summer (10 - 12 weeks);
b) commitment of a shorter time(probably 3 - 4 weeks), preceding or following the student's regular summer employment or during a working planner's vacation time.

Pay will be modest (ca. $75 - 100 per week, plus travel expenses).

C. STUDY AREAS

Planners will be sent to approximately 8 - 10 major cities to be selected at a future date, depending in part on the preferences and talents of the planners and their supervisors. Disproportionate emphasis will be placed on the South, although cities from all parts of the country will be included. An effort will be made to study a representative range of cities by size, geographical area, population composition, extent of program activity, etc. Planners and students will work in teams of 2 - 4 persons, with the possibility of a single team studying more than one city.

D. SUPERVISION

The key element of this project is close, continuous supervision by a senior person in the planning profession. This is done in order to insure competent work and to avoid the possibility that the results of the summer project will be dismissed as unprofessional and irresponsible. Supervision will have the following elements:

1. initial review of the study outline with the team (a general study outline for the project will be prepared, applicable to all cities);

2. supervision of pre-arrival study of the city from existing data and reports and attempts to identify and contact relevant individuals and organizations in advance (in particular, it is hoped that planners will have access to other professional planners through introduction by the supervisor and assistance of AIP);

3. at least one trip of several days duration to the study by the supervisor;

4. ongoing written and telephonic contact to assess progress and deal with immediate problems;

5. close review (and possibly joint writing) of the final report.

E. MODE OF STUDY

The planning team's dominant role will be that of independent researchers, seeking out all sources of information, on the scene for the stated purpose of evaluating the impact of government housing and planning programs on the disadvantaged. The major concentration of the evaluation study will be on existing and proposed Federal (and state) programs in the field of housing, planning and renewal. Emphasis will be primarily on public housing, urban renewal and highways. Other areas which may be studied (but which will receive less emphasis) are: code enforcement, zoning, capital budget, master plan, municipal services, assessment practices, annexation and the workings of the private real estate market.

F. STAFF

The core group of planners who have developed this proposal and who will be carrying out the project are all members of Planners for Equal Opportunity, an organization of city planners and related professionals established in 1964 to bring to bear planning skills and concepts to the struggle for equal economic and social opportunity in American society. The principal participants are:

Paul Davidoff, Chairman, Department of City Planning, Hunter College
Robert Dennis, Pratt Institute
Herbert Gans, Center for Urban Education, New York City
Justin Gray, Institute for Public Administration, New York City
Chester Hartman, MIT-Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies
Robert Heifetz, Department of City Planning, Columbia University
Frances Piven, Columbia University School of Social Work
Thomas Reiner, Janet Reiner, University of Pennsylvania
Walter Thabit, Planning Consultant, New York City

This group is presently approaching the major city planning schools to request their aid and support and is currently contacting senior people in the planning professions to ask their participation in the summer project, either as sponsors or supervisors.

In addition to individual team supervisors, there will be an overall project coordinator, whose task it will be:

1. to coordinate all plans for study design, recruitment and financing;

2. to act as full-time general supervisor during the summer months;

3. to prepare the final project report from the series of individual city reports, and develop a set of recommendations.

Following the summer months, a full-time staff person will be required to oversee the continuing functions of the summer project:

1. to press for implementation of the report's recommendations at the government level and within the profession;

2. to develop further contacts with local actions groups. This latter function involves seeing the maximum use is made of the report locally and developing further projects and forms of assistance which members of PEO can offer to local groups.

G. BUDGET

1. Study teams. It is estimated that the average unit would be a team of three studying a city for four weeks.

3 planners @ $90 (ca.) per week for 4 weeks	$ 1,080
Travel: $150 average round trip per person	450
Supervisor: $250 supervisory fee + $200 travel expenses	450
	$ 1,980
TEN CITIES	$19,800
2. Project Coordinator: 12 weeks full-time + 12 weeks half time @ $250/week	4,500
3. Post-summer full-time staff person @ $10,000 year + $5,000 travel and expenses - 1 year	15,000
4. Office, phone, secretarial, etc.	10,000
	$49,300

February, 1966

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

April 7, 1966

~~MJ~~
MJ
cc ref Phil Dennis

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for your comments on the Dennis proposal. We're nearly broke for awhile and it's doubtful we'll be able to help. But, we'll see.

All the best,

Paul

Paul Ylvisaker
Director

rec'd 4/12/66

File Ford Fd.

April 29, 1966

Mr. Christopher F. Edley
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Chris:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from George Randall which I thought you might enjoy reading.

You may be interested to know that the John Boone referred to in the letter was interviewed here on April 28 and subject to some further checking by us and his acceptance I am hopeful that we have at last found a project director for the work in prison reform and criminal rehabilitation.

Come to think of it, you may not only be interested but relieved to hear this. Certainly, I am.

I hope to be in New York on May 11 and 12 for a meeting on the 11th and available on the 12th, and perhaps part of the 13th. Do we have any business to conduct at that time?

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

(12) file

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

18

PL-1-2900

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

May 5, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Delighted to hear of John Boone. Would love to see him later in Atlanta if he comes aboard and after he has half thought through his plans.

Sincerely,

Chris a.a.

Christopher F. Edley

Jane Hinchcliffe

Rec'd 6/6/66

MS

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

File Ford Fd. 1966 - cr. ref. Opie Shelton

June 1, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I've noted Mr. Shelton's column on the civil rights leadership.

My only reaction at the moment is, God help us all.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Jane

Jane E. Hinchcliffe

File
Ford Fd. 1966
(see Ulmer's "Summary of the Cooperative Training Planning Conference Edwards, Miss., June 9-11, 1966)

June 24, 1966

Miss Jane Hinchcliffe
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Jane:

Enclosed is a report prepared by Al Ulmer of a conference held in Mississippi on June 9-11. Enclosed also is a copy of a letter from Chuck Ihlenfeldt to Al Ulmer about his reaction to the meeting.

In a somewhat roundabout way, this is a continuation of the interest first developed at the Washington meeting last winter. I am very hopeful about the seriousness of the Cooperative League staff in the region and believe that Al has done a substantial job in encouraging that interest and exposing the staff to the needs down here.

You will note in the report that it ends with a request that SRC take the responsibility in direction and administration of the program proposed. Unfortunately, they are thinking in terms of a great deal of money and while I agree with the need and the soundness of the program resources still create a problem about which, I think, we have to do more thinking. I would, however, appreciate having your reaction to this.

I am also sharing this with Chris.

As Paul knows, we are attempting to invite your

president to speak at our Annual Meeting in November. Hope he will decide to do so.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

file
Ford Fd.

June 24, 1966

Mr. Christopher F. Edley
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Chris:

Enclosed is a report prepared by Al Ulmer of a conference held in Mississippi on June 9 - 11. Enclosed also is a copy of a letter from Chuck Ihlenfeldt to Al Ulmer about his reaction to the meeting.

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I amsalso sharing this with Jane.

As Paul knows, we are attempting to invite your president to speak at our Annual Meeting in November. Hope he will decide to do so.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

FORD FOUNDATION

REGARDING

Letter of invitation to be SRC's Annual Dinner Speaker on November 1966

DATE

6/24/66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

ANNUAL MEETING 1966

Bring up July 11, 1966

File June 7d, 1966

June 24, 1966

Mr. G. H. Griffith
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Griffith:

done

It was a pleasure having lunch with you and discussing the ideas of Adult Education.

In the next several weeks, I shall put a few things into writing and send them along to you as well as suggestions for individuals to be invited to a conference here in Atlanta.

I thought you might like to see the enclosed clipping. Your visit with Ralph McGill had rather quick results.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

Rec'd 7/20/66

file

NT

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

ASSOCIATE PROGRAM DIRECTOR
EDUCATION DIVISION

July 19, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am most grateful to you for your extremely thoughtful and helpful letter of July 8, in which you comment on developments growing out of our preliminary conversations with respect to education programs on race relations. All of the avenues of exploration which you outlined strike me as being highly relevant and useful and I hope very much you will pass along word on the outcome of the discussions you are planning. The result of the questionaire you are sending out to various agencies should be especially illuminating.

I saw John Griffin very briefly the other day in the course of a quick visit he made to the Foundation on another matter. About all that we could do "on the run" was to confirm a mutual interest in the meeting he proposes to call in Atlanta reasonably soon. I believe he will be commenting further on this in a letter.

Beyond that, I think the larger meeting you propose for SRC would also be quite appropriate. I suspect that in the full exploration of all that the projected program or programs should take into account there will be a highly useful role for a number of group meetings.

Again, thank you very much for your continuing interest and help. I will try to keep you advised of all relevant developments and will, at all times, welcome your further comments and observations.

Sincerely yours,

G. H. Griffiths

G. H. Griffiths

File
Ford Foundation
1966

July 8, 1966

Mr. G. H. Griffiths
Associate Program Director
Education Division
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Griffiths:

Thank you for the information from the Birthright item, and I am delighted to be exposed to Cannon's poems.

We here continue to think of the adult education possibilities, and become more and more convinced of the need as we do so. At some point in the future I think it essential that we attempt to secure a competent person to do an inventory of resources available, and agencies and agents (particularly those such as civic clubs, business associations, and the like), who are or might become amenable to programs in this area. Such an effort should also disclose in some detail, materials, programs, and approaches needed.

As we consider these matters we also become more convinced of the importance of the unorthodox approach and the need to involve those groups not ordinarily associated with our concerns. This

is certainly not to rule out the value of the church, the YWCA and others of this nature, but it is to underscore our belief that these traditional avenues are not, in themselves, sufficient for the results needed.

There is also, we believe, much to be done in encouraging religious groups to invest more of their own resources in this field. It is possible that sharing of materials and some guidance from any sponsoring or serving agencies could stimulate substantial results at minimum expenditure.

Perhaps some attention should be given to additions to the curriculum of colleges and universities, and particularly to graduate and professional schools. From a very limited effort we are having some success with this in schools of architecture and planning. The need is even greater in schools of law and medicine, for example.

A small group of our staff will meet shortly for rather thorough discussions. These persons, all of whom have some interest in this area, are:

Edwin Stanfield, Director of Field Activities
Vernon Jordan, Director, Voter Education Project
Emory Via, Director, Labor Education Project
Moreland Smith, Director, Urban Planning Project
Pat Watters, Director of Information
Bob Anderson, Managing Editor, New South
Al Ulmer, Director, Community Organization Project

Also, the state council directors will meet here in September to discuss specific ways in which the Councils on Human Relations can do more to reach "uncommitted" whites.

Next week we are mailing a questionnaire to several hundred local, regional, and national agencies to determine their interest and involvement in

attempting to reach white people regarding race relations concerns.

All of this, incidentally, is being thought of in terms of using resources now available as well as in anticipation of being in a position to give sound responses to any future inquiries about additional resources needed by us or others.

John Griffin and I have this week discussed these ideas and come up with a likely next step. John would like to call a small "pre-planning" meeting here in Atlanta at an early date. This would be limited to several editors, namely, Ralph McGill, Johnny Popham, Harry Ashmore, Bill Baggs, Claude Sitton and perhaps Bill Emerson. The others to be invited would be you, Leslie Dunbar, and Harold Fleming. This seems to me a good idea, and John, who has talked with several of the above, will proceed to try to find a date when most of these persons are available. You will hear from him soon.

Thereafter, we think it a good idea for SRC to call a somewhat larger meeting -- though still a small one. In addition to Dunbar, Fleming, you, and perhaps one or more of the editors, we think of persons like Dr. Samuel Cook of Atlanta University, Dr. C. G. Gomillion of Tuskegee, Dr. Paul Gaston of the University of Virginia, Mr. Frank Smith, Director of TVA, and perhaps six or eight others at most.

In summary, we are attempting to do some staff work here to stimulate and get ideas from the state Councils on Human Relations strucutre, and to establish the machinery for getting the reactions of a rather wide variety of knowledgeable persons.

I would be grateful for your comments on this, and am sharing a copy of this with Leslie Dunbar.

My apologies for the length of this.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

ASSOCIATE PROGRAM DIRECTOR
EDUCATION DIVISION

July 5, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

It was good of you to write following our visit in Atlanta and to send along the item by Ralph McGill.

Your suggestions as to possible next steps, regarding the matter we discussed, will be very helpful I am sure and I look forward to hearing from you further.

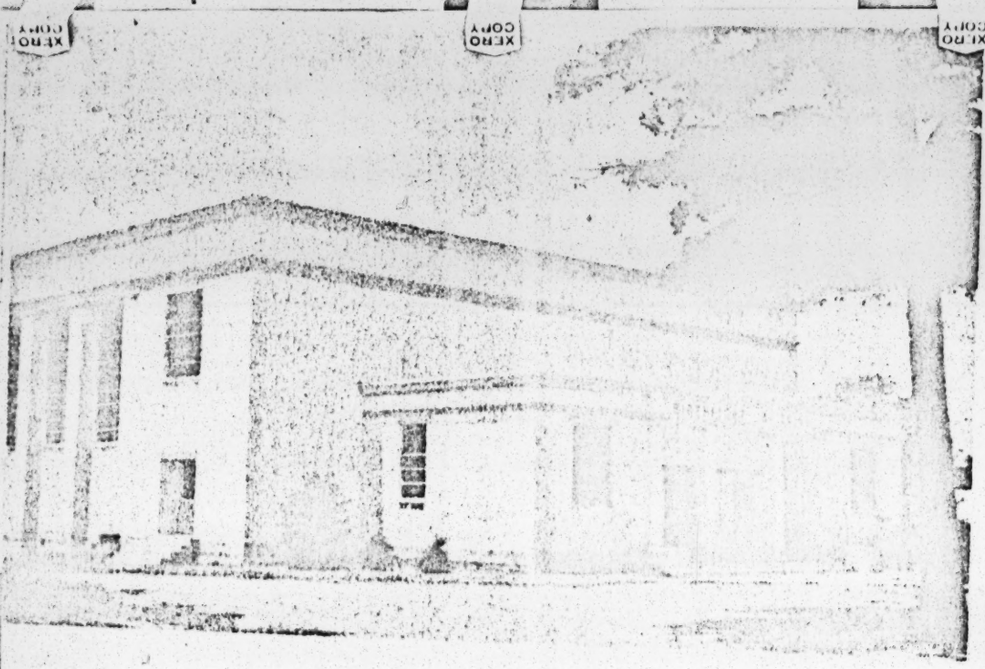
Just this morning Leslie Dunbar phoned, in another connection, and I told him of our conversation in Atlanta. He, too, continues to have a very serious interest in exploring this further. We are scheduled to meet on July 13, to compare notes on this and some other matters of mutual interest. Meanwhile, I am sending him a Xerox copy of the McGill item - although he may have already seen it.

I am enclosing copies of some of the material I mentioned to you that may relate to your "compilation". The Birthright item will be self-explanatory. The two bits of verse by David Cannon are from a small volume of his poetry which was issued soon after his death under the title Black Labor Chant. In all, it contains about 36 poems, not all of which are addressed to the racial theme. David was an extremely interesting fellow as you will note from the biographical Foreword.

Again, I very much appreciate the interest you have shown in the program we are exploring and I am sure there will be occasions for other discussions as we move along.

Sincerely yours,

G. H. Griffiths



Stillman's

Auditorium-gym is named for the Birthrights at Stillman College, only college for Negroes operated by our denomination

It is an amazing story. But it is a true story—how two slaves, the only Negroes in a small Missouri town, rose above the stigma of slavery to become respected and accepted members of the community—how they acquired good farming land—how they bequeathed their property to a Presbyterian school for the training of ministers, Stillman College (Tuscaloosa Institute then)—and how, in the strange ways of history, it is the largest single gift ever received by Stillman College and continues to be its largest block of endowment, providing $5,000 to $8,000 net income each year for the college.

It sounds almost impossible to our ears amid the discordant noises of more recent developments in race relations. But letters recently discovered give us the poignant story and a glimpse into the lives of these two who were born into slavery, owned by white men, freed by the Emancipation Proclamation, and accepted by their white neighbors to become citizens contributing to the life of the church and community.

Charles Birthright was a kindly, happy man, poised, dignified, and courteous in his bearing toward every one. His wife, Bettie, was a small, alert woman noted for her cheery temperament. They lived in peace with the world and in harmony and devotion to each other.

Charles was born on a Tennessee plantation in 1827. He learned to be a barber when he was the body servant of "Marse Jack" Birthright, who later took him to Missouri.

Bettie was the daughter of Ann and Claiborne Scott from near Salem, Va. Her mother was a pastry cook for many years at Hollins College. Betty was separated from her loving, close family circle when as a girl of seventeen she was taken to Missouri by her owners, Mr. and Mrs. David Young Pankey.

Mrs. Pankey was deeply religious and taught her little maid to read so she could understand the prayer book. Bettie's mother, too, was of a very religious nature and once wrote:

"I am in hopes you have not forgotten your promise to serve God. We are still trying to hold up our prayer meeting on Tuesday night with six of us. It seems the others think there is no God. They have stopped trying to serve the Lord. But, if we will think a little, we would find that we ought to serve Him both night and day."

Another letter reveals the mother's love for the daughter and the pain of their separation (as well as the vagaries of the mail service).

"I have just received your letter and am so much grieved to hear that you had not heard from me and were so anxious to hear, that I have resolved to write immediately. We are all well. You must not be low-spirited and unhappy, my daughter, and never for a moment think that we have forgotten you, for you know that as long as I live I shall never forget you. I hope that this letter will meet with more success than the others for I cannot bear to think of your being uneasy and anxious."

Another letter from Ann Scott to her daughter discusses her marriage to Charles Birthright. She says it is hard to advise her because she does not know the young man, but she adds, "I do not want to stand between you and happiness."

Charles and Bettie were married in the fall of 1860. Almost a year later Bettie was taken to Tennessee by her owner, Mrs. Pankey, who went to nurse a [illegible] stricken by typhoid fever. From there [illegible] to Charles:

"Miss Sallie says she is going home as soon as Marse Paul gets well enough for her to leave him which I hope will be very soon for I can assure you I would like very much to be at home. I can stand it very well all the week, but when Saturday night and Sunday come then I have the blues and feel like I would give anything on earth to be with you and [illegible] dear husband. It won't be long before we [illegible] each other. May the [illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Birthrights

From old letters and records comes the story of the ex-slaves who gave to a Presbyterian school its largest single gift.

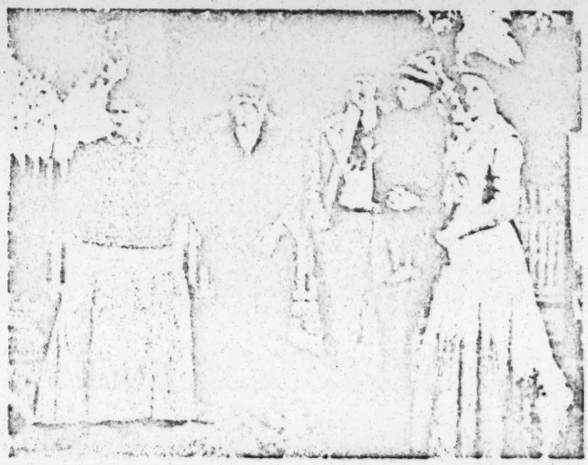


Photo taken about 1912 shows, from left, Bettie and Charles Birthright, William Stokes and his sister, Genevieve, with William Ponder, age 4. Picture taken in Clarkton, Mo., home of the freed slaves.

you is the prayer of your devoted wife."

On September 9, 1862, just eight days before the promulgation of the Emancipation Proclamation, a son was born to Bettie. The baby, Sterling Price, was called Price.

In December Bettie received a letter from Charles, who had been taken to Arkansas by his master on a business trip:

"I am well and very anxious to see you and my babe . . . I expect I will be to see you in a week or two or just as soon as I can. You have no idea how anxious I am to see you. I don't think I will be any more account if I am separated from you. Tell Miss Sallie she certainly don't care as much for you and Marse Jack and Miss Lou does for me or she would buy me or sell you. . . .

"There is men here that has offered more for me than Marse Davie ever did and I think I would be worth more to him than anybody else as he owns my wife and child. . . . Marse Jack and Miss Lou says they will never part us if they can help it, but he is not willing to give me up for a trifle.

"I have some very pretty Christmas gifts for you. I will bring them when I come. . . . Farewell until I see you. It won't be long. Kiss Price for me."

The Emancipation Proclamation freed Bettie and Charles, but that joy was marred by perhaps the greatest heartache of their lives. Their baby died January 26, 1863, just 25 days after the Emancipation became effective. No other children were born to them, and it may have been the thought of this little boy that helped Charles and Bettie decide to help boys of their own race obtain an education.

Information for this article came to PRESBYTERIAN SURVEY *from Mrs. Hugh Ballard Pankey of Gideon, Mo., and Mrs. Paul Baldwin of Kennett, Mo., whose husbands are grandsons of Mr. and Mrs. David* [illegible]

They chose to live in Clarkton, Mo., where they had begun their married life. Charles was the only barber in the community, and he supplemented his income by playing the violin for all gala occasions.

Bettie could sew beautifully and was in demand for all the tailoring to be done in the town. Whenever there was a wedding of importance, she was called upon to make the wedding cake with her famous recipe that called for 40 eggs.

Realizing the future of farm land, they invested in land which they developed and bequeathed unencumbered by debt. Their dairy supplied most of the tables not only in Clarkton, but in other communities four and seven miles away.

The Birthrights contributed the largest sum for the construction of the first good school building in the county—they who had no child to benefit from it. They were members of the Presbyterian Church which had been organized in Clarkton in 1872, and in an article that appeared in the *Dunkin Democrat* in 1901, Charles Birthright was listed as one of the men who had contributed most to the growth of Clarkton.

When Charles Birthright died in 1912, he left Bettie with two fine cotton farms, a total of about 500 acres. Many years before, they had decided together to leave the land to Tuscaloosa Institute (now Stillman College) for the training of young Negro men for the ministry. With the help of Judge Thomas E. Baldwin, an elder in the Presbyterian Church, they had drawn up a will to that effect. And so at Bettie's death in 1917 the wishes of both of them were carried out and the land went to Stillman College.

In honor of these Presbyterians whose lives witnessed in such an enduring way to the love of Christ and the stewardship of their possession [illegible] the auditorium-gymnasium built in 1951 [illegible] the Birthright Building.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Foreword

IN 1938 David Wadsworth Cannon, Jr. was engaged in a study of the character and development of the social attitudes and adjustments of Negro college students, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Teachers College, Columbia University. With the same intensity and enthusiasm which characterized all of his manifold interests, he had spent the previous winter in research, interviewing students, and compiling case studies which delved into the personal experiences of adjustment and maladjustment of Negro youth. It was his hope that this study might add to the factual basis for a sympathetic understanding of minority racial groups in American culture, and that it would challenge educators to reexamine the traditional program of Negro education. This was the work to which he was devoting himself when overtaken by a serious illness. He died on December 14th.

Poet, musician, teacher, student, David Cannon moved in a world poignantly colored with conflict between breathtaking beauty and black ugliness and despair. A meeting with a friend, a glimpse of beauty in the hills, the message of a great teacher, would bring to his lips spontaneous gratitude for beauty too deep to find expression otherwise than in poetry or song. And this same sensitivity to life made him keenly aware of the suffering and maladjustment of Negro youth less fortunate than himself.

David Cannon was born in New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1910. His mother was a social worker; his father, a Baptist minister, graduate of Lincoln University and Princeton Theological Seminary. On graduation from the public schools of Cranford, New Jersey, David entered Hillsdale College, Michigan. In 1931, after four years of leadership in the student life, in

the Y.M.C.A., the debating team, the Glee Club, and other groups, he received the degree of Bachelor of Science and was nominated by Hillsdale College as its candidate for Rhodes Scholar from Michigan. The following year was spent at the University of Michigan from which institution he was awarded in 1932 the degree of Master of Arts in psychology. During his years as a student in Michigan he served for several months as the pastor of a rural white church.

The autumn of 1932 brought an appointment to the faculty of Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia, as assistant professor of psychology and education. His responsibilities in his four years there included teaching, lecturing, directing the personnel program, directing state adult education projects, conducting church school classes, sponsoring the college Y.M.C.A. and local clubs, and creating and directing a student verse-speaking choir which made two concert tours in 1937 and 1938 to New York City and vicinity. Believing that further graduate study was necessary to prepare him for leadership of his own race, he spent the last two years of his life in study for a doctorate in educational psychology at Columbia University. This graduate study was facilitated by a Fellowship award from the Julius Rosenwald Fund in 1937 and by his election as a Fellow of the National Council on Religion in Higher Education in 1936.

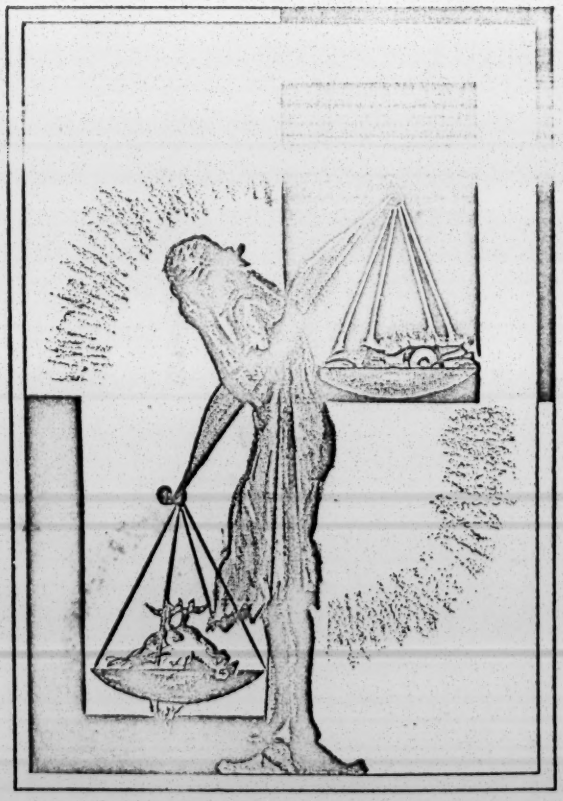
Because it cherishes the memory of his participation in its fellowship, the National Council on Religion in Higher Education presents this volume of David Cannon's poems. The spirit in which the friends of the author will turn to this permanent record of his verse has been most fittingly expressed by David Cannon himself. Of a departed friend he wrote:

> "Yet, I still have fresh memories
> Of his unravelled dreams —
> Now in eternity.
> Who can ask more,
> To live, to dream, to be a friend."

M.H.B.

Resignation

A spear of sun-bright lacquered red
Shot down a spiral country road:
Aunt Chloes' only laying hen was dead.
Her voice fused with the shrieking brakes,
"De good Lawd gives, but de white folks takes."



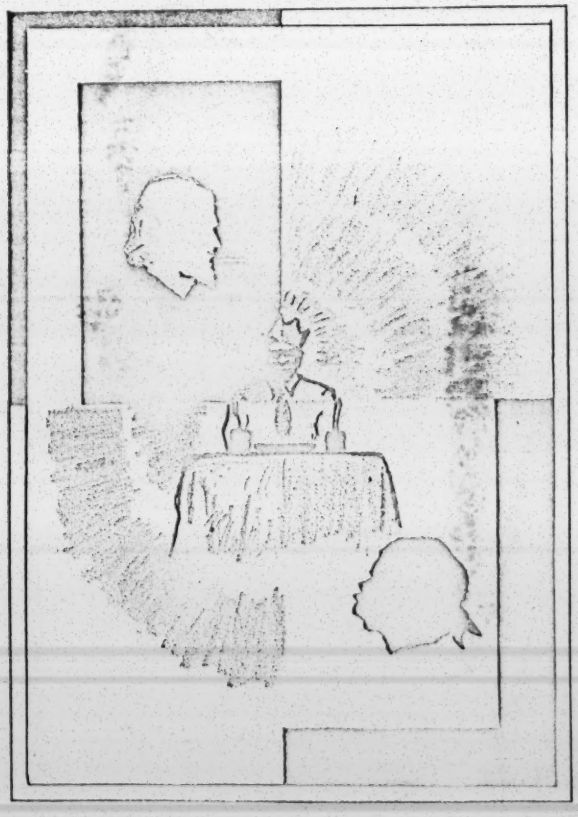
Boston Tea

"The Ladies of the D. A. R.
Meet here today at four, for tea."
Malinda Attucks washed the plates,
And baked small cakes for thirty-three.

She smiled; and looked at Crispus Attucks,
"Black Martyr,—Independence War,"
Who mused in marble silence on the square . . .
Then, she served tea to thirty-four.

Pok Chops

"Pok chops, for supper?"
"Umph huh, son!
I'll make a nice thick gravy,
Soon as dey gits right done."
"Say ma, ole Major died!
And didn't name his heir."
"What? No chile!
Well, I declare—
And me a cookin' pok chops
Fo' a millionaire."



Liberty Bond

First Person Plural
(*Scene:* Bank — South)

"What can I do fo' you all this mornin', Lucy?"
"De mistress say de sheriff's gonta sell her place
I wants to sell mah fifty dollar war bond,
So as to help to keep us from disgrace."

File Ford Fd.

July 26, 1966

Mr. Herman Gallegos
Consultant
The Ford Foundation
150 Corona Street
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. Gallegos:

It was a pleasure having you visit and we are very happy that you think the visit was worthwhile. All of us here are intrigued and excited about the possibilities of your work, and extend every good wish on it. If we can do anything possible to assist you, please let us know.

I had hoped to get to California in November, but that possibility now looks dim. Sooner or later, however, I shall visit your part of the country and will certainly hope to see you when I do.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Herman Gallegos
150 Corona Street
San Francisco, California
585-1365

July 11, 1966.

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

With the Fourth of July past, I find I have not as yet thanked you and the members of your staff for the generous sharing of information concerning the work of the Southern Regional Council. You were most helpful and I feel you made it possible for me to pick up valuable information for possible application to a foundation-supported program or programs to assist Mexican-Americans in the southwest. I am also grateful to Mr. Al Ulmer, Mr. Ed Stanfield, Mr. Vernon Jordan, Jr., Mr. Patt Watters and Mrs. Mildred Johnson for their excellent briefing on their work and views concerning problems in the South.

As a result of your cooperation I was also able to have productive visits with Mr. Oliver Holmes of the Georgia Council on Human Relations; Mr. G. H. Grisby of the Buttermilk Bottoms project which we visited; Mr. Lewis Black in Greensboro; Mr. Kenneth Dean and Miss Doris Derby of the Poor Peoples' Corporation in Mississippi.

Thanks again and be sure to contact me when you visit San Francisco.

Cordially yours,

Herman Gallegos

Herman Gallegos, Consultant,
The Ford Foundation.

File
Dorothy - 1966
Cr. ref.
Urban Planning Proj
(Please check to see ~~which~~ what the date + name of news clip in which Susan Bresler's photo appeared in Ft. Lauderdale + so indicate on cr. ref. sheet)

July 26, 1966

Mr. Christopher Edley
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Chris:

Thought you might be interested in the enclosed. Miss Bresler referred to is working temporarily with Moreland Smith, and they have at least created a highly unusual and interesting dialogue in the Fort Lauderdale community.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

P. S. -- John Boone is on the job and getting off to a fast and excellent start. I have the highest of hopes for this project. Finally!

PA

File
Ford Fd.

August 8, 1966

Miss Jane Hinchcliffe
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Jane:

Enclosed is a six-month report filed with Paul and a copy of my letter of transmittal. I trust the material enclosed is an adequate report on the programs of the state Councils on Human Relations. If not, please let me know.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

file
Ford Fd.

August 8, 1966

Mr. Paul Ylvisaker
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Paul:

As you may recall the Ford Foundation requested a six-month report of the use of the Foundation's grant in support of the state Councils on Human Relations. There was need for several reports of other programs. As a result, we took the occasion to prepare a six-month program report on our major projects and departments. The enclosed report does not reflect a full report including such items as administrative matters, but it is already prohibitively long.

Copies are being filed with Jane Hinchcliffe and Chris Edley. If it should go elsewhere in the Foundation, please let me know.

It has been a good six months; some failures and delays and, I think, a reasonable amount of success and good results. We continue to be grateful for these opportunities.

In the meantime, I trust you are having a good vacation, and that it will be some time before this is brought to your attention.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

cc: Miss Jane Hinchcliffe
Mr. Chris Edley

Rec'd 8/19/66

MS

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

August 16, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I wish to thank you for your letter of August 8, with the enclosed report on the Foundation's grant to the Southern Regional Council for the strengthening of state and local human relations councils.

I am circulating this report to other interested officers and staff members, and we will be in touch with you again if we have any further comments or questions.

Sincerely,

RWChandler

Robert W. Chandler

Recd 8/18/66

Joie

(6)

file

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

ASSOCIATE PROGRAM DIRECTOR
EDUCATION DIVISION

August 16, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

You were most thoughtful to send along the report prepared for the members of the Council. It is highly informative and I am pleased to have it.

As you doubtless know, John Griffin is now trying to work out some plans for a preliminary meeting re the educational program for around mid-September. I understand there are still some uncertainties (I have a problem myself because of the timing of some other hoped for plans) but the odds are that something will be worked out. I am mindful of your interest in this matter and I am hopeful that there will soon be a basis for more concrete discussions.

Again, thank you very much for your letter and for the report.

Sincerely yours,

Bill Griffith

G. H. Griffiths

m J

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

August 18, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, North West
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

My belated thanks for the report on Al Ulmer's conference on co-ops in June and, less belated, for your note of August 8th and the six-month report of Council activities.

I haven't had a chance to discuss the co-op proposal with Chris, who has been away a large part of the summer. I simply don't know how a major outlay for this kind of program would fit into the plans he is developing, in cooperation with other Foundation programs, for activities related to minority group problems. There are so many problems and not enough money to go around.

I was very pleased with the six-months' report, and think you are all to be congratulated.

Warm regards,

Jane

Jane E. Hinchcliffe

ZMJ

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

August 29, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I received your message from Jane Hinchcliffe.

Ninety per cent of your concerns parallel mine. If we make a grant on coops it would probably be for a pilot demonstration effort at a modest but realistic price. There is ample time to discuss this.

I hope to talk to you by telephone as soon as my vacation ends. I don't want to wait until October however.

Sincerely,

Chris

Christopher F. Edley

File
Ford Fd. 1966

August 31, 1966

Mr. John Ehle
104 Cascade Avenue
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear John:

Enclosed is the first response we've had on the student recruitment. I hardly think we can expect such thorough information in most instances, but we shall see.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

file 7

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

September 14, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you so much for sending me a copy of your collected SRC reports coverning the first half of 1966. I shall read it with interest and attention.

Sincerely,

Alan Ferguson

Alan D. Ferguson

file
Ford Foundation

AIR MAIL

September 29, 1966

Mr. Robert Schmid
Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Schmid:

The information I gave you by phone this morning concerning Mr. George McMillan is in error. Mr. McMillan is at Clark College for the first semester of this year. He can be reached by mail in care of Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia. His office telephone is 577-2910; home telephone is 874-0375.

Since Mr. McMillan is here, I thought it best to give you this information by mail rather than wait until next week.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

See Ford Fd. 1966

October 10, 1966

Mr. Christopher F. Edley
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Chris:

It was good to be with you on Thursday and to have the opportunity to discuss the co-op education program further.

I will not be able to attend the OEO conference on cooperatives tomorrow but Al will be there.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

(1)

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

October 7, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

This is to remind you of the OEO conference on cooperatives on October 11.

I hope that either you or Al Ulmer will be able to attend.

Sincerely,

Chris

Christopher F. Edley

Ford Fd. 1966

Separate mailing:

Winter, fall, summer issues of NEW SOUTH, 1965
1965 Annual Report
Six-months Project Reports

via air mail

December 5, 1966

Miss Mildred Epstein
Public Affairs Program
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mildred:

Let me express again how happy I was to have had the opportunity to get to know you during the meeting last week.

I do hope it will be possible for Clifford to visit us and we would certainly welcome a visit from you.

Under separate cover, I am sending you several publications and reports which you may find of interest.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Separate mailing:

Winter, fall, summer issues of NEW SOUTH, 1965
1965 Annual Report
Six-months Project reports

File
Ford Fd.
1966

VIA AIR MAIL December 5, 1966

Mr. Clifford J. Campbell
2004 N. E. Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Cliff:

Let me tell you again how much I enjoyed the opportunity to get to know you last week, and to again express my hope that you can visit us here in Atlanta sometime in the near future.

I am today writing Mildred to remind her of our conversation in regard to your becoming more familiar with SRC.

Under separate cover, I am sending you several reports and several issues of our magazine, New South.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Ford Foundation
Cr. ref: Southern Consumers' Cooperative
re: ltr of endorsement for "A Proposal for Cooperative Development among Low Income Southerners"
See PA's ltr. of 12-14-66

File

December 14, 1966

Mr. Christopher Edley
Program Associate
Public Affairs Division
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Chris:

Father McKnight has requested that SRC submit a letter of endorsement on the proposal you have for cooperative development. I am happy to do so.

As Al indicated to you earlier, we were very impressed by the genuine thinking and final cooperation that resulted from some months of the right people talking, arguing, thinking about what was needed in this important area.

I have studied the Southern Consumers' proposal with some care. It is well done and the program is, I think, workable. Some parts of it perhaps need more exploration; for

instance, the role, responsibilities, and salaries of the staff. And, quite frankly, the whole proposal seems to me to reflect innocence. Innocence about how much work one person can do, about the plight of the people, and the work needed to change that plight, and perhaps even of the complexity of managing funds of this nature.

But I would hope this part of the proposal would be something of a challenge to the Ford Foundation. This is perhaps the kind of gamble -- and funding this proposal would be a gamble -- that ought to be attractive as well as necessary. The people who have prepared this proposal and who will be administering this program will have to be gambled on. There is no way their full potential can be reached unless they have the responsibility and learn by doing. And, we have seen too many instances of innocence proving right to make light of it.

Needless to say, all of us at SRC will do everything possible to assist and participate in this program should it be funded.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File - Ford Fd. 1966

December 19, 1966

Mr. Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr.
Secretary
The Ford Foundation, Inc.
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. McDaniel:

Enclosed is the information requested in your letter of December 2.

Our grant was for a three-year period, with permission from the Foundation to allow the first year's budget to be extended over a period of fifteen months -- (October 1965 through January 1966) -- in consideration of the time required to begin new programs and secure personnel. Our grant period will end, therefore, in December 1968. Enclosed is a budget for the three-year grant period, and a one-year budget.

We have estimated expenses for the first fifteen months of the grant period, which runs through December 31, 1966. There will be slight adjustments made in this estimate which will be

reflected in our audit, to be completed in January. A copy will, of course, be sent to you then.

After considerable thought, we have determined that our request for future payments should be made on an equal, quarterly basis although our expenditures do not run precisely on this basis. Salaries and other regular commitments do. Consultant and research fees, printing costs and seminar costs do not. We anticipate a schedule of expenditures which will allow us to build a modest surplus to allow for fluctuations.

If additional information is needed, please let us know.

We continue to be sincerely grateful for the support of the Ford Foundation.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 4.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

JOSEPH M. McDANIEL, JR.
SECRETARY

December 2, 1966

Mr. Paul B. Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Officers of The Ford Foundation have approved a new policy concerning payment of grants. All non-matching grants with unpaid balances of more than $50,000 will be paid in quarterly installments. This decision amends the payment instructions set forth in the letter of grant notification for the grant made to your institution listed on the attached sheet.

Accordingly, you are requested to submit to us by January 1, 1967 (1) a budget for the period from the last financial report to the termination of the grant; (2) an estimate of expenses for the fifteen months following the last financial report and a statement of Ford Foundation funds on hand; and (3) a request for the funds needed for the five quarters following the last financial report. In the case of grants which have a remaining period of no more than fifteen months, the information requested in (2) and (3) should be given for the balance of the grant period. If no payments have been received, or if no financial reports have been submitted, please send us a budget for the entire period of the grant.

Enclosed is a copy in triplicate of a quarterly payment request form. Please complete and return the first two copies to the Foundation.

With the fifth quarterly payment on grants which have more than fifteen months to run, the Foundation's Treasurer will forward the forms required to initiate the following year's payment. No payment will be made without adequate annual financial and narrative reports.

On all future correspondence regarding this grant, please refer to the grant number shown on the attached list.

If there are any questions which you may have concerning the above, we will be most happy to assist you. Your cooperation in this matter is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr.

Secretary

Enclosures

THE FORD FOUNDATION

GRANT QUARTERLY PAYMENT REQUEST
(To be submitted annually)

GRANTEE: Southern Regional Council, Inc. Grant Number: 66-3

Date of Grant: 10-5-65

Purpose: Studies and technical assistance related to human relations programs in the South.

Amount of Grant: $972,000

Annual Reporting Date: January

a. Total Payment Received through last Annual Reporting Date:

October 5, 1965 (month/year) $ $324,000

b. Total Expenditures through last Annual Reporting Date above $ $293,935*

c. Balance $ $ 46,065

d. Estimated Expenditures for 5 quarters following last annual report (important - see instructions) $ $388,800

e. Estimated amount required to end of 5 quarters above - $ $388,800

f. Payments Required

	Quarter Ending	Balance beginning of each quarter	Estimated Expenditures (Line d by quarters)	Payments from Ford Foundation	
				Amount	Date received or requested
1	3-67	0	$64,800	$64,800	Jan. 1967
2	6-67	0	$64,800	$64,800	March 1967
3	9-67	0	$64,800	$64,800	June 1967
4	12-67	0	$64,800	$64,800	September 1967
5	3-68	0	$64,800	$64,800	January, 1968

Date: December 19, 1966 Signature:

For Ford Foundation Processing

Secretary	Program	Treasurer	Comptroller

*Estimated

INSTRUCTIONS

ALL FIGURES TO BE IN U.S. DOLLARS

Line a: Insert the closing date of the last annual report. Insert the total of all grant payments received to that date as reported on your financial statements.

Line b: Insert the cumulative expenditures reported as of the date of the last annual financial statement.

Line c: Balance on hand at end of reporting period as shown on last annual financial statement and available for use in next reporting period. (Deduct line b. from line a.)

Line d: Estimate the expenditures which will be required to fulfill grant purposes for five quarters following the closing date of the last annual report. If this is a new grant, estimate only to one quarter beyond your selected annual reporting date.

Line e: Additional funds required during next five quarters to fulfill grant purposes. (Subtract line c. from line d.)

Line f: Payments required from Ford Foundation to supply funds required on line e. Enter in the table the following:

Quarter Ending - Insert last day of each quarter following last annual report date. If this is a new grant, insert the last day of the fiscal quarter in which payments are to commence.

Balance on hand at the beginning of each quarter, if any. The balance on line 1 should be the amount from line c, if any.

Estimated Expenditures - Indicate estimated expenditures by quarters. Total of this column should equal line d.

Payments from Ford Foundation - 1) Enter in the quarter in which received any payments from Ford Foundation since last annual report.

2) Enter quarterly any additional payments required since receipt of the last payment. The quarterly payments requested should not be more than required to meet the needs of each quarter in which requested; i.e., payments should not be requested from the Foundation until the "Balance on Hand" is not sufficient to meet the "Estimated Requirements." Payments will be made automatically by the Ford Foundation on or about the 1st of each quarter in which needed.

Return two copies to the Ford Foundation and retain one copy for your files.

A BREAKDOWN OF PROJECT BUDGETS UNDER FORD FOUNDATION GRANT

		1 Yr.	3 Yrs.
I. Governmental Programs:			
A. City Planning			
Salaries	$ 20,000		
Travel	2,000		
Consultants	6,000		
Research	5,000	$ 33,000	$ 99,000
B. Fair Employment Anti-Poverty			
Salaries	$ 15,000		
Travel	1,000		
Consultants	6,000	$ 22,000	$ 66,000
C. Housing			
Consultants	$ 3,000	$ 3,000	$ 9,000
D. School Integration			
Fees and Travel	$ 5,000		
Research	5,000	$ 10,000	$ 30,000
II. Special Studies:			
A. Welfare Programs			
Research	$ 5,000		
Consultants	3,000		
CHR consultants	7,000	$ 15,000	$ 45,000
B. Rehabilitation of Criminals and Penal Administration			
Salaries	$ 21,000		
Travel	2,000		
Consultants	6,000		
Research	5,000	$ 34,000	$102,000

		1 Yr.	3 Yrs.
C. Technological Unemployment			
Research	$ 6,000	$ 6,000	$ 18,000
3. Technical Assistance:			
A. Community Organization Credit Unions Agricultural Co-ops			
Salaries	$ 14,000		
Travel	2,000		
Rural Projects (2 states)	24,560		
Program Support	6,000	$ 46,560	$139,680
B. Labor Education Program			
All	$ 31,335	$ 31,335	$ 94,005
C. Voter Education Project			
Salaries	$ 19,000		
Consultants	5,000	$ 24,000	$ 72,000
SRC overhead	$ 54,000	$ 54,000	$162,000
Other:			
Printing	$ 35,000	$ 35,000	$105,000
Seminars	$ 10,105	$ 10,105	$ 30,315
TOTALS:		$324,000	$972,000

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3,400.00
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460.65T

A BREAKDOWN OF PROJECT BUDGETS UNDER FORD FOUNDATION GRANT

		1 Yr.	3 Yrs.
I. Governmental Programs:			
A. City Planning			
Salaries	$ 20,000		
Travel	2,000		
Consultants	6,000		
Research	5,000	$ 33,000	$ 99,000
		6,600	
B. Fair Employment Anti-Poverty			
Salaries	$ 15,000		
Travel	1,000		
Consultants	6,000	$ 22,000	$ 66,000
		4,400	
C. Housing			
Consultants	$ 3,000	$ 3,000	$ 9,000
		600	
D. School Integration			
Fees and Travel	$ 5,000		
Research	5,000	$ 10,000	$ 30,000
		2,000	
II. Special Studies:			
A. Welfare Programs			
Research	$ 5,000		
Consultants	3,000		
CHR consultants	7,000	$ 15,000	$ 45,000
		3,000	
B. Rehabilitation of Criminals and Penal Administration			
Salaries	$ 21,000		
Travel	2,000		
Consultants	6,000		
Research	5,000	$ 34,000	$102,000
		6,800	

			1 Yr.	3 Yrs.
	C. Technological Unemployment			
4,700	Research	$ 6,000	$ 6,000	$ 18,000
			1,200.	
3.	Technical Assistance:			
	A. Community Organization Credit Unions Agricultural Co-ops			
	Salaries	$ 14,000		
	Travel	2,000		
	Rural Projects (2 states)	24,560		
47,000	Program Support	6,000	$ 46,560	$139,680
			9,312.	
	B. Labor Education Program			
31,335.00	All	$ 31,335	$ 31,335	$ 94,005
			6,267.	
	C. Voter Education Project			
	Salaries	$ 19,000		
24,000	Consultants	5,000	$ 24,000	$ 72,000
			4,800.	
54,000	SRC overhead	$ 54,000	$ 54,000	$162,000
			10,800	
	Other:			
35,000	Printing	$ 35,000	$35,000	$105,000
			7,000.	
9,100	Seminars	$ 10,105	$ 10,105	$ 30,315
			2,021	
	TOTALS:		$324,000	$972

~~Sid~~ Allen Alexander
c/o Office of Eg & Cryptanal
USO Eg
7th & D sts - S.W
DCA

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Grant No.	Amount	Purpose	Date of Grant Letter	Unpaid Balance as of 10/31/66	Expiration Date
66-3	$972,000	Studies and technical assistance related to human relations programs in the South	10/5/65	$648,000	10/5/68

Grantee - SMC / Paul Jones:

Payment:

II

A - Oct '65 $ - 324,000

B - $293,935.00*

C. 46,065.00

d. $324,000

e. 388,800

324,000
64,800
388,800

* Estimated

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

1. Mar '67 - - 0 - 64,800 ⟷
2. Jun '67 - 0 - 64,800 ⟷
3. Sept '67 - 0 - 64,800 ⟷
4. Dec '67 - 0 - 64,800 ⟷
5. Mar-68 - 0 - 64,800 ⟷

Date - ug -
Jan '67
Mar '67
~~Sept~~ '67
Sept '67
Jan '68

file
for a Foundation

file

CLIFFORD J. CAMPBELL
2004 NORTH EAST CRAMER STREET
PORTLAND, OREGON 97211

December 19, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thanks to you for your thoughtfulness in writing. It was a real pleasure to meet you and your staff. I would hope that NCF and SRC will plan to meet periodically. Much of substance - programatically - as well as strategically will result.

I appreciate very much receiving the materials you sent under separate cover.

I arrived at Portland Saturday, the 17th after having been away since November 28th; thus accounting for my tardiness in replying to your letter.

I hope we can work out a schedule for visitation. It looks possible. The Seasons Greetings to you and your family.

Sincerely,

Clifford J. Campbell

Ford Fd. 1966

File

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

JOSEPH M. McDANIEL, JR.
SECRETARY

December 27, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of December 19 enclosing two copies of the grant quarterly payment request form and supporting documentation. We appreciate your forwarding this information to us.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr.

Secretary

See Ford Fd. 1966

PERSONAL

December 30, 1966

Mr. Paul Ylvisaker
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Paul:

Now that it is official I can no longer delay writing you about your leaving the Ford Foundation. I regret there has been so little opportunity for us to be together during the year. But I regret even more that you have had so little opportunity to meet the staff people here and to know more of the programs your support and interest have made possible.

Please know that all of us here are well aware of how much you have not only contributed to this agency, but to all of the programs in which we share an interest.

Every good wish in your new work and every sincere hope for your continued productivity.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A REVIEW OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES DURING 1966
JANUARY 1967

NOT FOR PUBLICATION
OR QUOTATION
WITHOUT PERMISSION

OFFICERS

1966

PRESIDENT

John H. Wheeler*

VICE PRESIDENTS

Josephine Wilkins*

Paul R. Christopher*

Rufus E. Clement*

Thomas W. Young*

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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James McBride Dabbs

Albert W. Dent

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Mrs. Martin L. Harvey

Lucius M. Pitts

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Marion A. Wright

LEGAL COUNSEL

Joseph F. Haas*

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L. D. Milton, Chairman

SPECIAL PROJECTS COMMITTEE

Charles G. Gomillion, Chairman

*ex-officio members of the Executive Committee

SENIOR PROFESSIONAL STAFF

- : -

Executive Director - Paul Anthony

Secretary-Treasurer - Mrs. Ruth House Alexander

Director of Field Activities - J. Edwin Stanfield

Director of Women's Work - Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Director of Information - Pat Watters

Managing Editor, SRC Publications - Robert E. Anderson, Jr.

Writer in Residence - Margaret Long

Director, Voter Education Project - Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

Research Director, V.E.P. - Marvin Wall

Director, Labor Education - Emory F. Via

Director, Community Organization - Al Ulmer

Director, Urban Planning - Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA

Director, Crime and Rehabilitation - John O. Boone
(began appointment July 18, 1966)

Senior Research Assistant - Glenda Bartley

Librarian - Bernice Morrison

Executive Assistant - Edwyn Lewis, Jr. (Resigned, August 19, 1966)
- James N. Wood (Appointment effective January, 1967)

REPORT OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES
1966

In last year's report, a brief assessment of conditions in the region concluded with the following:

> "The year ended with an important question still unanswered. Given the commendable new awareness and the higher standards, were these conditions yet of sufficient quality and depth to meet the old need and the new promise? We will know much of the answer in 1966."

As the year ended we did, indeed, know much of the answer and such as we knew was not encouraging.

To be sure a few more jobs opened up, a few more Negro children transferred to "white" schools, and in some instances real and identifiable progress took place in communities. But the title of our school desegregation report for the year might summarize our evaluation of things generally. The report was entitled, School Desegregation 1966: The Slow Undoing.

As in years past statistics changed and generally for the better. But in years past we have cautioned that statistics did not tell the whole story and implied that more change was taking place than was statistically evident. And, so I believe, it was,

especially in understanding. White Southerners and, to a lesser but still an important degree, Negro Southerners have gone through an incredible educational experience during the past decade.

During 1966 there was at least a slowing and perhaps a retrogression in this process of understanding and the benefits which came from it. For fifteen years we have had in the region a formula for working slowly out of a terrible dilemma. Always delicately, sometimes with success, sometimes without, the scales which balanced order have painfully sought and found that position between what Negroes would demand and what whites would accept. And, the balance, as inadequate as it was, has gone slowly upward, quicker and quicker. More importantly, this formula worked -- achieving both progress and stability.

Essential to the formula was at least partial good will and some understanding on the part of many white Southerners, good leadership and phenomenal patience on the part of many Negro Southerners. Essential, too, was the substantial measure of self-interest to which whites particularly, but again both groups, responded.

Understanding, patience, sensible response to self-interest, these were all placed in jeopardy during 1966.

White Southerners have gone through an incredible revolution. It is not just that they believe it, it is so. Their whole society and all of its patterns have changed. With considerable justification many are proud of the way in which they have accommodated this change. They have changed structures, accepted laws, and become accustomed to radical tokenism. Now they are impatient, embittered, defiant, and confused that more would be demanded. This is because the typical white Southerner (and undoubtedly the typical white American) believes the Negro now has an equal chance, that this is the essence of American society -- as indeed it is -- and enough is enough.

1966 was the year when the white South decided it was going fast enough and perhaps much too fast. This is, of course, serious. And if, as seems to be the case from here, much of the nation agreed, then it is critical.

Negro Southerners are aware of this and to a degree which I have not heretofore witnessed, there

is a growing question among this part of our citizenry as to whether or not integration and the democratic society can ever be achieved.

To be sure such instances as the recent Georgia gubernatorial election -- or non-election -- may be too heavy an influence on our judgment. (The wags of the office say SRC may move its offices to Birmingham where there is "a more favorable climate.") The growing retreat into Negro society for Negro Southerners may be only the prelude to healthy independence. But, I think not.

We are not, of course, without a fundamental hope and optimism. Indeed, I trust that every working hour of the SRC staff and every function of the Council is, itself, an expression of hope, confidence, and optimism. The remainder of this report has as its purpose a summary documentation of that hope and our expressions of it.

However, as we review the events of 1966 it is difficult for me to conclude other than the sad analysis that we have yet many years of an essentially segregated society. One must wonder if we can stand that costly, costly moral burden.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Council Affairs

On recommendation of the Nominating Committee, the Members of the Council during the Annual Meeting in November unanimously reelected Mr. John H. Wheeler as President of the Council. The Members expressed their appreciation to Mr. Wheeler and to Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler who served as Chairman of the Executive Committee during 1966. A new chairman of the Executive Committee will be selected when that group holds its first meeting in 1967. To these expressions of the Members I should like to add my own word of deep gratitude. The year was a busy one, hectic in detail and most important in policy. It was also a good year, but it would not have been without the leadership of these two outstanding men and the thorough participation of all of the Members of the Executive Committee.

Elected as Vice-Presidents for the coming year were Miss Josephine Wilkins, Atlanta; Dr. Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta; Mr. Paul R. Christopher of Knoxville; and Mr. Thomas W. Young of Norfolk. Mr. Joseph F. Haas of Atlanta was reelected Counsel.

Elected to the Executive Committee were Dr. Lucius Pitts of Birmingham; Dr. James McBride Dabbs of Mayesville; Dr. Albert W. Dent of New Orleans; Dr. C. G. Gomillion of Tuskegee Institute (Ala.); Mrs. Martin Harvey of Jackson (Miss.); Mr. McNeill Smith of Greensboro; Dr. H. Franklin Williams of Coral Gables; and Mr. Marion A. Wright of Linville Falls.

The officers of the Council also serve as ex-officio members of the Executive Committee.

During the year the Council lost the leadership of Vice-President Stephen J. Wright who left the region to head the United Negro College Fund in New York, and two Members, Dr. James A. Colston who became President of Bronx Community College, New York, and Mr. Henry Lehmann who was transferred by his company, General Electric, from the region.

To fill these vacancies Mr. George Owens of Tougaloo was elected to the Class of 1967 and Mr. Brooks Hays of Little Rock was elected to the Class of 1968.

New Members elected to the Class of 1970 were: Mr. Brad Ansley, Sarasota, Florida; Mr. Edward Elson, Atlanta, Georgia; Dr. Jerome H. Holland, Hampton

Institute (Va.); Dr. Vivian Henderson, Atlanta, Georgia; Mrs. Glen E. Laskey, Ruston, Louisiana; Mr. Alan Parker, Tuskegee, Alabama; Dr. Vascoe Smith, Memphis, Tennessee; and, Mr. Julius Chambers, Charlotte, North Carolina.

On recommendation of the Executive Committee the Council elected three Life Fellows: Father Theodore Gibson of Miami, Florida; Colonel Francis Pickens Miller of Charlottesville, Virginia, and Dr. Riley B. Montgomery of Lexington, Kentucky.

Sadly, the Council lost one of its Life Fellows -- and as one of its great spirits -- Miss Lillian Smith. The Members adopted a tribute to Miss Smith from which the following is excerpted:

> "Lillian Smith, Georgia author whose books on the South are acclaimed around the world, died September 28 in an Atlanta hospital in her last struggle of a 13-year-illness, concluding the career of a Southerner 'who never wanted to write about race, but just about people.'
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> "In her later years, Miss Smith studied, mused and wrote about vast and troubling changes in human life leading to 'the tremendous future' of man, and this year regretted, and withdrew her support from the new disciples of 'black power.' 'What we want,' she said shortly before her death, is 'human power.'

"Lillian Smith's friendships and influence reached to the powerful people of the earth and to humble neighbors on a Georgia mountainside. Students, politicians, writers from Europe, Asia and Africa visited her home on Old Screamer Mountain, as did American intellectuals, literary people, old friends and plain book-readers on pilgrimages to a brave thinker.

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"Lillian Smith paid the price it costs a prophet to tell the truth to his own country. STRANGE FRUIT brought her fame and money, and persecution and insult such as few women have sustained. Other books of importance were, she felt, killed by silent censorship North and South. And up from Clayton beneath Old Screamer Mountain, three times came enemies to burn down buildings, so that she lost a novel and other manuscripts and treasured notes, documents and household goods.

"The author summoned equal valor in her long fight with recurrent cancer, a trial she turned into a source of hope and courage for thousands with fatal illness and other ordeals.

"It is fitting that the Council honor the brave intelligence, the righteous judgments and the penetrating work of this Southern Regional Council life member."

Programs and Projects

1966 was the year of substantial expansion for the Council. Late in 1965 we began recruitment of staff for a second Voter Education Project and for a number of

specialists in such fields as urban planning, labor education, community organization, prison reform and criminal rehabilitation, and research and editing.

In addition to normal staff turnover, we have grown by some 60% during the year. Recruiting staff, working with them as programs are developed and incorporating individuals and projects into the SRC structure have been the demanding and priority responsibilities of the year.

While all of this has by no means been completed, we have made a reasonable amount of progress and the results are satisfying. This is particularly true in the caliber of people we have found and the degree to which they have been able to conceive of this agency's philosophy and method of work.

To those familiar with the Council, our growth in staff and funds is impressive. But, in this growth we have, I think, been able to preserve the idea of attempting to accomplish significant results with modest resources. For example, expenditures in excess of a million dollars is certainly substantial by SRC standards. Broken into its parts, however, puts the resources into better perspective: $33,000 for urban planning, $22,000

for community organization and $34,000 for prison reform, for instance. Given talented individuals, we believe these relatively limited funds for serious program areas are a challenge and sufficient to be effective; certainly, these relatively small amounts are not a liability.

The following program reports will attempt to describe -- by department and project -- the major interests and efforts of 1966. While space is too limited to do any of them justice, I trust this accounting will reflect the overlapping and cooperation of the various programs, the cooperation and support to sister agencies and others who share our concerns, and the integrity and skill of these SRC staff persons for whom I have sincere admiration and to whom I am grateful for that which has been accomplished during the year.

The Department of Field Activities

Service and assistance to the state Councils on Human Relations continues as the primary interest and responsibility of this department. During 1966, our grant-in-aid program for the state Councils increased significantly

to $150,000. In addition, approximately $50,000 was provided for an additional staff person for each of four state Councils to work exclusively in rural areas (The Rural Advancement Project, developed in cooperation with the National Sharecroppers Fund). This support, along with modest grants in a number of program areas brought our total aid to state Councils to well above $225,000 for the year.

We continue to hope and work toward the goal of having the state Councils self-sustaining in their basic operations, and substantial progress is being made toward that goal. Dues-paid membership now stands at about 11,500; an increase of 23% over last year. (The George S. Mitchell Award for the greatest percentage increase in membership went to the Arkansas Council, which grew by 95%.) The state Councils had 26 full-time, professional employees and we hope for a continued modest increase in this number. The Councils raised about $120,000 from local sources, an increase of 20%, and their operating budgets increased by about 25%, exceeding $400,000.

We continue to define and develop the relationship between SRC and the independent state Councils

on Human Relations which we organized more than a decade ago. In programs we have made considerable progress in cooperation and support. In areas such as school integration, court reform, welfare, and voter education we have been able to conduct joint programs and/or to offer each other support that has definitely enhanced the value and effectiveness of each agency. Many of these will be referred to throughout the remainder of this report.

(Ironically, much work has been required to make use of the resources available in the subject areas referred to above. We had been so many years without such resources that we had to work hard to get state and local Councils adjusted to the idea that relatively substantial staff and financial resources were available for local program development.)

In response to overtures from state Council directors and presidents, a special committee of SRC members and Council presidents was set up to consider the continuing relationship between the two groups. The committee has met twice and considerable thinking and discussion has gone into this work.

It is impossible within a brief report to do more than suggest the difference that increased growth and support of the state Councils has made in the lives of people. In Virginia, 1,075 religious leaders gathered in Richmond under the sponsorship of all major religious groups for a conference on "People, Religion, and A Changing Virginia." As one of the speakers put it, "We have never been here before." In Georgia, more than 30,000 copies of a booklet titled, Know Your Rights have been distributed to help poor people in dealing with the police; and, surprisingly, police departments from several cities and counties asked for copies to give to policemen. In Houston, 1,500 people have had a chance to air their complaints and discuss city problems with the mayor as a part of the Houston Council's "Meet the Mayor" program. In Arkansas, citizens' groups have been organized to secure fair and integrated housing and to work for better conditions and practices in the state's penal system. In Huntsville, Alabama, 120 maids have been helped to organize a union to secure fairer wages and working conditions and to form a credit union. Also in Alabama, hundreds of Negro farmers have

been taught how to participate in Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections, which means participation in determining their crop allotments -- and a few have for the first time been elected to community and county committees. And, in South Carolina, rural people from 30 of the state's 46 counties meet in ten Rural Advancement Project groups to work for economic improvement; and they are backed by 1,178 state Council members from 153 communities.

In the spring and early summer we cooperated with other private agencies and the United States Commission on Civil Rights in a series of conferences on school desegregation in each of the Southern states. This was a model of the potential of cooperation among private agencies and between private agencies and a public agency. In consultation with the private agencies the Commission set up programs to describe the laws and procedures of school desegregation. Private agencies saw to it that specialists and consultants were available and, more importantly, such groups as the state Councils, the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP and

others saw to it that concerned Negro parents got to these meetings where school superintendents, board members, and state officials were in attendance. SRC coordinated much of this and administered a special grant to provide modest travel funds for those who could not otherwise attend. This program brought together more than 7,000 people for these deliberations.

The field department, the state Councils, and the project on Crime and Corrections assisted a program on court reform developed by Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director of Women's Work. In the spring, Mrs. Tilly called together the leaders of some twenty national women's organizations asking for their support for such a program. The support was enthusiastically given and thereafter meetings were held in each of the states describing courts, prisons and procedures of justice, or the lack of it,to concerned women. We hope for considerable followup on these meetings and that from it will come a substantial program of court visitation, concern with such matters as jury selection and arrest procedures, and several statewide programs for prison reform.

We received during 1966 a grant of $25,000 for an experimental program in the distribution of paperback

books. Conducted for SRC by Miss Louise Cole, special assistant to the director, more than 58,000 volumes have been distributed to community centers, school libraries, tutorial projects, study halls in slum communities, and the like. The project, slow in developing, eventually provided books to more than 50 community programs and half-again that number had to be rejected for lack of funds.

Again in 1966 SRC was asked to serve as secretariat to the Southern Interagency Conference, the informal gathering four times each year of some forty agencies, church groups, and others with programs of race relations in the region. We consider this a highly valuable service of the Council and were happy that we were again asked to provide it.

Throughout much of the remainder of this report the involvement of this department and the work of the state Councils will be reflected. Were this not true much additional attention would have to be given to the cooperation among agencies, the considerable accomplishments of the several state Councils and, certainly, the excellence of the work of Edwin Stanfield, the SRC director of Field Activities.

Research and Information

We have continued the progress of merging these two departments into a single operation.

A major research and information effort has been reflected in the quarterly New South, first printed in this form with the Winter 1966 issue. Each issue has reflected a range of our several program interests and has been planned with this in mind. We have been particularly gratified at the quality of authors we have been able to attract. In addition to material prepared by the staff (most notably that of Pat Watters and Margaret Long) we have published works by persons such as James Silver, Vincent Harding, Leslie Dunbar, Robert Coles, Jack Patterson, Jack Nelson, August Meier, Robert Sherrill, Paul Good, Eric Lincoln and Frank Smith.

We have been pleased, too, at the critical reaction and the quality of subscribers. ("An impressive magazine," Granville Hicks) The number of subscribers is not as important to us as the nature of the reader, but we do have as a goal that paid subscriptions will cover the cost of printing and distribution by the end of 1968.

Most of the publications prepared and issued during the year are referred to elsewhere. Two, however, should be commented on. In the spring SRC, in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee, issued The Continuing Crisis - May 1966. This was an assessment and documentation of the new racial tensions in the South and our expression of concern that these tensions were being overlooked and misunderstood. The report was well received and we believe of value. (The Washington Post referred to it editorially as "thoughtful" and a "useful jar to complacency.")

Again in 1966 we attempted to issue a report on school desegregation in the region. Initially, we had planned to issue this report in late September or early October. We commissioned a group of reporters -- one in each state -- to assist us in collecting statistics on school desegregation and hoped for a prompt and factual report. This schedule was completely disrupted because of the difficulty we encountered in obtaining statistical information from school authorities. Eventually, we were able to collect much of this information and the delay proved fortunate. Our report, issued

in December, coincided with a peak of national interest in the Office of Education and it contributed, we believe, some measure of understanding and perhaps even sanity to a complicated and greatly misunderstood situation.

Late in the year a number of manuscripts and studies were completed that are being held for orderly and adequate distribution. These include: The Hidden Jobless in Unemployment Statistics (a study by Mrs. Sue Rusche); Mr. Mayor, Can We Solve Our Housing Dilemma? (a memorandum for municipal leadership, prepared by the research firm Candeub, Fleissig and Associates); In Their Own Words (a study of school desegregation in Alabama, by Dr. Mark Chesler, University of Michigan); Neighbors, Inc. (a study of voluntary neighborhood programs in three cities, by Mrs. Margaret Price -- no title); a study of the Atlanta riots (by Wayne Kelly -- no title); and, a study of the Ku Klux Klan and the National States Rights Party (by Robert Sherrill -- no title.)

Our information gathering service, headed by Mrs. Glenda Bartley, Senior Research Associate, has had an extremely busy year with an increase in the

number of requests for assistance and some change from past years in their nature. Requests for information from the department have increased by about one-third during the past year, with telephone requests (especially from outside the South and from sources such as news media and law firms rather than students) accounting for most of the growth. The types of requests have changed too. More and more, people want information that cannot be obtained from newspaper clippings, though requests for specific news items or accounts of incidents have not diminished. The trend is toward statistical data, economics, and employment information, that must be gathered from government and federal reserve sources and other statistical sources in our library. Too, the nature of the research requests shows some shifting from "what do you know?" to "what do you think?" or "how do you interpret?" (Based on the fact that newspaper reporting is necessarily selective and evaluative, the new requests require evaluation and judgment by the researcher.) In general, the staff has been able to change to meet new requirements.

We have been able to cut down the number of daily newspapers to about twenty, but have increased the number of magazines and journals as well as the number of pamphlets and other publications dealing with specifics. Again, the trend during the past year has been toward expanding interests and coverage to respond adequately to increasingly sophisticated requests.

In preparation of this report, I asked Pat Watters, Director of Information and senior person in this department, to give me his comments on the year's work and the major needs for 1967. His memorandum seemed to me to be such an excellent summary and critique as well as an indication of the integrity and quality of the leadership of this important function of the Council, that it is reproduced here:

> "Much energy during the past year has gone into setting the new character of New South. That seems generally established now; the effort will be to keep it abreast of current trends, and sophisticated in approach to them.
>
> "Special reports and publications have been of a high quality and something less probably than anticipated quantity. Part of this is explainable by the New South's using matter that in previous years would have gone into the report form. Part of it, too, reflects

the time and energy put into the VEP book which will be published by Harcourt, Brace and World in the fall of 1967. And part of it reflects a firm resistance to the temptation to publish for the sake of publishing, the publish or perish syndrome. If there has been in the past year a serious neglect, it seems to me to be in our ability to be flexible, to react to the unexpected acts and events that are always part of the fundamental change and reality of the area. We should have by now published balanced and perspicacious interpretations of black power and of the drastic diminishing of national-organization movement activity in the South. Both subjects should be dealt with early in the coming year. New South has dealt with them adequately in a current sense, but not in the depth required.

"The tone and thrust of publications may be somewhat altered by the schizophrenic situation now in the South -- the split between the ongoing efforts to build on the new law and opportunities, and the continuing, if not increasing racial hostility reflecting at its roots worsening economic, social and cultural deficiencies that are in a sense of the word, at crisis point. We must continue to emphasize "how to" build, while at the same time pointing to destructive forces, and forcefully fighting racism. In all of this, the demand on us is for a grasp of the fundamentals of a complex and still shifting set of social phenomena, and for more and more sophisticated knowledge and insight into them. The research department reflects and has responded admirably to these demands. There will be continuing effort to keep abreast of intelligent research and all the facts.

"Accuracy and balance remain the first responsibility. The success of our 'press relations' depends only on living up to that responsibility; to do so must remain our only 'public relations' program."

The Voter Education Project

During 1966 VEP was the single largest operation within SRC. The project operated on a budget slightly in excess of $350,000, and we hope for a similar operation during 1967. The project, directed by Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., has an excellent staff of six persons.

While initially the Project planned major emphasis on programs of citizenship education and leadership training, about 66 per cent of the programs funded during the year were voter registration programs. This fact does not reflect any failure on the part of the Project to stress citizenship education and leadership training; rather it evidences the Project's response to a tremendous volume of requests from communities throughout the region for funds with which to conduct registration programs. More than 400 requests for funds were submitted to the Project during 1966. In all but a few cases, the requests were for programs aimed principally at voter registration.

Two factors were largely responsible for the intense interest during 1966 in registration projects:

(1) the presence of federal examiners in some 40 southern counties to lend federal assistance for the first time to Negro registration; and (2) statewide primaries and elections, hotly contested local races, and a large field of Negro candidates, running in many communities for the first time, throughout the region.

The registration programs accounted for more than 100,000 newly registered voters in 11 states. By category, the number of projects funded was as follows:

Citizenship Education	6
Citizenship Education and Voter Registration	21
Leadership Training	7
Program Development and Technical Assistance	1
Program Development T/A and Statewide Program Coordination	1
Voter Registration	70
Total	106

The programs of citizenship education and leadership training funded during the past year leave the Project with valuable experience and "know-how" which can be applied on a broader basis in 1967. Our most striking finding was not the need for these programs

(we knew that) but the great interest in them and desire for them. In virtually every funded registration project, there has been a subsequent request for funds for citizenship education.

The most successful citizenship education programs have been the demonstrative type in which newly registered persons were given the opportunity to actually practice voting on a voting machine set up for use in a forthcoming election. Projects of this nature in Lee County, Alabama, sponsored by the Auburn League of Women Voters, and in Knox County, Tennessee, conducted by the Greater Knoxville Council on Human Relations, provided VEP -- through research reports and field trips -- with proven techniques for this kind of project.

Projects conducted by the Tuskegee Civic Association in Alabama and by the Southern Consumers Cooperative in Louisiana provide good examples of classroom-type citizenship education. Classes on citizenship responsibilities and governmental structure were welcomed by voters in those communities. The Voter Education Project, working with the Georgia chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, has

completed the first in a series of pamphlets to be used as teaching aids in citizenship education classes. The illustrated booklet entitled "Know Your Rights," will be distributed throughout the region. Several leaders of VEP-affiliated projects in Georgia attended a presentation of the booklet at a community meeting in the Vine City area of Atlanta. They later carried supplies of the booklet back home to their rural communities.

The second VEP teaching aid called "Know Your Local Government in Georgia," is nearing completion and soon will go to the printer. A similar booklet will be prepared for each state in the region. These booklets will be put into use in the spring and summer when registration and voting activities resume.

In Alabama and Georgia, VEP is testing techniques of citizenship education through use of the mass media. The Auburn League of Women Voters is writing, producing and distributing a series of three television programs on registration and voting in Alabama. The first show was carried October 29 by NBC stations in Montgomery and Decatur and was seen by an estimated 33,000 Alabama viewers. The second in the series soon will be ready for showing. Talent and advice from the

Auburn-Tuskegee area is used in producing the shows.

Another VEP grant made it possible for the Georgia League of Women Voters to produce and distribute a television spot on how to cast a ballot in the Georgia general election. The film demonstrated how to vote a straight ticket, how to vote a split ticket, and how to write-in. As in Alabama, stations provided free public-service time and talent was volunteered. Again, therefore, expenses were minimal. Seven stations with nearly a million viewers used the Georgia tape. The League also sent out radio spots which were used by several dozen stations with more than five million listeners.

The leadership training programs have been among the most useful and memorable efforts. Outstanding among these was a two-day seminar at the end of the year for Negro legislators from three states -- Georgia, Tennessee, and Texas. Of 20 Negro legislators now serving in the South, 19 attended some portion of the seminar. Authorities in such fields as welfare, corrections, economics, unemployment and individual rights addressed the seminar, which was held in Atlanta.

The occasion was historic; it was the first such meeting of Southern Negro legislators (none previously had been elected during modern times in Texas, and only one had in Tennessee). At the conclusion of the seminar, the legislators voted unanimously to ask VEP to hold another such meeting prior to the next legislative season. VEP chose not to publicize the Seminar, so that all discussions could be off-the-record and frank.

Other notable leadership training programs were conducted during the spring in Alabama and South Carolina. These were one-day institutes for Negro candidates and poll-watchers. Held in cooperation with the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the institutes dealt with election laws and procedures and the duties and responsibilities of poll-watchers and candidates. Those who attended the institutes were in a position later to file several lawsuits charging election irregularities.

The first venture with a statewide leadership conference proved well worth the time, effort and money invested. This was a day-long conference held in cooperation with the South Carolina Voter Education

Project at the Wade Hampton Hotel in Columbia. More than 400 South Carolina Negro leaders and civil rights workers attended sessions on effective registration campaigns, state and federal election laws, the politics of poverty programs, and getting out the vote.

VEP supported a regional leadership training workshop which was sponsored by the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality, Inc., and held July 20 - 24 at Frogmore, South Carolina. A recent grant to the regional office of the Urban League is providing leadership training in rural and urban settings. The grant was for pilot programs in Calhoun County, Alabama, and Jacksonville, Florida.

Student involvement through stipends and part-time employment in community organizations is a major effort of the Voter Education Project. Numerous projects used students as task force workers in registration campaigns. VEP supported student activities through such organizations as the Young Women's Christian Association, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee. The latter organization has been engaged in impressive citizenship education work in

Southside Virginia. The Friends Service Committee likewise engaged in some citizenship education in Sumter, South Carolina.

Mayor Ivan Allen of Atlanta has agreed to employ the first VEP intern for part-time work at City Hall, beginning with the second semester of the current academic year. Arrangements are being made with the National YWCA for use of college students in registration campaigns during spring holidays in 1967. And discussions are underway with certain Peace Corps officials regarding the possible use of Peace Corps returnees as teachers for citizenship education classes in the South this summer.

Finally, the Project has been the main source of support for the South Carolina Voter Education Project, the only statewide organization of its kind in the South. Through the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, the ground has been prepared for formation of an organization in Arkansas patterned after SCVEP. A Little Rock office with a full-time director already is being financed by VEP. It is expected that the statewide organization will be in operation by early spring. There is interest in such statewide organizations

in North Carolina and Florida. In the latter state, the Florida Council on Human Relations has agreed to coordinate the initial organizational work.

The VEP office in Atlanta supervised field activities, maintained financial records and provided vital election-year data to the news media. Numerous requests for information were answered throughout the year for the major networks, news magazines and the nation's leading newspapers. In addition to the election analysis, a booklet of registration statistics was published and a study was made on the effects of federal registrars.

Vernon Jordan, the project director, has been quite busy in a number of other activities as well; including serving on two Presidential commissions (the Planning Council of The White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," and the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service). He and the project staff have done an outstanding job, and they cannot be too highly commended.

Community Organization Project

This project, directed by Al Ulmer, has as its purpose to become informed of the interests and needs

of the innumerable urban and rural self-help and cooperative programs in the region sponsored by the poor, to share this information, to offer technical assistance and to attempt to bring together the interests and resources of private and public agencies and these self-help programs.

Early in the year an extensive survey -- largely through the travel of the project director -- was made of community organization efforts in the South. From this developed the first technical assistance offered and two publications: Poor People and Problems and Co-Ops, Credit Unions and Poor People.

Technical Assistance was offered to:

Wilcox County, Ala. (Farm cooperative effort)
Thomas County, Ga. (Self-help housing project, proposal to OEO for $56,000)
Baker County, Ga. (Credit Union - community group)
Huntsville, Ala. (Credit Union - Maids' union)
Reserve, La. (Credit Union - sugar cane workers)
Hale County, Ala. (Credit Union - three community groups)
Pinellas County, Fla. (Tenants' association)
Wilcox and Lowndes County, Ala. (Provided manager of Freedom Quilting Bee Co-Op for summer)
Hines County, Miss. (Co-Op education and managerial assistance for Poor people's Co-Op)

Opelousas, La. (Grand Marie Vegetable Co-Op)
YWCA Summer Project (Community involvement program)
North Carolina Fund (Community Action Program evaluation)
VISTA (Four training programs and two area-wide conferences)

The project provided work-scholarships for students working with groups in the slums of Atlanta and Nashville and for rural programs in Amelia County, Virginia, and Auburn, Alabama. There was tri-sponsorship of a conference on self-help housing in Florida with the American Friends Service Committee and the Florida Migrant Ministry. Under the project, SRC co-sponsored, with the Encampment for Citizenship, a program for high-school age young people in Barbourville, Kentucky. In Atlanta, the project encouraged and provided assistance to and experiment between a large Negro church and a large white church to determine if the two institutions, together, could develop a significantly funded and staffed program for work in a slum area.

Two other extremely important programs were developed during the year. Jointly with the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., we have called five meetings of members of low-income cooperatives, organizers and

co-op education experts to develop a program of cooperative education for self-help groups. The results are that a program has been developed and a grant of $850,000 is now being sought for this purpose under the sponsorship of the Southern Consumers' Education Foundation. Secondly, and partially as an outgrowth of these meetings, SRC is supporting an effort for a southwide "federation" of low income cooperatives.

Urban Planning Project

The Urban Planning Project has as its purposes to assess urban planning in the region, to encourage involvement of all the community in progressive programs, to encourage local governments to make all services available on an equal basis, and to evaluate the policies of and cooperate with the several federal agencies. The project is directed by Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA, and assisted by Susan Bresler.

Publications during the year were: Neighborhood Stabilization (a guide to a changing neighborhood); A Home of Our Own (a guide for the new home buyer); Mr. Mayor, Can We Solve Our Housing Dilemma? (a guide for civic leadership); and, yet-to-be-published, studies

of housing in Atlanta and of neighborhood housing and community improvement volunteer efforts.

The project staff has been heavily involved in professional consultations with the leadership, official and unofficial, of a number of communities and with several of the local and state Councils on Human Relations. They have been requested and are giving professional analyses to the overall urban planning efforts of six southern cities. There have been a number of consultations with persons in the regional and national office of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, as well as a meeting with Secretary Weaver. The staff and the Executive Director have worked with the staff of Doxiadis and Associates and have conferred with Dr. Doxiadis. From the conferences may come a proposal for an experimental metropolitan regional study.

In the hopes of encouraging a more realistic curriculum for students of architecture and urban planning, there have been several meetings with university faculties, particularly those of the Universities of Pennsylvania and North Carolina. We hope to continue and expand this work.

The Urban Planning Project epitomizes the SRC dilemma and opportunity: how, with very limited staff and resources, to develop programs that make a difference. We are encouraged with the first year's experimentation.

Labor Education Project

The project has as its purpose to develop educational materials for and offer professional services to the intermediate labor leadership in the region. Fortunately, we were able to persuade Dr. Emory Via to obtain a second year's leave of absence to continue directing this program.

Work has ranged from participation in single meetings through participation in weekend and one week institutes, to the direction of the one month National Institute of Labor Education Southern Union Staff Training Institute. This has included three institutes with the Steelworkers in Florida, Louisiana, and Kentucky; three weekend institutes in cooperation with the Alabama State AFL-CIO; two institutes with the ILGWU; and participation in the Tri-State Labor School, the Rubber Workers' School and the Kentucky Labor School.

Throughout the year the project director has had repeated occasion to have successful and detailed collaborative undertakings with the Southern Office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. This relationship has proved valuable to both parties.

The project director also served as a member of the Task Force of The White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights." Thereafter, Dr. Via was selected as the spokesman for a panel which appeared before four sessions of The White House Conference itself.

Project on Crime and Corrections

This project is concerned with prison reform, criminal rehabilitation, crime prevention and juvenile delinquency. Because of the unique qualifications required for the project director, we were not able to fill this position until mid-year when John Boone and his assistant, William Farmar, joined the staff.

Shortly thereafter we asked a number of persons to attend a one-day meeting in Atlanta to review plans for the project and advise us on them. Among those attending were the directors of the prison systems of North Carolina, South Carolina and Oregon, the general

secretary of the American Correctional Association, and the Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. This was an excellent start for the project and we are deeply grateful for the contribution of all the advisory committee members, and hope for continuing cooperation with them.

The project has commissioned a study of prison systems of the Southern states, and the first draft is completed. We hope to publish in the spring this guide for interested professionals and lay persons. A second study on the culture of slum-dwelling teen-agers has also been commissioned.

In cooperation with the Arkansas Council, the project staff has prepared information on state prisons in Arkansas, one of the worst in the region. In October, a statewide group was convened to pursue this situation. Governor Rockefeller has expressed interest in reforming the entire system, and despite resistance reform appears likely.

In Alabama, the ACLU used data previously collected by the project in a brief seeking prison desegregation, and the project director was called as a witness for the plaintiff. The material and testimony were said to have been instrumental in securing the broad desegregation order issued by the Federal Court.

In Georgia, at the request of The United Churchwomen, a position paper was prepared by the project staff on the state prison system with particular attention given to the Boys' School at Alto. Presumably,

The United Churchwomen and others will use this information in seeking reform. A similar request has come from The United Churchwomen of Florida and is being processed.

The project director has been engaged as a consultant by a number of agencies and groups, and is a member of the Atlanta Police Training Advisory Committee. He is assisting in the development of a pilot project, sponsored by the YMCA, designed to help boys and young adults who have been prison inmates.

While we were anxious to have this project, the first six months of the program has demonstrated to us a potential substantially greater than we had hoped.

OTHER PROGRAMS IN BRIEF

Relationships with Federal Agencies

During the year there was a heavy involvement with federal agencies ranging from the Commission on Civil Rights to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Consultants for employee training were provided to HEW for hospital and school desegregation personnel, to VISTA for volunteers and supervisory persons and to the Post Office Department. We have cooperated with HUD in a study of federal housing

policies, developed materials describing federal assistance available and assisted local groups in applying for such assistance. Modest grants have been made to the Councils on Human Relations in Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee and Atlanta for analyses of anti-poverty programs in their areas. We have cooperated with the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty in establishing their Southern program and the Director served on the CCAP Board of Inquiry to investigate charges against the Child Development Group of Mississippi.

School Desegregation

The special report on school desegregation and the state-by-state conferences, in cooperation with the Civil Rights Commission, have been referred to. Again, during the year we enjoyed close cooperation with the American Friends Service Committee and their school desegregation task force. We helped finance and plan a statewide, six-month, staffed program of school desegregation in South Carolina sponsored by Penn Community Services. Dr. Mark Chesler, University of Michigan,completed research on the experiences of Negro children in initial school desegregation in Alabama.

The report will be published in January, 1967. Financial support was given to the Virginia Council for a statewide program on providing adequate and accurate textbooks and the materials developed by VCHR were made available to other states. School desegregation programs were developed and financially supported with Councils on Human Relations in North Carolina, Alabama, and Arkansas. Instructors and speakers were provided for teacher and supervisor training programs sponsored by five universities.

Welfare Programs

A study was made of welfare programs and expenditures in the Southern states and issued under the title of Public Assistance in the South. Follow-up is being given to encourage state and local councils and others to develop an interest in this area. Financial support was provided the Georgia Council for an excellent program developed by them in cooperation with the Columbia University School of Social Work. Program and financial assistance was also provided the Atlanta Council and the state Councils in Virginia, Tennessee and Alabama.

Technological Unemployment

Under the direction of Mrs. Sue Rusche a close relationship has been established with the U. S. Department of Labor. Fortunately for us, it was necessary for Mrs. Rusche to spend some months in Washington. Thus, we have had a liaison person with the Department at minimum cost to us. Mrs. Rusche has prepared the study The Hidden Jobless in Unemployment Statistics, to be issued in February, 1967. A follow-up study, of more detail and suggested re-training procedures, is now being developed.

Other

Continued cooperation with the National Student Association's Books for Equal Education, with assistance given in program, accounting, and office space. The director served on the program's advisory committee as well as that of the NSA's Southern Project.

From a special grant, financial assistance was given for work with Student Human Relations Councils through the state Councils in Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, Tennessee and with the YWCA.

Approximately $2,000 was provided for consultants in housing in local communities.

In addition to those referred to elsewhere, seminars were sponsored and/or jointly sponsored and financed on SRC-state Councils relations; state Council staff and presidents' program seminars; a special conference of media leadership with the Southern Education Foundation; and, a meeting of the staffs of SRC and the North Carolina Fund.

There was heavy involvement of SRC staff and policy people in planning and participating in The White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights."

We assisted in the recruitment of Negro students in the eighth grade who would be apt candidates for attendance with substantial scholarships to six top Southern "prep" schools in 1967.

There has been developed, in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee, a six-point study on Southern white opinion, and efforts being made to influence opinion. Three parts have been commissioned. A series of studies will be issued and the full report may be published in hard-cover.

SRC sponsored in Atlanta a luncheon for approximately 250 persons from throughout the region interested in voter registration at which Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach was the speaker.

Work has begun with the Trevor Arnett Library, Atlanta University, on preserving the records of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, SRC, and other documents of historical value. We began with Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, the taping of reports of SRC founders and other pioneers in race relations work.

Through a special grant for that purpose, Joan Titus has been commissioned to do a biography of Lillian Smith.

The first few pages of this report attempted to analyze the region and its posture at the end of the year. The remainder has been a report of our work and hopes.

Yet, I remain unsatisfied with it. It may be adequate for recording our efforts during the year. It does not do justice to the Southern Regional Council. Perhaps no limited set of words can; certainly I do not have them.

This report -- given reality -- pays little enough respect to the 40 people in Atlanta who are the SRC staff; to their talents, their dedication, their life-time-built (young and old) experience, their

determination. It doesn't even mention humanly the jockeying for office space or the status of a window, the demand for wages and hours, the chucking of it all as the whole staff stuffs envelopes long after hours during a mail room crisis. It has none of the frustrations of those who travel and miss home at nights and on weekends, or of the madness of being trapped on an airplane with a seatmate who tells of the good schools the "colored" of his community have. It tells nothing of late night and weekend phone calls that remind you a staff is not working at but living a job. It tells nothing of the confused, frantic, excessive, varied traffic through an office, the mountain of paper which cannot be shuffled fast enough, the satisfaction -- seldom but just often enough -- of knowing it makes a difference.

And, if the staff was not fully in focus, the Council leadership was more grievously ignored. The staff of SRC has great responsibility, but in the eleven years I have been with this agency there has been no time, to my knowledge, when the Council's leadership was not essential; when it did not indeed

lead and guide this agency. (In fact, the staff, as we all agree, is fortunate. We are paid to do what we want an opportunity to do. Our policy leadership gives without remuneration; at least without monetary remuneration.)

Therefore, this report does not to any degree reflect the life of the busy banker, incredibly overworked, who leads this agency and works seriously at it. It does not reflect the willingness of the time given -- the phone calls and the days away from home and practice -- of the busy physician. There is no mention of the lady who might be traveling extensively -- and wants to -- but instead worries about whether or not this Council can be supported. There is the gentleman from Tuskegee who comes repeatedly to Atlanta leaving job and family complications to serve. And these are but examples of the many.

Beyond this of course there are our friends. The good people who send us small personal -- and deeply valuable -- contributions even though we never solicit them. The foundation officials who know we are not givers and receivers but partners in a common cause; they responsible to see that we do it right and we careful to prove it -- but partners nevertheless.

There are, finally, not only staff and members and friends, but basic policy as we see it, which is a part of the inadequately reported section of this report. These include the concern that we not become bureaucratic, that we help others find resources rather than attract them for ourselves (while still hoping to pay the rent), the determination that we preserve the skills and approaches we have developed over more than twenty years, and that we not succumb to the temptation, if we could, of becoming grandiose and swollen.

Every year one is tempted to fall back on the cliché of "a good year." But 1966 was a good year. And, I am sincerely grateful to those -- the Council Members, the staff, our friends and colleagues -- who made that good year possible.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

File
Ford Fd. Review Team

January 5, 1967

Mrs. Mildred Epstein
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mildred:

Enclosed is one copy of the material requested by Cliff for the review team. Six additional copies are being sent to you first class mail for the other Foundation members who are on the team. Separately, we are sending copies of these same materials to Cliff, Marian Wright, and George Esser.

Similar materials requested on the state Councils will be sent to you next week.

I, or Jim Wood of our staff, will call you next week to review the details of the meeting, and to get your reactions to them. In the meantime, I look forward to seeing you and to having you, finally, visit Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Line for 2d. 1967

January 5, 1967

Mrs. Mildred Epstein
Administrative Assistant
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mildred:

Thank you for your good letter. I am delighted to know you have found a good and responsible position in the new order of things. I gather this is not altogether easy.

It is very good to know that Cliff Campbell will be visiting us soon, and it is disappointing that you will not be. Do keep it on your agenda. As much as I enjoyed our Jekyll meeting, I feel there is still the desirability of seeing people in their natural habitat. Come to think of it, our's may not be altogether natural, particularly given our Georgia political situation, but it is certainly our habitat. So we continue to extend a warm and eager invitation for you to visit us whenever it is possible.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

January 3, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

The delay in my response to your very gracious letter was due to a variety of things which kept me off balance for a while. I am, however, on a fairly even keel again.

I was pleased when I learned I would have the opportunity to meet you and was delighted after I had met you. You have a really talented group of people working for you and it's obvious you provide the spark.

The publications have arrived and I'm looking forward to reading them.

When Paul Y. resigned I was temporarily "unemployed." I have now been assigned a spot as Divisional Administrative Assistant for the National Affairs Division. This is a new job in the Foundation. Previously, we had programs with an administrative assistant attached to each one. The Division has four programs within it. It should be a challenge -- for a while.

Cliff Campbell is making arrangements to visit you sometime in the near future; but, alas, I won't be able to join him -- this time.

I hope we'll have the occasion to meet and talk again before too long.

Sincerely,

Mildred

(Mrs.) Mildred Epstein
Administrative Assistant

See Ford Foundation 1967

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY January 6, 1967

Mr. Clifford J. Campbell
2004 North East Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Mr. Campbell:

This will confirm your reservations at the Marriott Motor Hotel, Courtland Avenue and Cain Street, for the nights of February 15 and 16.

I have mentioned to Miss Josephine Wilkins, one of SRC's vice-presidents, that you expressed the wish to meet with some of SRC board members while you are here. Accordingly, she has extended an invitation to you to join her for dinner on the evening of the 16th. Those SRC board members who are in town, or available, will be invited to meet you at that time, and to talk with you about the Council.

Again, I am delighted that you are coming, and we look forward to your visit.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Lice
for 4th
1967
Warren 1-17-67 fee

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

January 12, 1967

Mr. Paul B. Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

$64,800.00
1-13-67
C.F.

In accordance with your Grant Quarterly Payment Request, we enclose our check for $64,800 payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., covering the first quarter.

This remittance represents a further payment on our grant of $972,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. over a three-year period for studies and technical assistance related to human relations programs in the South. This grant's terms were set forth in Mr. McDaniel's letter to you dated October 5, 1965.

We would appreciate your signing the copy of this letter and returning it in the enclosed envelope.

Very truly yours,

Norman W. MacLeod
Assistant to Treasurer

Enclosures

COPY

AUDIT REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1966

SOWELL AND HARDEN
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS
950 BANK OF GEORGIA BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

SOWELL AND HARDEN
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS
950 BANK OF GEORGIA BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

MEMBERS
AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

January 17, 1967

To the Members of Southern Regional Council, Inc.:

We have examined the Statement of Assets and Fund Balances Arising from Cash Transactions of Southern Regional Council, Inc. as of December 31, 1966, and the related Statement of Changes in Fund Balances for the year then ended. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

The Council operates under the cash receipts and disbursements basis of accounting; however, the difference between the cash receipts and disbursements basis and the accrual basis as applied to the financial statements under audit is immaterial. Purchases of office equipment are entered in expense as the disbursements are made.

In our opinion the accompanying Statement of Assets and Fund Balances Arising from Cash Transactions and Statement of

Changes in Fund Balances present fairly the assets of Southern Regional Council, Inc. at December 31, 1966, and the recorded income collected and disbursements made for the year then ended on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

The accompanying supplementary information has been subjected to the tests and other auditing procedures applied in the examination of the financial statements mentioned above and, in our opinion, is fairly stated in all respects material in relation to the financial statements taken as a whole.

Sowell and Harden

SOWELL AND HARDEN

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. - ATLANTA, GEORGIA
STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND FUND BALANCES
ARISING FROM CASH TRANSACTIONS
DECEMBER 31, 1966

ASSETS

Cash in Banks - Checking Accounts	222,803	
- Savings Account	69,028	291,831
Investments - Trust Fund - Note 1	71,427	
- Other Securities - Note 2	375,000	446,427
		738,258

FUND BALANCES

Unrestricted General Operations - Note 4	35,078	
Add amounts withheld from employees and not yet remitted to proper agencies	2,739	37,817
Advance Appropriations - Note 3		108,000
Reserve Fund - Notes 1 and 4		71,427
Special Projects		215,020
Grants in Aid to State Councils		202,251
Southern Leadership Project		16,470
Economic Research and Counselling		5,378
First Special Fund for Educational Projects		13,979
Second Special Fund for Educational Projects		356
Project for Library Development		19,898
Fellowship of the Concerned		5,238
Rural Advancement Project		11,960
Labor Education Project		11,986
Special Fund for Student Human Relations Councils		6,478
Lillian Smith Biography		8,000
American Jewish Committee and S.R.C. Joint Research		4,000
		738,258

See the accompanying Notes to Financial Statements.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. - ATLANTA, GEORGIA
STATEMENT OF CHANGES IN FUND BALANCES
FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1966

	Fund Balance 1-1-66	Transfers In (Out)	Addition Schedule 1
Unrestricted General Operations - Note 4	2,755	111,500	161,77
Advance Appropriations - Note 3	191,000	(83,000)	
Reserve Fund - Notes 1 and 4	69,240		2,38
Special Projects - Schedule 6	278,561	(87,060)	402,90
Voter Education Project	9,057		
Grants in Aid to State Councils	4,239	35,000	331,60
Southern Leadership Project	17,121		
Economic Research and Counselling	5,378		
First Special Fund for Educational Projects	14,554		
Second Special Fund for Educational Projects	401		9,18
Project for Library Development			25,00
Fellowship of the Concerned	2,242		3,45
Rural Advancement Project	10,150	26,360	33,00
Labor Education Project	40,033	(1,500)	2,48
Special Fund for Student Human Relations	9,800		
Lillian Smith Biography			8,00
American Jewish Committee			4,00
The Whitehouse Conference			20,00
Inner City Project		(1,300)	1,30
Eleanor Roosevelt Intern			2,50
	654,531	-	1,007,578

See the accompanying Notes to Financial Statements.

EORGIA

ce 6	Transfers In (Out)	Additions Schedule 1	Deductions Schedule 1	Fund Balance 12-31-66
55	111,500	161,776	240,953	35,078
00	(83,000)			108,000
40		2,382	195	71,427
61	(87,060)	402,900	379,381	215,020
57			9,057	
39	35,000	331,600	168,588	202,251
21			651	16,470
78				5,378
54			575	13,979
01		9,189	9,234	356
		25,000	5,102	19,898
242		3,450	454	5,238
150	26,360	33,000	57,550	11,960
033	(1,500)	2,481	29,028	11,986
300			3,322	6,478
		8,000		8,000
		4,000		4,000
		20,000	20,000	
	(1,300)	1,300		
		2,500	2,500	
531	-	1,007,578	926,590	735,519

atements.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. - ATLANTA, GEORGIA
NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS
DECEMBER 31, 1966

Note 1. The trust fund is held by the Trust Company of Georgia and it exercises control of the investments. Value of the trust fund is stated at cost. Market value at December 31, 1966 is $75,837.

Note 2. Other securities consist of obligations of the United States government and its agencies, and are stated at cost.

Note 3. Advance appropriations consist of contributions from foundations designated for use in future years as follows:

	Total	1967	1968
General Operations	75,000	50,000	25,000
Grants to State Councils	33,000	33,000	
	108,000	83,000	25,000

Note 4. The exempt status of the Council under the Georgia Employment Security Law is presently being contested by the Georgia Department of Labor. Should the outcome of this litigation be unfavorable to the Council, the liability for unemployment taxes, penalties, and interest for the years 1956 through 1966 is estimated to be $35,000. It is the opinion of legal counsel that this claim is without validity; therefore, no provision has been made for this contingent liability.

SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. - ATLANTA, GEORGIA
SUMMARY OF CHANGES IN FUND BALANCES
FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1966

	Total	General Operations	Advance Appropri-ations
Additions to Fund Balances:			
Contributions from Foundations - Schedule 3	948,390	119,890	
Contributions from Organizations - Schedule 3	20,170	5,250	
Contributions from Individuals	5,306	5,306	
New South Subscriptions	6,033	6,033	
Interest Income	21,912	21,912	
Other Income	5,767	3,385	
Transfers In (Out)		111,500	(83,000)
	1,007,578	273,276	(83,000)
Deductions from Fund Balances:			
Grants to Cooperating Agencies - Schedule 4	26,813		
Grants to State Councils - Schedule 4	217,434		
Voter Education Project Grants - Schedule 4	162,555		
Operating Expenses -			
Salaries and Payroll Taxes	271,546	135,274	
Other - Schedule 5	219,008	105,679	
School De-Segregation Workshops	4,314		
Books for Equal Education	1,234		
Refund to New World Foundation	3,686		
Community Resources Institute	20,000		
	926,590	240,953	

GIA

General Operations	Advance Appropri-ations	Reserve Fund	Special Projects Schedule 6	Voter Education	Grants in Aid to State Councils	Southern Leader-ship Project	Other Projects Schedule 2
119,890			402,900		331,600		94,000
5,250							14,920
5,306							
6,033							
21,912							
3,385		2,382					
111,500	(83,000)		(87,060)		35,000		23,560
273,276	(83,000)	2,382	315,840		366,600		132,480
3			17,250				9,563
4					163,050		54,384
5			162,555				
6 135,274			107,854	8,690			19,728
8 105,679		195	91,722	367	5,538	651	14,856
4							4,314
4							1,234
6							3,686
0							20,000
0 240,953		195	379,381	9,057	168,588	651	127,765

Schedule 1.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. - ATLANTA, GEORGIA
SUMMARY OF CHANGES IN FUND BALANCES - OTHER PROJECTS
FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1966

	Total	Fellowship of the Concerned	First Special Fund for Educational Projects	Second Special Fund for Educational Projects	Project for Library Development
Additions to Fund Balances:					
Contributions from Foundations - Schedule 3	94,000			8,000	25,000
Contributions from Organizations - Schedule 3	14,920	3,450		1,189	
Transfers In (Out)	23,560				
	132,480	3,450		9,189	25,000
Deductions from Fund Balances:					
Grants to Cooperating Agencies - Schedule 4	9,563		75		
Grants to State Councils - Schedule 4	54,384		500		
Operating Expenses - Salaries and Payroll Taxes	19,728				
Other - Schedule 5	14,856	454			5,102
School De-Segregation Workshops	4,314			4,314	
Books for Equal Education	1,234			1,234	
Refund to New World Foundation	3,686			3,686	
Community Resources Institute	20,000				
	127,765	454	575	9,234	5,102

Rural Advancement Project	Labor Education Project	Special Fund Student Human Relations	Lillian Smith Biography	American Jewish Committee	The Whitehouse Conference	Inner City Project	Eleanor Roosevelt Intern
33,000			8,000		20,000		
	2,481			4,000		1,300	2,500
26,360	(1,500)					(1,300)	
59,360	981		8,000	4,000	20,000		2,500
9,350		138					
48,200		3,184					2,500
	19,728						
	9,300						
					20,000		
57,550	29,028	3,322			20,000		2,500

Schedule 2.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. - ATLANTA, GEORGIA
SCHEDULE OF CONTRIBUTIONS
FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1966

	Total	General Operations	Special Projects Schedule 6
Contributions from Foundations:			
Rockefeller Brothers Fund	60,000	50,000	
The Rockefeller Foundation	60,000		50,000
New World Foundation	58,000	30,000	
Taconic Foundation	200,000	25,000	150,000
New York Foundation	5,000	5,000	
The Division Fund	2,000	2,000	
The Ottinger Foundation	2,000	2,000	
Louisiana Independent Foundation	1,365	1,365	
Aaron E. Norman Fund	14,400	2,500	1,900
Stephen Memorial Fund	1,000	1,000	
The Field Foundation	214,050		200,000
Marion R. Ascoli Fund	1,000		1,000
The Ford Foundation	300,000		
Fund for Advancement of Education	25,000		
The Compton Trust	3,000		
Others of $500 and less	1,575	1,025	
	948,390	119,890	402,900

Grants in Aid to State Councils	Second Special Fund for Educational Projects	Project for Library Development	Rural Advance-ment Project	Lillian Smith Biography	The White-house Conference
					10,000
					10,000
	8,000		20,000		
25,000					
			10,000		
6,050				8,000	
300,000					
		25,000			
			3,000		
550					
331,600	8,000	25,000	33,000	8,000	20,000

Schedule 3.
(Page 1)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. - ATLANTA, GEORGIA
SCHEDULE OF CONTRIBUTIONS
FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1966

	Total	General Operations
Contributions from Organizations:		
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations	5,000	5,000
National Institute of Labor Education	2,481	
National Division of Board of Missions - Methodist Church	2,200	
Protestant Episcopal Church	1,000	
American Jewish Committee	4,000	
Trinity Presbyterian Church	1,300	
National Association of Intergroup Relations	2,500	
Others of $500 and less	1,689	250
	20,170	5,250

Second Special Fund for Educational Projects	Fellowship of the Concerned	Labor Education Project	American Jewish Committee	Inner City Project	Eleanor Roosevelt Intern
		2,481			
	2,200				
	1,000				
			4,000		
				1,300	
					2,500
1,189	250				
1,189	3,450	2,481	4,000	1,300	2,500

Schedule 3.
(Page 2)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. - ATLANTA, GEORGIA
SCHEDULE OF GRANTS
FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1966

	Total	Special Projects
Grants to Cooperating Agencies:		
Virginia Council on Human Relations	1,100	1,100
Penn. Community Services	1,000	1,000
Institute of Social Research	825	825
Council on Human Relations of Atlanta	1,000	1,000
Georgia Council on Human Relations	3,250	3,250
Arkansas Council on Human Relations	885	885
Poor Peoples Cooperative	2,060	2,060
Friendship Baptist Church	2,980	2,980
National Sharecroppers Fund	9,350	
Others of $500 and less	4,363	4,150
	26,813	17,250
Grants to State Councils:		
Alabama	28,075	
Arkansas	12,600	
Florida	24,047	
Georgia	25,600	
Louisiana	13,200	
Mississippi	36,850	
North Carolina	12,800	
South Carolina	28,712	
Tennessee	16,400	
Texas	5,800	
Virginia	12,850	
Others of $500 and less	500	
	217,434	

Grants in Aid to State Councils	First Special Fund for Educational Projects	Rural Advancement Project	Special Fund Student Human Relations	Eleanor Roosevelt Intern
		9,350		
	75		138	
	75	9,350	138	
14,500		12,000	325	1,250
12,600				
11,400		12,200	447	
13,600		12,000		
13,200				
36,850				
12,800				
13,850		12,000	1,612	1,250
15,600			800	
5,800				
12,850				
	500			
163,050	500	48,200	3,184	2,500

Schedule 4.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. - ATLANTA, GEORGIA
SCHEDULE OF GRANTS
FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1966

	Special Projects
Voter Education Project Grants:	
Alabama	15,845
Arkansas	12,000
Florida	7,665
Georgia	36,252
Louisiana	15,330
Mississippi	24,891
North Carolina	5,229
South Carolina	14,772
Tennessee	11,386
Virginia	19,185
	162,555

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. - ATLANTA, GEORGIA
SCHEDULE OF OTHER OPERATING EXPENSES
FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1966

	Total	General Operations	Reserve Fund
Travel	35,207	7,477	
Rent	10,600	10,600	
Consultants' Fees and Travel	7,983	74	
Printing	3,242	2,930	
Meeting Expenses -			
Executive Committee and Annual Meeting	11,400	8,966	
Telephone and Telegraph	9,654	7,025	
Payroll Taxes	5,550	5,550	
Office Expenses -			
Supplies	9,026	3,764	
Equipment	5,883	5,883	
Maintenance	4,937	4,937	
Equipment Rental	2,592	2,592	
Other	1,023	1,023	
Printing and Distribution -			
Printing	40,193	5,732	
Postage	1,634	1,634	
Authors' Fees	1,965	1,965	
Other	1,359	1,359	
Insurance -			
Retirement	7,264	7,264	
Group Hospitalization	3,392	3,392	
Group Term Life	1,499	1,499	
General	1,527	1,527	
Postage	5,823	5,823	
Legal and Professional	11,817	5,529	
Books, Subscriptions, Research	11,567	3,995	
Development	1,091	1,091	
Foreign Visitors	394	394	
Moving Expenses	835	835	
Program Materials and Equipment	9,118		
Project Seminars	7,318		
Miscellaneous	5,115	2,819	195
	219,008	105,679	195

Special Projects	Voter Education	Grants in Aid to State Councils	Southern Leadership Project	Project for Library Development	Fellowship of the Concerned	Labor Education Project
24,209	67		351	44	117	2,942
7,281			300	100		228
					312	
2,409					25	
2,629						
						5,262
34,461						
750		5,538				
2,314	300			4,958		
9,118						
7,318						
1,233						868
91,722	367	5,538	651	5,102	454	9,300

Schedule 5.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. - ATLANTA, GEORGIA
SCHEDULE OF CHANGES IN SPECIAL PROJECTS FUND BALANCE
FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1966

	Ford Foundation Original Grant	Fund Balance 1-1-66	Transfers In (Out)
Governmental Programs:			
City Planning	33,000	30,323	
Fair Employment - Anti Poverty	22,000	20,684	
Housing	3,000	3,000	
School Integration	10,000	10,000	
	68,000	64,007	
Special Studies:			
Welfare Programs	15,000	15,000	
Rehabilitation of Criminals - Penal Administration	34,000	34,000	
Technological Unemployment	6,000	6,000	
	55,000	55,000	
Technical Assistance:			
Community Organizations	46,560	44,643	(25,060)
Labor Education Projects	31,335		
Voter Education Project	24,000	21,806	(12,000)
	101,895	66,449	(37,060)
Printing	35,000	35,000	
Seminars	10,105	10,105	(2,000)
Overhead	54,000	48,000	(48,000)
	324,000	278,561	(87,060)

*Denotes Deficit.

	Expenditures					
Contributions Received	Salaries and Payroll Taxes	Consultants' Fees	Grants Schedule 4	Other Expenditures Schedule 7	Total	Fund Balance 12-31-66
	23,527	80		6,021	29,628	695
	12,189	1,250	1,350	950	15,739	4,945
		1,797		291	2,088	912
	1,639		4,625	3,072	9,336	664
	37,355	3,127	5,975	10,334	56,791	7,216
	4,229		6,185	515	10,929	4,071
	9,354	555		6,119	16,028	17,972
	534	600		128	1,262	4,738
	14,117	1,155	6,185	6,762	28,219	26,781
1,900	11,027	1,968	5,090	3,925	22,010	527*
401,000	45,355	1,032	162,555	21,640	230,582	180,224
402,900	56,382	3,000	167,645	25,565	252,592	179,697
				34,461	34,461	539
				7,318	7,318	787
402,900	107,854	7,282	179,805	84,440	379,381	215,020

Schedule 6.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. - ATLANTA, GEORGIA
SCHEDULE OF CHANGES IN SPECIAL PROJECTS FUND BALANCE
FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1966

	Travel and Telephone	Equipment and Program	Research
Governmental Programs:			
City Planning	4,448	1,330	
Fair Employment - Anti Poverty	750		
Housing	291		
School Integration	952		2,120
	6,441	1,330	2,120
Special Studies:			
Welfare Programs	315		200
Rehabilitation of Criminals - Penal Administration	4,651	1,468	
Technological Unemployment	125		
	5,091	1,468	200
Technical Assistance:			
Community Organizations	3,347	334	
Voter Education Project	11,959	5,983	
	15,306	6,317	
Printing			
Seminars			
	26,838	9,115	2,320

Other Expenditures				
Local Meetings	New South	Advisory Committees	Miscellaneous	Total
			243	6,021
			200	950
				291
				3,072
			443	10,334
				515
				6,119
			3	128
			3	6,762
			244	3,925
2,409			1,289	21,640
2,409			1,533	25,565
	34,461			34,461
		7,318		7,318
2,409	34,461	7,318	1,979	84,440

Schedule 7.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

file

January 17, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter of December 4 expressing endorsement of the proposal from the Southern Consumers Education Foundation. I agree with you that there are aspects of the proposal that reflect innocence but not to the degree that it cannot be corrected with a certain amount of hardheaded thinking which is perhaps too much to expect in an initial application under the circumstances surrounding this one. I certainly anticipate accepting the offer of SRC to assist in every way possible if we should decide to fund this project.

I have advised Father McKnight and the Cooperative League that it will be perhaps two weeks before our initial examination of this submission is completed.

Thanks again for your comments.

Sincerely,

Chris

Christopher F. Edley

Read 2/8/67

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

file

February 7, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

It was very kind of you to write and I'm deeply obliged to you. I've been long wishing I could spend some time with you in Atlanta. The more so as the Mexican-Americans have expressed an interest in replicating the Council in the southwest. But I think you'll be hearing from them directly in the fairly near future.

Please include Trenton as one of your steps on the way to New York City. It would be good to see you.

With best wishes,

Paul

Paul Ylvisaker

CLIFFORD J. CAMPBELL
2004 NORTH EAST CRAMER STREET
PORTLAND, OREGON 97211

See Ford Fd. 1967

February 10, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Just to say thanks for your cooperation in working out the details of my visit. Your annual report, dated January, 1967, will be of assistance in orienting me for my first exposure to the program of Sourthern Regional Council.

I hope that you will find it convenient to join me for breakfast on the morning of the 16th. Please leave word at the Marriott Hotel.

Sincerely yours,

Clifford J. Campbell

Clifford J. Campbell

CJC:dd

File Ford Fd.

February 13, 1967

Mr. John R. Coleman
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Jack:

Enclosed are our annual program report and audit.

I very much enjoyed the opportunity to talk with you last week, and look forward to your visit to Atlanta.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

FORD FOUNDATION

REGARDING

VISIT OF CLIFF CAMPBELL FEBRUARY 15 and 16, 1967

DATE

2/17/67 ltr to
RABBI ROTHSCHILD

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

~~BOARD~~

BOARD - GENERAL

File
Ford Fd
1967

February 22, 1967

Mr. Clifford Campbell
2004 North East Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Cliff:

Yesterday we mailed you the material you had collected here and a sample of current SRC publications.

Let me say again what a pleasure it was having you visit us. We certainly look forward to a continuing and close relationship.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 2/27/67

See Ford Fd. 1967

File

CLIFFORD J. CAMPBELL
2004 NORTH EAST CRAMER STREET
PORTLAND, OREGON 97211

February 23, 1967

Mr. Paul B. Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Just a brief note to say to you and your staff, thanks and deep appreciation for the many courtesies extended me during my recent visit. They certainly went beyond the call of duty to share in measurable extent the workings of their respective projects.

I look forward to an early return to Atlanta and at that time, I would like to visit, as they say -- out in the field-- to observe first-hand, projects, in the various categories, in action.

I have sent to each Board member, whom I met at the home of Miss Wilkins, a brief note of thanks.

It was an enriching experience to meet Miss Wilkins. She certainly must be, as you have indicated, a tower of strength in support of the Southern Regional Council activities. You are thrice blessed.

John Wheeler and I were able to spend just a little time together but long enough for me to share with him some of the highlights of my visit. He was cognizant of the fact that I saw only board members in the Atlanta area. He hopes that when next I visit the state of North Carolina, I will include in my schedule several board members from the Southern Regional Council who live in that state.

Once again, Paul, thanks for making my visit so complete. Best wishes to you for continued success in an area of major sensitivity.

Sincerely yours,

Clifford J. Campbell

CJC:dd

file

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
URBAN AND METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT

file 1967

March 1, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for keeping me on your list for reports of activities. I haven't had time yet to go through your annual report in detail, but look forward to doing so. I enjoy Ed Stanfield's bulletins as well.

I wish you'd stop by and chat with me when you're next in town.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Jane

Jane E. Hinchcliffe

Recorded in money book 3/9/67 mj

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

File Ford Fd. 1967

March 2, 1967

Mr. Paul B. Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In accordance with your Grant Quarterly Payment Request, we enclose our check for $64,800 payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. covering the second quarter.

This remittance represents a further payment on our grant of $972,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. over a three-year period for studies and technical assistance related to human relations programs in the South. The terms of this grant were set forth in Mr. McDaniel's letter to you dated October 5, 1965.

We would appreciate your signing the copy of this letter and returning it in the enclosed envelope.

Very truly yours,

Norman Ford

Norman W. MacLeod
Assistant to Treasurer

$64,800.00
3/3/67
C.F.

Enclosures

file
Ford Fd. 1967

March 6, 1967

Mr. Christopher Edley
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Chris:

Enclosed is a brief memorandum from Al on the organizational meeting of the Federation of Cooperatives meeting held on March 2, and a copy of a letter from Chuck Ihlenfeldt, which I thought you might find of interest. I do think something very important is taking place.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See
Ford Fd. 1967
Cr. ref —
re: Request for
Renewal + Report of Progress
Sent to Frank Bowles
3/9/67

March 9, 1967

Mr. John Scanlon
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear John:

Enclosed is the request we discussed some time ago. It has been held up because I had hoped to include a final accounting. But the Atlanta News Agency still has not provided all the information, and I am sure this request should not be delayed further.

Every good wish,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

Ford Fund to Cut Grants, Especially to Universities

3/19/67

Foundation Is Seeking to Bring Gifts in Line With Its Income

By FRED M. HECHINGER

The Ford Foundation said yesterday that it plans to cut its spending.

Colleges and universities, which have been getting a substantial share of the foundation's grants will be hardest hit by the cuts. The economics are designed to bring the foundation's spending more nearly in line with the income from its investments.

At the same time, McGeorge Bundy, president of the foundation, severely criticized "the American rich—old and new" for their "relatively slow and feeble giving" to education and chided the universities themselves for failing to bring in their own money because of timid and inexpert investing of their endowments.

In his first annual report since he assumed the presidency of the nation's largest foundation, with assets of $2.4-billion,

The New York Times

McGeorge Bundy, the president of Ford Foundation.

Mr. Bundy gave notice of sweeping changes in goals and attitudes in foundation grants.

Asserting that the foundation had been spending an average of $300-million a year—about

Continued on Page 41, Column 1

file
Ford Fd. 1967

THE NEW YORK TIMES, S

FORD FOUNDATION TO CUT SPENDING

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

twice its yearly income—he said the trustees had decided to "stay in business" by spending "somewhat less in the immediate future."

He did not say how much the foundation's grants would be reduced, but added that it would continue to spend somewhat beyond its income.

Mr. Bundy called for a nationwide review and analysis of the effectiveness with which university trustees invest their institutions' endowments.

Noting that higher education had only four major sources of future support—tuition, Federal funds, private gifts and improved management of endowment funds—Mr. Bundy reserved his most direct criticism for the universities' own financial practices.

"We recognize the risk of unconventional investing," he said, "but the true test of performance in the handling of money is the record of achievement, not the opinion of the respectable."

He added that he suspected that "caution has cost our colleges and universities much more than imprudence or excessive risk-taking." Improvement by merely one per cent in the annual return on private higher education's total endowment of $2-billion would add $120-million to the institution's income, he said.

Urges More Private Gifts

Mr. Bundy said that private contributions to higher education—which are now three-and-a-half times what they were 15 years ago—should be five times what they are now.

"Where are the modern Andrew Carnegies—the men who will do more than all their friends expect?" he asked.

He urged an increase of Federal support, beyond the present $4-billion a year, and charged that higher education has been "a shade slow" in creating public understanding of this need.

Mr. Bundy charged that American businesses, professions and government give little encouragement to the initiative of the young, and warned against "the growning menace" of cautious men who are unwilling "to annoy" their organizations by proposing change and of organizations "too easily annoyed."

He sharply criticized the growing "public blandness" and pledged the foundation's "stand against this kind of thing."

Without directly alluding to frequent past criticisms of the foundation's alleged aversion to controversy, Mr. Bundy said:

"Nevertheless, the first lesson I have learned in this year is that we have no warrant to be mute when there comes a time to speak—a time to put our mouth where our money is. We intend to be very careful and responsible in what we say, but we find no virtue in a vow of silence."

Criticism Called Beneficial

Mr. Bundy's 10-page policy statement entitled "Public In-

start of a reduction of this type of support.

He pointed to "a special obligation" to help put the urban universities "at the forefront of intelligent concern for the interlocking problems of the city and the Negro."

"The past record of our universities in these fields is not outstanding," he said.

While citing California as an example of public support of higher education, Mr. Bundy, in an oblique reference to Governor Ronald Reagan's conflict with the University of California and the activities of some leftwing student groups, said "it is hardly thinkable that the excesses or vindictiveness of a few at either extreme should be allowed to any lasting damage to the magnificent partnership between the people of California and their great university."

In the review of the foundation's fiscal year, which ended last Sept. 30, the report indicated that grants totaling $307.7-million were made, compared with an income of $157.4-million. The year's activities brought the total "invasion of capital" since the establishment of the foundation in 1936 to $1-billion. Program payments in the same period have amounted to $2.5-billion.

It is not unsual for foundations to spend more than their income, especially in a time of rising stock market values. In such a period, even if the spending exceeds the return on the investment, the foundations' total assets, according to the market value of their investment endowment, tends to increase.

This has been the case with the Ford Foundation's endowment.

However, Mr. Bundy's call for a review of investment policies takes account of the fact that institutional investors, such as boards of trustees, are said to err frequently on the side of excessive caution, thereby reducing the potential growth of their institution's total capital. He conceded the foundation itself might be liable to criticism on these grounds.

The categories of common stocks in which the foundation indicated the highest amounts of investments were oil and gas, utilities, chemicals and consumer goods.

Thief Leaves Mom's Address

EDINBURG, Ind. (AP)—The police found the name of a woman on a piece of paper left behind by a burglar who broke a window and stole candy from a grocery store here. Racing to the woman's home, they found candy wrappers, and the thief there confessed.

tion to the institution's income, he said.

Urges More Private Gifts

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Without directly alluding to frequent past criticisms of the foundation's alleged aversion to controversy, Mr. Bundy said:

"Nevertheless, the first lesson I have learned in this year is that we have no warrant to be mute when there comes a time to speak—a time to put our mouth where our money is. We intend to be very careful and responsible in what we say, but we find no virtue in a vow of silence."

Criticism Called Beneficial

Mr. Bundy's 10-page policy statement entitled "Public Issues, Philanthropic Foundations, and Straight Talk," dealt with issues ranging from educational television to international peace. He insisted that "to be exposed to analysis and criticism" is good for all public institutions, from commercial television to the foundations themselves.

"The best-run outfits, on the whole, are the ones which are most open," he said.

But while he promised support to the unorthodox, he added that "merely to be peculiar is not sufficient ground for successful application" for funds.

The noncontroversial support of "research in rice" remains important, he said, and "it would be as foolish to abandon such solid work because it is safe as it would be timid to limit ourselves to such work exclusively."

While the foundation does not confuse itsel with the Federal Government or with the United Nations, he said, "where we see a chance to do more for peace, we will.

But the major thrust of the policy statement dealt with the economic crisis of higher education. He expressed concern that academic presidents and deans, if hard-pressed for funds, will neglect innovation and reform.

"The great academic leaders have always hade entrepreneurial energy, and the president's seat for a man of purely philosophical temper," he said.

"Yet, the president as promoter is only a part of what an institution needs," he added. He charged that men with "high intellectual command of the old and new issues of academic life" are rare, partly because "the best of them will reject the hard life of high-energy salesmanship which a college presidency bids fair to become."

Solution Not in Giving

But he warned that "there is no solution to the problems of the private colleges and universities in simply giving away the Ford Foundation." Recalling his own days as dean at Harvard University, before he became a special adviser to President Kennedy and President Johnson, he said he understood well that many academic leaders feel they need the foundation's capital "more than we do." But he added, higher education's needs could easily absorb three times the Ford Foundation's endowment.

"I joke in order not to cry," he added.

But he nevertheless indicated that the recent $35-million grant to Columbia University, the latest in a six-year series of special grants to colleges and universities totaling $325-million, may have signaled the

file
Jun 28
1967

April 3, 1967

Mr. Christopher Edley
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Chris:

The enclosed copies of several letters may be of some interest to both indicate the quality of John Boone's work and more particularly the interest in and need of services such as those the Project is attempting to offer.

I still hope you will get down for a visit someday. We're having spring weather -- not a trace of snow!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

file
Ford Fd., 1967

April 11, 1967

Mr. G. H. Griffiths
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Bill:

The enclosed has no bearing, of course, on our earlier request for support. I did, however, think you might be interested in reading this latest indication of how much the project stimulated.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
(Ltr. from Rbt. L.C. Toms, Dir., West Jacksonville Assoc. for a Better Community, Inc., Addressed to Louise Cole with Newsclip from Jax. Journal - 4-6-67 - re: Jobstock proj.)

file
Ford Fd. 1967

April 11, 1967

Mr. John Scanlon
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear John:

The enclosed has no bearing, of course, on our earlier request for support. I did, however, think you might be interested in reading this latest indication of how much the project stimulated.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
(Letter from Rev. L.C. Williams, Dir. West Jacksonville Assoc. for a Better Community, Inc. addressed to Louise Cole, with News clip from Jax. Journal - 4-6-67)
(re: Jaycee Proj.)

Joe Ford Fd. 67

LES
MJ-file

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

DIVISION OF
EDUCATION AND RESEARCH
SPECIAL PROJECTS

April 17, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for your note of April 11 enclosing the information about the paperback book project in West Jacksonville, Florida. We are delighted that our grant has had this kind of impact.

Warm regards and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

John

John J. Scanlon
Program Officer

See Ford Fd.

ENCLOSURE: Memorandum from Ed Stanfield to Paul dtd. April 17, 1967; Re: "SOUTHERN CONSUMERS COOPERATIVE (Lafayetts)"

April 18, 1967

Mr. Christopher Edley
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Chris:

Enclosed is a copy of a memorandum about the harassment of the Lafayette group.

These yahoos that prattle all the time about people helping themselves are doing their darndest to kill off every serious effort at real self-help.

Sorry we did not have a chance to visit yesterday, but still hope you will be coming down this way one of these days.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

FORD FOUNDATION - JOHN EHLE

REGARDING

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ DR. DIXON _ INTERVIEW, INFORMATION FOR ORAL HISTORY OFFICE OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

LETTER FROM MRS. JOHN W. HAWKINS, NEW YORK
Referred by Mr. Ehle

DATE

5/16/67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

"HA" GENERAL

June 1, 1967

Mr. John Ehle
438 South Main Street
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear John:

Enclosed is some correspondence from McNeill Smith about a potential prep school candidate. It's probably too late, but this may be of some interest to you. I know McNeill will appreciate any help you can offer.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

See: Ford Fd — Kim: Attach this ltr. to PA's copy earlier than June 8 to Mr. Coleman!

14

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

June 8, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

The best of all kinds of letters to receive! Thank you for writing us about your success on funds for the Voter Education Project, and congratulations, too.

Sincerely,

Jack

John R. Coleman
Program Officer in Charge

Joe
Ford Fd., 1967

June 2, 1967

Mr. John R. Coleman
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Jack:

You may recall some months ago that when I spoke to you of our financial needs with the Voter Education Project, arising from the deaths of the Curriers, you asked me for a memorandum in the spring outlining the situation.

We have been far more successful than I had dared to hope when we talked. The Field Foundation has made a supplementary grant of $50,000, the New World Foundation, a grant of $25,000, and we anticipate a modest grant, perhaps $10,000, from the New York Foundation. Incredibly, after some years of trying to get its support, the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation has just made a grant of $50,000 to the VEP. This means we have, for all purposes, been able to raise the budget for VEP for the year and will not have to explore with you the possibility of Ford support.

It is a rare occurrence, but a pleasant one, when I can transmit such information to a foundation.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Site
June 7d, 1967

via air mail June 9, 1967

Mr. Clifford Campbell
2004 North East Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Cliff:

Periodically, the SRC professional staff tries to get together for everything from socializing to some serious program discussion. We plan such an evening, with dinner, at Moreland Smith's home on Monday, June 19th.

We would very much enjoy having you and anyone with you join us for this meeting. Needless to say, if you have other plans or if you have need of me for something else, these plans can be changed.

Looking forward to seeing you on the 19th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See Paul Ford John Ehle

MS - file

THE ANNE C. STOUFFER FOUNDATION

P. O. Box 10637 - Salem Station
Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27108

PLEASE REPLY
TO UNDERSIGNED

June 12, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for sending the correspondence from McNeill Smith about the eastern North Carolina boy who is interested in going to prep school. It is late for him to apply for the September term, in my opinion; certainly the Stouffer Foundation program is closed until the second series of scholarships are considered, and those will be for the 1968-69 school year.

If the boy's parents qualify under the poverty stipulation of the Independent Schools Talent Search Program (376 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02116), he might very well want to apply to them for next year. The Stouffer Foundation program will next year be limited to students who are in the eighth grade, and if he is in the eighth grade next year, he might also want to apply through his counselor or principal to that program also. (Anne C. Stouffer Foundation, P. O. Box 10637 - Salem Station, Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27108.)

On September 11 we will mail out an announcement of the new program to you and others who have been helpful to us in the past. Please help us again. The Stouffer Foundation was able to place eighteen students in the South, and has a nineteenth student waiting to hear from a school in Florida. We make no public announcement of the program or the schools cooperating with it, but for your own personal information schools which have accepted scholarship candidates of the Foundation are Asheville School, Asheville, N. C.; Virginia Episcopal School, Lynchburg, Va.; St. Stephen's School, Austin, Texas; St. Andrew's School, Boca Raton, Florida; St. Albans School, Washington, D. C.; St. Andrew's School, St. Andrews, Tenn.; and Westminster School, Atlanta, Ga.

I am going to Europe this weekend and will be back in September, and look forward to seeing you when we get to Atlanta for student interviews.

Sincerely,

John

John Ehle
Consultant

cc: McNeill Smith

file

THE FORD FOUNDATION, 1967
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

June 15, 1967

Mr. Paul B. Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Re: Grant Number #66-3

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In accordance with your Grant Quarterly Payment Request submitted, we enclose our check for $64,800 payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. covering the third quarter.

This remittance represents a further payment on our grant of $972,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. for studies and technical assistance related to human relations programs in the South over a three-year period. The terms of this grant were set forth in Mr. McDaniel's letter to you dated October 5, 1965.

We would appreciate your signing the copy of this letter and returning it in the enclosed envelope.

Very truly yours,

Norman W. MacLeod
Norman W. MacLeod
Assistant to Treasurer

Enclosures

$64,800.00
6/16/67
C. L.
ackd by signature card
6/16 KM

File
Ford Fd.
Cliff Campbell file

MEMORANDUM June 15, 1967

To: The Professional Staff

From: Paul Anthony

This is a further reminder that Cliff Campbell of Ford Foundation will be here on Monday and Tuesday of next week. Also it has now been arranged for George Esser, Director of the North Carolina Fund, to be here on Tuesday. I hope as many of you as possible will be available on both days.

I hope also that all of you will be at the dinner meeting at Moreland's on Monday evening. Officially the dinner begins around 6:30 or 7:00 p.m. However, some people will be going from the office. Moreland will be at home at 6:00 p.m.

- ; -

file
Cliff Campbell file
(Ford)

June 21, 1967

Mr. Clifford Campbell
Consultant
Ford Foundation
2004 North East Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Cliff:

We did find your receipts; they are enclosed.

Under separate cover we are sending you several things, including the decision of the Georgia Supreme Court. And, we will make every effort to see that you get on our mailing list.

Again, it was a joy having you with us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Receipts)

Make file — Jack Fd., Clifford Campbell

file

CLIFFORD J. CAMPBELL
2004 NORTH EAST CRAMER STREET
PORTLAND, OREGON 97211

June 22, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I had a very pleasant and uneventful trip to San Francisco by way of Dallas, Texas. I arrived at the Bay City on schedule and the evening session went quite well. It is good to be back in Portland enjoying the lovely climate. This is not said by way of rubbing it in.

I want, so much, to thank you and your staff for assisting and making my stay pleasant and profitable. I am pleased that you, George and I had an opportunity to share in the discussions of Regional Problems. It was most timely and I hope will be the gateway to effective action. I await with keen interest your first draft.

I will plan to contact you at least a month prior to my next visit in order that we might schedule, together, a trip to Houston, Texas and Richmond, Virginia. In the meantime, may I say that I consider it extremely important for you to continue to hold, off the scene, professional staff meetings for the purpose of serious program discussions.

The afternoon mail delivered your letter together with the airline ticket receipts. Thanks much. They will come in handy.

Again, best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Clifford

Clifford J. Campbell

CJC:dd

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

FORD FOUNDATION 1967

REGARDING

N. C. Fund - Same report sent to George Esser - filed in N. C. Fund Folder - Report preliminary work on creating conference

DATE

6-26-67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

North Carolina Fund

File in
Cr. Ref.
N.C. Fund
re: Dame report sent
to Geo. Esser
file in
N.C. Fund folder.

AIR MAIL

June 26, 1967

Mr. Clifford Campbell
2004 N. E. Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Cliff:

Enclosed is promised copy of a memo to George Esser. I will be happy to have your comment on it.

The first position paper will probably be sent you next week. Get ready for lots of words and reports, but remember you asked for it!

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

See - Ford Fd. 1967

June 27, 1967

Mr. Christopher Edley
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Chris:

A little further reporting on the staffing situation with the Cooperative program.

As you already know, Father McKnight is very interested in the staff director job and has gotten permission from his superiors to take it. This being the case, I have done some further checking with Al. There seems to be no strong objection to this and there also seems to be the general feeling that a far worse selection could be made. I agree with this.

Should anything go wrong and John Lewis still be offered the job, I would be delighted of course. But I suspect it would be unwise to push that idea.

It's likely now that we should concentrate on collecting names of good staff people below the director level. In many ways quality of these people will be even more important to the program than the director, given the fact that he is reasonably qualified.

Incidentally, I am very uncertain on what kind of timing to use, as well as still uncertain about what Al's relationship will be to SRC after the summer. However, I am seriously interested in approaching John about coming to work for SRC and taking over Al's position; still using Al as much as possible. I think that the two of them could work well together and profitably.

I thought Sunday's Time Magazine article on John was excellent, but was a little unhappy about the timing since, I'm afraid, it will lead to innumerable appealing job offers.

As I recall, you will be on vacation at the time, but I will be in New York for a few hours only on Wednesday, July 12th. I have written Jack Coleman asking for a brief appointment and will determine that morning also if you are available.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

NY file

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

June 28, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

July 12th is fine. I'll save 11:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m., and you can take your choice.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Jack

John R. Coleman
Program Officer in Charge

Ford Fund Opens Drive on Isolation Of Negro Colleges

FOUNDATIONS.

NYT 7/7/67

By FRED M. HECHINGER

The Ford Foundation announced yesterday a $1.1-million program to aid 52 Southern Negro colleges in breaking out of their academic isolation.

Although the first allocation is relatively small, the money is expected to lead to strengthened academic programs through mergers and other cooperative arrangements. Cooperative ties with nearby predominantly white colleges are to be established and self-studies of the institutions existing operation are to be used to determine the sources of weakness and to bring about action for reform.

A measure of the changes to be brought about by the program is the fact that such institutions as the Universities of Mississippi and Alabama, which not long ago were battlegrounds in the drive for integration, will become partners with neighboring Negro colleges in this academic upgrading effort.

More U.S. Aid Sought

In line with earlier policy statements by McGeorge Bundy, the foundation's president, foundation dollars are to be used to plan specific projects that will open the way to more Federal support.

To break the cycle of low academic quality, perpetuated by the hiring of ill-prepared faculty members who are the product of low-quality segregated schools and of deficient training in Negro colleges, the foundation will also stress advanced study for the teaching staffs of these colleges.

F. Champion Ward, a foundation vice president, said:

"This effort is problem-centered, emphasizing specific action where conditions are favorable on such matters as faculty development, curriculum improvement, library de-

Continued on Page 36, Column 2

Ford Fund in Drive on Negro Colleges' Isolation

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

velopment, compensatory education, administration and student services by colleges, both singly and in cooperation with others."

Dr. John A. Griffin, executive director of the Southern Education Foundation that will get $361,600 of the grants, said:

"Most of the white institutions in the South, public and private, are now desegregated, to be sure, but the numbers of Negroes attending the formerly all-white institutions are small by comparison with the Negroes enrolled in the predominantly Negro colleges.

"There is the most urgent need that their programs be strengthened and that cooperative relationships between white and Negro institutions be furthered in the interests of both groups of colleges."

There are approximately 120 Negro colleges in the South, which still enroll more than half of approximately 200,000 Negro undergraduates in the United States.

Although a handful of these institutions, such as Fisk, Hampton, Tuskegee, Dillard and a cluster of colleges in the Atlanta area, have long been considered within the brackets of academic quality, the level of many Negro colleges remains low.

A study by David Riesman, the Harvard sociologist, and Christopher Jencks, social critic, published in the winter 1967 issue of The Harvard Educational Review, said that the great majority of Negro colleges "stand near the tail end of the academic procession."

They observed that the upgrading of such institutions was made difficult by the fact that the cream of Negro students and faculty members had begun to be skimmed off by predominantly white colleges, including the prestige institutions.

James W. Armsey, the Ford Foundation's program officer in charge of the upgrading project, stressed that the new grants represented merely "a first step."

Mr. Armsey earlier had been in charge of one of the foundation's most extensive grants program in general support of higher education, a program that has recently been phased out. His assignment to the Negro college project is generally regarded as an indication of the high priority given to the new action.

Cooperative arrangements between predominantly Negro colleges and neighboring predominantly white institutions, supported by grants of $75,600, will lead to ties between the following schools: Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College and Venderbilt University; Arkansas A. & M. College and Philander Smith College with the University of Arkansas; Bethune-Cookman College and the University of Florida; Fort Valley State College and the University of Georgia; Knoxville College and the University of Tennessee; Lane College and Peabody College in Nashville.

Also Miles College and Birmingham - Southern College; Mississippi Valley College and the University of Mississippi; North Carolina College and six small white colleges in the area; Rust College and the University of Mississippi; and Stillman College and the University of Alabama.

PA

Rec'd 7/12/67

file

CLIFFORD J. CAMPBELL
2004 NORTH EAST CRAMER STREET
PORTLAND, OREGON 97211

July 10, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thanks, very much, for sharing with me a copy of the decision of the Supreme Court of Georgia:

> 23884, 23885. WILLIAMSON, Director Employment Security Agency, Department of Labor v. SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.; and vice versa.

Thanks, too, for copies of the Winter and Spring Quarterly Review of Southern Affairs. They are extremely informative and, as usual, reflect the delicate touch of SRC.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Clifford J. Campbell

CJC:dd

Foundations file Ford

July 18, 1967

Mr. Clifford J. Campbell
2004 North East Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Cliff:

Forgive my delay in responding to your comments of July 11.

I disagree completely with you that you "invaded an area which is outside" your domain. Quite the contrary - your interest and contribution in this are more than welcome and appreciated.

Further, I agree with the observations you made about my first draft memo, but will reserve further comments about them until we hear from George and others at the Fund.

I had a brief but very good conversation with Jack Coleman last week, but was sorry that I missed others in the Department.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

cc: Mr. George Esser, Jr.

Rec'd 7-14-67

CLIFFORD J. CAMPBELL
2004 NORTH EAST CRAMER STREET
PORTLAND, OREGON 97211

July 11, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I have reviewed the first draft of your memorandum to George Esser growing out of our breakfast meeting at Atlanta a few weeks ago.

I was considerably disturbed when I reviewed this because it suddenly dawned upon me that in requesting you to share it with me I had, in fact, tresspassed or invaded an area which is outside of my domain.

The subject is so vital and interesting that I wanted to be abreast of what you and George will be doing in putting this together. I think it best that we keep it on this basis. Any improprieties, on my part, that you have observed may be charged to the reason I advanced above.

Nevertheless, I am going to say something about the first draft and leave it at that. It is a good draft in that it picked up the thinking crystallized during our breakfast meeting. However, I have the impression that No. 1 under "Purpose" needs much greater specificity than presently indicated. In a sense it will be the rationale for the entire approach; therefore, it must be carefully structured and devised so that it may serve as the basis for sounding the clarion call to action.

I agree with you that housing, manpower development, and education are the key factors, but the very use of the terms will tend not to evoke the kinds of interests that we seek. I guess I am still talking about rationale.

The political unit, i.e. the State or Region has a key role to play in No. 1 under "Purpose." The factor of interrelationships must be considered.

It would seem to me that the convening group under No. 1 ought be representative of many interests involving the State and Region.

Some of the issues that pop into view as I think about No. 1 and the importance of charting a new course are:

A. Population growth and movement;

B. Distribution by race and sex;

C. Educational resources, extent of--unmet needs--gaps--status of public and private institutions of higher learning;

D. The change from rural to urban--implications therein;

E. Short range and long range planning--social and economic--State and Regional--the big picture;

F. The political context and the present climate;

G. Health needs;

H. Establishing priorities

I would hope that in structuring for No. 1 under "Purpose," every effort be made to keep it open-ended. If we are able to select a balanced group to function under No. 1 they, on their own, hopefully will develop the momentum necessary to produce a summary report that would be a real challenge.

I would hope that you will find a few ideas in these rambling comments that will be of assistance.

Very sincerely yours,

Clifford J. Campbell

CJC:dd

cc: Mr. George Esser, Jr.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Ford Foundation

REGARDING

work on
Project Ford might undertake in
Appalachian region. - Visit to
Atl. for interview - Geo. M. Stephens

DATE

7-21-67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Geo. M. Stephens. Jr.

File Ford

July 28, 1967

Mr. Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr.
Secretary
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. McDaniel:

This is being sent to you as a brief six-month report as requested in your letter of December 19, 1965. The Foundation's grant of $300,000 for a three-year period of support for strengthening the staffs of state and local human relations councils continues to be administered in accordance with our proposal to the Foundation and the Foundation's terms of the grant.

For the year we have budgeted $150,000 for our grants-in-aid program to the councils on human relations. Of this amount $100,00 represents the support of the Ford Foundation. Enclosed is a schedule of grants made for the period January 1

through June 30. The schedule for the full year will be sent to you shortly after the end of the year in our annual audited statement.

Enclosed also is a brief report of the Council's Director of Field Activities, the department immediately responsible for this program.

We continue to be most grateful for the Foundation's support of this important work. If further information is needed we will, of course, be happy to supply it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures

D R A F T

Mr. Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr.
Secretary
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

This is being sent to you as a brief six month report as requested in your letter of December 19, 1965. The Foundation's grant of $300,000 for a three-year period of support for strengthening the staffs of state and local human relations councils continues to be administered in accordance with our proposal to the Foundation and the Foundation's terms of the grant.

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Enclosed also is a brief report of the Council's director of Field Activities, the department immediately responsible for this program.

We continue to be most grateful for the Foundation's support of this important work. If further information is needed we will, of course, be happy to supply it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures

See Jan 8 Jd. 1967

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

August 4, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of July 28 addressed to Mr. Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr., enclosing a six-month report for the Foundation's grant to the Southern Regional Council for strengthening the staffs of state and local human relations councils.

I am forwarding your report to interested members of our Social Development staff. Should they have any comments or suggestions, they will be in touch with you.

my note

Mr. McDaniel has retired as Secretary of the Foundation and Mr. Howard R. Dressner has been named Secretary. Future reports may be addressed to the attention of Mr. Dressner.

Sincerely yours,

W. H. Nims

William H. Nims
Assistant Secretary

File
Ford Foundation
Clifford Campbell

August 4, 1967

Mr. Clifford Campbell
2004 North East Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Cliff:

You may recall I mentioned that we would share with you several of our first draft position papers about the future. Enclosed are two of them. Your reaction would be appreciated.

I hope we have set the meeting on the future, co-sponsored by the Fund and SRC, for September 14, 15.

Incidentally, if we are to do the Houston-Richmond visit in September or October we should plan on it soon. My calendar is getting away from me. How is yours?

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

File Ford Fd. 1967

August 10, 1967

Mr. John R. Coleman
Program Officer in Charge
Division of National Affairs
Social Development
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Jack:

Thank you so much for your note about the Local Government Seminar. Frankly, it was even better than we had hoped for. We found both a great deal of enthusiasm and need among those who attended. Those elected officials ranged from a very poorly educated county commissioner from rural South Carolina to the president of a savings and loan association in North Carolina. I hope this first seminar was just the beginning of our assistance to these and other elected officials.

For some time we have labored over developing effective programs in "Adult Education" and "Leadership Training." It has been in some measure a frustrating experience. Frankly, I

don't think private resources, staff, or funds can ever hope to make a dent in either education or in leadership training on a mass basis. I am squally convinced of the value and the need for such leadership training as was reflected in the seminar. These people are alweady leaders and they need assistance. And I hope this type of thing will be a main emphasis of ours in the future.

The idea for the seminar and its success belong to Vernon Jordan and Vivian Henderson, and I am sharing your comments with them.

Dealing with a program officer who so readily knows a good program when he sees it is one more reason for our regret over your leaving.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Blind Copies with Xerxted Copies of Coleman ltr. to:
Vernon Jordan
Vivian Henderson
John Wheeler

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

August 7, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

What a good program for your Local Government Seminar at Clark College! I boast that I know good programs when I see them -- and this one looks first rate: solid, timely, well-paced. I hope it lived up to every expectation.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Jack

John R. Coleman
Program Officer in Charge

JRC/rmr

file Ford
cross reference
Southern Consumers
Education Foundation
re coop grant

no reading file cc

July 25, 1967

Mr. Christopher F. Edley
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Chris:

I, too, am sorry I missed you in New York but am happy you are on vacation.

Thanks for the copy of the grant letter. I spent last Saturday with Al Ulmer after he attended the meeting in Jackson. He is very comfortable with the appointment of Father McKnight and very optimistic about the way things are going. Now we shall do what we can to help in the rest of the staffing.

Al will remain on the mountain this winter but assures me he will devote considerable time to working as a consultant. I hope we can use him especially in this Ford funded program.

You will be interested to know that I have invited John Lewis down for a talk, at which time

I hope to offer him a job. With the combination of John Lewis full-time and Al Ulmer as a heavy consultant would be unbeatable and I shall be very disappointed if John doesn't take the job,

Again good vacation. After Labor Day do plan to come for a visit.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

July 20, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Sorry I missed you in New York. As you know, I am on vacation.

I have noted your letter of June 27th re Father McKnight-John Lewis, etc. Please continue thinking about the staffing of the coop program. My schedule is such that I can't do much before Labor Day.

Enclosed is a confidential copy of the grant letter.

Sincerely yours,

Chris

Christopher F. Edley

CFE/fb
Enclosure

JUN 21 1967

67-351
Grant Number

The Reverend Albert J. McKnight, C.S. Sp.
Southern Consumers' Education Foundation
425 General Mouton Street
Lafayette, Louisiana 70504

My dear Father McKnight:

I am happy to inform you that The Ford Foundation has approved a grant of $578,000 to the Southern Consumers' Education Foundation over a two-year period for educational services, organization assistance, and technical assistance in the development of cooperatives in the South. This grant is being made in response to your request of December 10, 1966 addressed to Mr. Christopher F. Edley of the Foundation staff, as modified by this letter.

The grant is subject to the following conditions:

(1) The selection or employment of the project director shall be made only with the written concurrence of the Ford Foundation.
(2) The maximum loan from the revolving fund shall be $5,000, and the average of the loans shall not exceed $2,000, unless otherwise approved by Ford Foundation staff.
(3) Prior approval of the Ford Foundation is required for any changes in line items of the attached budget which exceed 10 percent.
(4) The disposition of funds in the revolving fund at the expiration of the two-year grant shall be determined by the Ford Foundation.
(5) Unless otherwise approved by the Ford Foundation staff, no loans shall be made to new cooperatives and no cooperatives shall be organized with the assistance of project staff prior to:
   (a) a favorable survey by the prospective organizers of potential members and probable volume of business and,
   (b) a favorable report based on a feasibility study by experts of the prospects of financial success or failure.

(6) Prior to any loans out of the revolving fund, Southern Consumers' Education Foundation shall establish a written policy of the terms and conditions of the loans which shall be submitted to the Ford Foundation staff for approval. Such policy shall complement and encourage the maximum use of loans from government agencies and other lending institutions and unless otherwise approved by the Ford Foundation staff, shall require that not more than one-half of the revolving loan fund shall be used for loans to cooperatives in existence at the time of this grant.

The Foundation will refer to this grant at a later date in a press release that will be sent to you in advance. Please consult with the Foundation's Office of Reports should you wish to make an earlier announcement.

Payment of $15,000 of the grant funds for use in start-up operations and possible emergency loans which might be approved by the Ford Foundation staff will be made upon receipt of your request, in duplicate, directed to the Secretary. The balance of $563,000 will be paid in quarterly installments upon receipt of your requests, in duplicate, directed to the Secretary.

The attached Terms of Grant statement specifies further conditions applicable to this grant. We particularly call your attention to paragraph 3 concerning the submission and content of narrative reports and of financial reports by categories of expenditure. Please note that these reports should be directed to the Secretary.

In all correspondence concerning this grant reference should be made to the grant number above.

If there are any points in this letter or its attachments that need clarification, or if you wish additional information, please do not hesitate to communicate with us.

On behalf of the Foundation may I extend every good wish for the success of this project.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary

bcc: Records Center(L66-567)
Comptroller
Secretary
Office of Reports
M. Epstein

Attachments

File Ford Fd. 1967

N. Y. Times 8/16/67

Overquick Exit

The real testing ground in the war on poverty and the even bigger war to make America's rancid cities livable is in the slums of the great metropolitan centers, and nowhere is the fight more crucial than right here.

On that basis, we consider the decision of Mitchell Sviridoff to quit his year-old post as Human Resources Administrator for a sheltered workshop at the Ford Foundation a desertion under fire.

When he came to New York after outstanding accomplishment as chief architect of New Haven's showcase antipoverty agency, Mr. Sviridoff wrote a charter for the new coordinating agency to fight want and human misery here. It concluded with these words: "The fact is that we must move mountains—those that block access to opportunity. We are organizing for the task. Now we need the resources to carry it out."

No mountains have been moved yet in New York, even though the city has escaped summer explosions of the kind that rocked Detroit and Newark. Only the smallest kind of beginning has been made toward establishing the programs and policies essential to building hope in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and the rest of the city's diseased areas. The relief budget edges toward the billion-dollar mark, with no slightest belief anywhere that its usefulness extends much beyond meeting the animal needs of two-thirds of a million New Yorkers.

Less than a month ago Mr. Sviridoff announced a reorganization of his agency, still newborn, in response to staff complaints of intolerable working conditions, confusion and inefficiency. As a lame duck staying only till the end of the year, he can achieve little toward a genuinely effective coordination of all the city's activities in employment, welfare and education—the job he came here to do.

Mr. Sviridoff insists that his new post as a Ford Foundation vice president presents "an even greater challenge to break ground on a national scale." Drawing master plans is undoubtedly a noble occupation—and certainly a safe one—but the future of American urban life will depend a lot more on public servants who have the stomach to stay with the hard problems of rebuilding the slums and helping people to self-respect, knowing that their reward is likely to be criticism, calumny and perhaps even political oblivion.

Sviridoff Resigning His Post With City To Join Ford Fund

N. Y. Times 8/16/67

By CHARLES G. BENNETT

Mitchell Sviridoff, whom Mayor Lindsay considered one of the principal men in his administration, has resigned as head of the city's Human Resources Administration, effective at the end of the year.

City Hall, which announced the resignation yesterday, seemed stunned by the resignation of Mr. Sviridoff, who is leaving to become the Ford Foundation's vice president for national affairs.

He came to New York a year ago from New Haven at the urging of Mayor Lindsay, who established one of the city's top salaries — $40,000 a year — for the post. In New Haven Mr. Sviridoff had set up an antipoverty program that has been considered a model.

The Human Resources Administration was set up by Mayor Lindsay by executive order as a "superagency" to encompass the work of the city's antipoverty programs, the Social Services Department (formerly the Welfare Department), the Youth Board and job training programs.

The Human Resources Administration is one of 10 superagencies proposed by Mayor Lindsay to consolidate the work of 51 existing departments and agencies. The Mayor set up six of the superagencies

Continued on Page 31, Column 1

See Ford Fd. 1967

Sviridoff Resigns His City Post To Take Job at Ford Foundation

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

by executive order last year. Only one—the Housing and Development Administration—has been set up by law by the City Council thus far.

There was no indication last night as to who would be named successor to the 48-year-old Mr. Sviridoff. Mayor Lindsay would say only that he was accepting with "deepest regret" the resignation "of Mike Sviridoff."

He hailed Mr. Sviridoff for doing "an amazingly effective job in coordinating and directing the extensive activities of the several social services combined into our Human Resources Administration."

For himself, Mr. Sviridoff said the Ford Foundation, through its president, McGeorge Bundy, had offered him "an even greater challenge" than his city post "to break ground on a national scale." He added: "I could not turn it down."

Pay Said to Be $50,000

Senator Robert F. Kennedy, however, who had taken part in early Democratic discussions of a possible study, had been high in his praise of Mr. Sviridoff and others in New York City's Human Resources Administration.

Mr. Sviridoff has been developing plans to move thousands of welfare recipients, previously considered unemployable, into gainful jobs. Yet there have been rumblings of discontent from time to time within the Human Resources Administration itself.

As head of the nearly $1-billion-a-year Department of Social Services, which is included in Mr. Sviridoff's administration, Mitchell I. Ginsberg told a City Hall public hearing in June:

"Here we are with millions for welfare and nothing for research. What business would try to operate and not have research? We operate like a corner candy store.

A month earlier, testifying before a Congressional subcomittee hearing in New York, Mr. Ginsberg had called for a complete revision of the nation's welfare system. He told the committee this system was "bankrupt" as a social institution and should be "thrown out."

The Welfare Commissioner has also expressed despair that the city's welfare rolls stand at 665,621 and are going up despite national prosperity and a general decrease in unemployment.

Foresaw Frustrations

Last night Mr. Sviridoff was asked in an interview if he felt defeated by "frustrations" he had encounter here.

"Not at all," he replied. "I foresaw them all before I came."

As to any inquiry into the city's poverty programs, he recalled that several days ago he and Commissioner Ginsberg had offered to cooperate with any "responsible" study.

Mr. Sviridoff said he felt his agency's programs had made a "major contribution" to the relatively quiet summer the city has enjoyed.

He also said that Mayor Lindsay's frequent presence in slum neighborhoods had contributed to a peaceful summer. He added that his decision to resign had been made before there was serious talk of a study of antipoverty programs.

Asked last night for comment on Mr. Sviridoff's move, David Ross, majority leader of the City Council and a Bronx Democrat, said that "no proposal has been considered by

Mitchell Sviridoff

Mr. Sviridoff's departure, Mayor Lindsay paid tribute to his accomplishments in New York.

"He has organized a program," Mr. Lindsay said, "to improve the quality of living for thousands of New Yorkers, especially with innovative manpower training program, and has given new hope to those who live in our poverty precincts."

"I am grateful to him," the Mayor declared, "for the leadership, direction and progress he has brought to our massive efforts in this vital area of social advance and also for his unselfish willingness to stay on for a few months longer to provide more operating momentum to the newer of his programs and projects."

Mr. Sviridoff said that working with Mayor Lindsay "has been one of the most inspiring and rewarding experiences of my professional life."

He added that the Human Resources Administration can "even now chalk up some significant results in reorganizing and integrating the functions of its components agencies and in developing programs which are keyed to such an integrated structure."

Mr. Sviridoff, who was born in New Haven, was an aircraft sheet metal worker before World War II. By the end of the war he had become head of the state organization of the United Auto Workers Union and in 1946, at the age of 27, he became president of the Connecticut Congress of Industrial Organizations.

When the C.I.O. merged with the American Federation of Labor, he became its first state president in Connecticut.

During the first two years of the Kennedy Administration, Mr. Sviridoff, a Democrat, served in the Alliance for Progress program. He left that post to organize New Haven's antipoverty program.

Although he never went to college, he served for a time as president of New Haven's Board of Education.

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Asked last night for comment on Mr. Sviridoff's move, David Ross, majority leader of the City Council and a Bronx Democrat, said that "no proposal has been considered by the City Council to launch an investigation into the poverty or welfare programs."

"Therefore," Mr. Ross said, "any comment by me on the departure of any official from either program would, at best, be inappropriate."

There was no comment from City Council President Frank D. O'Connor. Over the weekend, Mr. O'Connor had made public a letter from Representative Hugh Carey, of Brooklyn, who has made national antipoverty programs a "major field of interest." The letter endorsed the idea of a city-sponsored study of poverty and welfare as "a logical course in determining the true impact and value of our present legislation."

2 Praise Each Other

One of Mr. Sviridoff's problems in office occurred last April when 182 staff workers in the administration, including several high-ranking officials, submitted a memorandum to Mayor Lindsay charging that the entire city program to aid the poor was "in jeopardy because of intolerable employment conditions."

"Any program," the memorandum continued, "operated by a private agency as chaotically and inefficiently as H.R.A. is presently operated would be terminated immediately."

Two months later Mr. Sviridoff announced a management reorganization of his super-agency.

Mr. Sviridoff, who made a study of poverty and welfare programs here before he left his New Haven post, spent several months deciding whether to accept the city post. When he did come he all but scrapped the antipoverty organization he found, reorganizing it with the objective of assuring greater participation of the poor and better organization at the neighborhood level.

In expressing regrets over efforts in this vital area of social advance and also for his unselfish willingness to stay on for a few months longer to provide more operating momentum to the newer of his programs and projects."

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Jane
Ford Fd
Cliff Campbell

August 21, 1967

Mr. Clifford Campbell
2004 North East Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Cliff:

I tried on several occasions last week to reach you by telephone and discovered on Friday that you were already on your St. Louis trip.

The dates you suggested -- September 13 through 15 -- unfortunately conflict with our meeting here jointly sponsored by the North Carolina Fund.

I think we should confer by telephone on a mutually available date and I shall begin trying to reach you immediately after September 1.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

503
2 8 1-3 1 4 6

CLIFFORD J. CAMPBELL
2004 NORTH EAST CRAMER STREET
PORTLAND, OREGON 97211

August 9, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thanks very much for your letter of August 4th, together with the first draft of "Position Papers About The Future." I will comment on these papers later.

This is written to acknowledge them and to respond to the last paragraph of your letter regarding our Houston-Richmond visit. May I suggest the 13, 14 and 15th of September, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday respectively. I would plan to arrive in Houston on the evening of the 12th and how ever we schedule our time, we might wind up in Richmond with perhaps a full day to devote to its activities or longer, if you think it necessary. Let us try this for size and see how it goes.

If this particular week interferes with your calendar, why not consider the following week.

I will be on a very special mission from the 21st through the 1st of September and will not be available for contact. Maybe we can confirm this over the telephone.

Sincerely yours,

Clifford J. Campbell

CJC:dd

Free Ford Fd. 1967

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

THOMAS H. LENAGH
TREASURER

September 7, 1967

Mr. Paul B. Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Re: Grant #66-3

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In accordance with your Grant Quarterly Payment Request, we enclose our check for $64,800 payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., covering the fourth quarter.

This remittance represents a further payment on our grant of $972,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., over a three-year period for studies and technical assistance related to human relations programs in the South. The terms of this grant were set forth in Mr. McDaniel's letter to you dated October 5, 1965.

We would appreciate your signing the copy of this letter and returning it in the enclosed envelope.

Very truly yours,

Thomas H. Lenagh

Thomas H. Lenagh
Treasurer

Enclosures

$64,800.00
9-8-67
C.L.

See Campbell, Cliff (Ford Fd.)

September 18, 1967

Mr. Clifford Campbell
2004 North East Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Cliff:

Everything is in readiness for our trip to Houston and Miami. I would suggest that we plan to meet in Houston in late afternoon on Monday, October 23rd. In this way we might plan to have dinner with a small group at the Houston Council that evening. We could spend a good portion on Tuesday, the 24th at the Houston Council office and perhaps in the community looking at one or more of its programs. Perhaps we could then try to arrange a schedule to arrive in Miami in time to have dinner with the Miami leadership. Most of Wednesday, the 25th could be spent with the staff and others of the Miami Council, and we could return to Atlanta late that afternoon.

This is a very heavy schedule, and is it overdoing it for you?

John Boone is very pleased that you may attend his meeting on the 26th and 27th, and I think you will find it of interest. I also hope you can be with us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Jack Murray
Executive Director
Houston Council on Human Relations

Mr. August VandenBosche
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations

See Ford Id Cliff Campbell

September 25, 1967

Mr. Clifford Campbell
2004 North East Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Cliff:

Reservations have been made for our Atlanta-Houston-Miami jaunt as follows:

HOUSTON-MIAMI
(National Airlines Flight #186)

Departing Houston on October 24 at 2:35 pm, arriving Miami at 5:40 pm.

MIAMI-ATLANTA
(Delta Airlines Flight #812)

Departing Miami on October 25 at 5:50 pm, arriving Atlanta at 7:28, pm.

I will be arriving in Houston around noon on Monday, the 23rd; earlier than I had planned, but this is the only adequate flight. Therefore, I will simply be available in Houston when you are. Later we will send you word on hotel reservations.

Again, I am sorry to put you through such a schedule, but didn't know of any other way we could handle this.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

cc: Mr. August VandenBosche
Mr. John P. Murray

File

September 29, 1967

Mr. August VandenBosche
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
5225 Ponce de Leon
Coral Gables, Florida 33124

Dear Augie:

Thank you very much for being available for the Campbell visit and for arranging it. We would like single rooms arranged for the visit. Incidentally, Campbell likes to go first class on these things, so you might keep that in mind as you make reservations.

I also look forward to being with you in St. Petersburg on the 20th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5225 Ponce de Leon Boulevard Coral Gables, Florida 33146
Phone 661-5598

Executive Director
AUGUST H. VANDEN BOSCHE

Associate Director
WILLIAM H. MILES

0

September 27, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

Our conversation about Clifford Campbell's trip are entered on my calendar. However, it was good to have the confirmation. I will aim for a 7:30 dinner meeting on the 24th and daytime activities on the 25th.

It was good to receive your resume of the Gatlinburg meeting. I was pleased, of course, with what you said.

I shall give you specifics about the 24th and 25th at the State Meeting. Do you need room reservations for the trip with Mr. Campbell?

Very sincerely,

August H. VandenBosche
Executive Director

AHV:ag

HOUSTON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

3505 MAIN • HOUSTON, TEXAS 77002 • JA 6-1829 • EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: JOHN P. MURRAY

September 21, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter of September 18, which does bring back a recall of our brief conversation concerning the impending visit of Clifford Campbell and yourself on October 23 and 24. We will be most pleased to have you with us at that time.

Please let me know if you would like to have us arrange hotel reservations for you and also meet you at the airport.

With personal greetings and best wishes, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

HOUSTON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Jack

John P. Murray
Executive Director

JPM:ig

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CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

FORD FOUNDATION

REGARDING

Edley's Letter concerning Ray Marshall serving as consultant to Southern Consumers Education Foundation

DATE

9-29-67

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS EDUCATION FOUNDATION

CLIFFORD J. CAMPBELL
2004 NORTH EAST CRAMER STREET
PORTLAND, OREGON 97211

October 5, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

It was, indeed, good to talk with you this morning concerning our forthcoming get-together for the purpose of reviewing certain elements of S.R.C.'s program in Houston and Miami and participation in the two-day conference on Crime and Correction at Atlanta. The following represents a confirmation of the schedule agreed upon.

I plan to leave Portland for Houston, Texas on Monday, August 23rd via Continental Airline, Flight 90, at 7:50 a.m., arriving in Houston at 2:24 p.m. The plane schedule from that point on will be just as you outlined in your letter of September 25th.

I requested the Foundation to make reservations at the Regency Hyatt House in Atlanta for the evenings of October 25 and 26, Thursday and Friday respectively.

It is understood that hotel reservations for Houston and Miami will be taken care of by you.

As soon as I have information with reference to Chris Edley's possible joining with us, I will let you know.

Very sincerely yours,

Clifford J. Campbell

CJC:dd

See Ford - Cliff Campbell

October 5, 1967

Mr. Clifford Campbell
2004 North East Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Cliff:

You probably know this, but I have just learned that Chris Edley will be with us for John Boone's meeting on October 26th. I have written him saying that the two of us would be happy to have him with us earlier in the week.

I have also just learned that John's meeting will be limited to one day -- October 26th. Therefore, you may want to change your schedule somewhat. We would be pleased to have you with us here in the office on the 27th, but certainly well understand if you want to end the week.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File Ford Fd. gen. 1967

October 6, 1967

Mr. Christopher F. Edley
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Chris:

John Boone has just told me that you will be attending his meeting on November 26. I am delighted that you are able to do this. As you probably know, Cliff Campbell and I will be in Texas on October 23-25 and we would certainly be pleased to have you join us on that also.

At any rate, I look forward to seeing you on the 26th.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

See Ford Fd.

October 18, 1967

Mr. Steven McNicholls
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Stev:

This morning I have talked with Don Jelinek about developments in his program.

Earlier you may recall I promised to share with you our opinions of the materials they have been collecting when they became available. This morning Don tells me that the Sociology Department at Tuskegee Institute has the questionnaires and is processing them. Don would be happy to have you write to Dr. Edward Epps, Department of Sociology, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama for an evaluation of them. This sounds to me like an even better source than us, and I have told Don this suggestion would be passed on to you.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Fold. 7d
Cliff Campbell

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL October 18, 1967

Mr. Clifford Campbell
2004 North East Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Cliff:

It occurs to me you might want to know where you will be staying prior to your arrival in Atlanta next week.

In Houston we will be staying at the Rice Hotel, and in Miami at the Everglades.

I will meet you in Houston on Monday at the airport and, of course, will travel with you from there until we get to the Regency in Atlanta.

It will be good to see you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 10/25/67 WM

file

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

file

October 24, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your note of October 18. I will be in touch with Tuskegee Sociology Department, but any comments you may have will be of interest.

It was good talking with you on the telephone last week and as always I enjoyed my stay in Atlanta. Hope we have a chance to get together before too much longer.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Steve

Steven McNichols
Project Assistant

file
for J.L.
Cliff Campbell

November 13, 1967

Mr. Clifford J. Campbell
2004 North East Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Cliff:

Thank you for your good letter and again for the time you took on our jaunt and here in Atlanta.

We shall plan to have a draft proposal for the staff of the Foundation by December 31st. This is going to push us considerably, but I am much happier to be on this time schedule than on a slower one. Toward this end, our Executive Committee will hold a special meeting December 1, 2, and 3 to evaluate our programs, to review the role and purposes of the Council at this particular time, and to make such policy decisions as are necessary prior to our preparing the proposal. This should be an important and significant meeting, and I think the time schedule for the meeting indicates the Committee's seriousness and commitment.

All things being equal, it would have been valuable to have the results of the review you plan to conduct before this meeting. But on the other hand, it may be of some value for the review team to have the Committee's thinking about the future.

I don't know the extent to which it is proper for me to comment on the individuals serving on the review team. Certainly, I agree with you that we need people both with a national perspective and some at least with a particular southern perspective. One such person to me would be Dr. Vivian Henderson, President of Clark College here in Atlanta. There may be a conflict of interest here, since Vivian has just been elected to our Executive Committee. However, I think Vivian would, nevertheless, bring a high degree of objectivity to such a task.

Another person who fits this same category, but who is not a member of SRC, is Miss Marian Wright of Jackson, Mississippi. BI believe several people at the Foundation have worked with her rather closely and should be in a position to react to this suggestion. I have some other thoughts, but I will withhold them until I get your reaction to this.

I have been giving some thought to basic background documents for use by the review team. It occurs to me that one such document is our review of programs activities for last year -- a copy is enclosed. What is your reaction to this idea? While it may be impossible, I would also like to have available for the team the first draft of our program report for 1967.

Sorry about the length of this.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

cc: Mr. Christopher Edley

CLIFFORD J. CAMPBELL
2004 NORTH EAST CRAMER STREET
PORTLAND, OREGON 97211

November 8, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Please know how much I enjoyed visiting Houston and Miami with you to secure on the site exposure to the state councils. It was most informative and gives me a clear definition of the tasks that lay ahead of SRC in its efforts to be of assistance at the state level.

I enjoyed attending the "Advisory Committee Meeting Project on Crime and Correction in Atlanta." This program enabled me to understand more fully the relationship of the "Corrections" program to local community development.

By way of confirming my telephone conversation with you subsequent to my visit to New York, may I pin down several issues:

(1) I believe that I shared with you the Foundation's interest in securing from you by December 31st, a draft of the SRC proposal we discussed with Chris Edley on the way to the airport.

(2) We alerted you as to our interest in effecting a major review of SRC's program sometime during the early part of January 1968.

I have agreed to execute the necessary basic work in putting together this program and will be in touch with you quite frequently.

We will need to develop background material for use by the review committee for orientation purposes prior to the visit. This should be one of the first items for consideration.

Well Paul, this is all for now. Again, many thanks for an enjoyable experience. Will contact you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Clifford J. Campbell

CJC:dd

cc: Mildred Epstein
Christopher Edley
Louis Winnick

File
for Cliff Campbell

November 22, 1967

Mr. Clifford J. Campbell
2004 North East Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Cliff:

As you may have read, the SRC-sponsored book on the struggle to gain the ballot has just been published. It is written by Pat Watters of SRC and Reece Cleghorn of the Atlanta Journal. The information in the book draws heavily from the files of the first Voter Education Project.

I think it is an extremely important book and I am very pleased SRC could have been part of it. We may even earn a little money from royalties!

Under separate cover we are sending you a copy.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File
Ford Fd. Gen.

November 22, 1967

Mr. Christopher F. Edley
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Chris:

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Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File
Ford Fd. Review Team
JAN. 1967

via air mail November 28, 1967

Mr. Clifford Campbell
2004 North East Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Cliff:

Here follows the names and pertinent information about the individuals for the review team which we discussed earlier today:

(1) C. Vann Woodward
Professor of History
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

As you know, Dr. Woodward is a noted authority on the South and southern history. He is generally regarded as one of the very thoughtful scholars in southern problems.

(2) M. Carl Holman
Staff Director
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
800-19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Phone: 382-8821

Mr. Holman is most highly regarded in Washington circles, but lived in the South until a few years ago. More importantly, he and other top members of the staff of the Commission have done a great deal of research and investigation into the specific problems of the South. His technical knowledge of these problems might be very helpful in terms of an evaluation of the Council's effectiveness or lack of effectiveness.

(3) John Feild, Director
Community Relations Service
U. S. Conference of Mayors
1707 "H" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Phone: 298-7535

Mr. Feild also is generally regarded as being very knowledgeable about southern problems. He has, in addition, a particular knowledge of working with political and business leadership that might be an asset to the review process.

(4) Philip Hammer, President
Hammer, Greene, Siler Associates, Inc.
1413 "K" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Phone: 347-9321

Mr. Hammer, also a native Southerner, is generally regarded as a specialist on the economy of the region. He, too, has considerable experience in working with southern economic and business leadership.

(5) John Popham, Editor
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

During the 50's Mr. Popham was the New York Times Bureau Chief for the Southeast, and an outstanding newspaper man.

He has known the Council for many years since its very leanest times. He might well bring a fresh viewpoint on what he thinks of Council programs and activities relative to his knowledge of the region's needs. (Several years ago when asked to become a member of the SRC board, he thanked us but said he would rather remain independent to praise us or criticize us as he saw fit. I suspect this kind of objectivity.)

Hope these suggestions will be of some help to you. I shall give considerable thought to the matters you raised this morning and will look forward to your call.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See Jack Ed. Rodney Team

CLIFFORD J. CAMPBELL
2004 NORTH EAST CRAMER STREET
PORTLAND, OREGON 97211

November 28, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

First, may I say that I enjoyed talking with you. Our conversation certainly pointed up the fact that you have been giving serious thought to the composition of the review team for the SRC visitation.

In an earlier letter you suggested the name of Dr. Vivian Henderson, President of Clark College. He would make an excellent contribution. However, since he has been elected to the Executive Committee, this might raise some questions.

Several persons have suggested the name of Miss Marian Wright of Jackson, Mississippi. I am impressed with her history and performance.

Thanks for sharing with me a copy of the Annual Report of SRC activities. A quick run through of the report certainly indicated that back-up material of this character would be helpful.

You will recall that we set up an agenda for a future telephone conference. Two items were agreed upon: (1) Logistics -- tentative and suggested itinerary for visitation; (2) The nature and composition and extent of back-up material.

The list of five persons reviewed by you for my consideration certainly provides a wealth of experienced, seasoned and potential reviewers. I will look forward to receiving from you a letter including their names and brief biographical sketches for each.

I promise to get back to you after the first of the month to discuss this agenda and I will try to work out a schedule which will make possible visiting with you one day early in January for the purpose of "finalizing" the visitation and all details concerning same.

Sincerely yours,

Clifford J. Campbell

CJC:dd

file
Ford Fd.
Cliff Campbell

file

CLIFFORD J. CAMPBELL
2004 NORTH EAST CRAMER STREET
PORTLAND, OREGON 97211

November 29, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

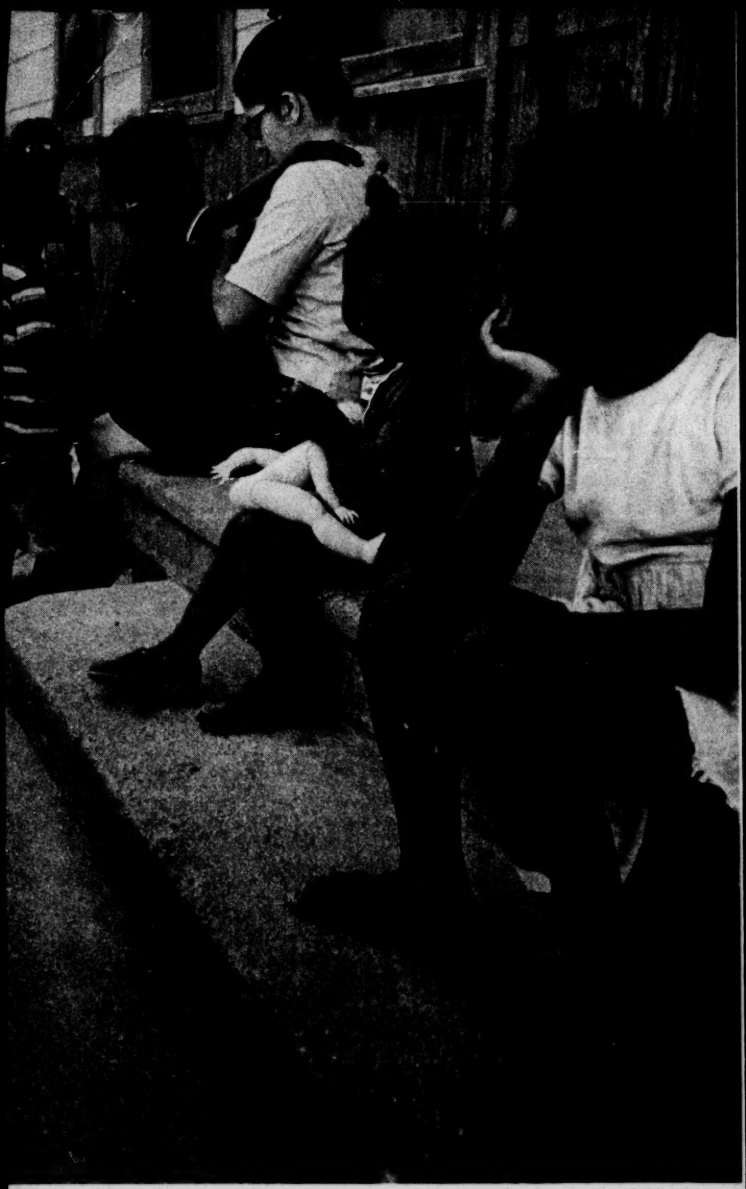
The new book entitled "Climbing Jacob's Ladder" arrived today. It looks quite interesting and I can hardly wait to begin reading it.

Thanks for including me on your list.

Sincerely yours,

Clifford J. Campbell

CJC:dd



WHEN YOU THINK
OF HOUSTON'S FUTURE
THINK OF HCHR

HOUSTON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
3505 MAIN STREET
HOUSTON, TEXAS

BALANCE SHEET
November 30, 1967

ASSETS			
South Main State Bank		57.80	
Petty Cash		25.00	
Furniture & Fixtures	3147.89		
Less Depreciation prior to 1967	1335.67	1812.22	
Payroll Deposits		315.24	
Deposit on Coffee Machine		30.00	
TOTAL ASSETS			2240.26
LIABILITIES			
Bank Loans		4500.00	
Due on Coke Machine		72.92	
Due on Payroll Taxes		623.44	
TOTAL LIABILITIES			5196.36
SURPLUS/DEFICIT			
Deficit as of January 1, 1967		1709.45	
Accumulated Deficit to 11-30-67		1246.65	
TOTAL DEFICIT			2956.10
LIABILITIES LESS DEFICIT			2240.26

12/22/67
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BOARD OF DIRECTORS - H.C.H.R.

John Barnhart	Attorney
Howard Barnstone	Architect
Gould Beech	Realtor
T. D. Brown	Personnel Director, Shell Oil Company
Larry W. Buck	Insurance
Mrs. Max Carman	Housewife
*Lauro Cruz	Attorney, State Representative
**Floyd Dixon	Postal Clerk
Rev. Emile Farge, R.C.C.	
Frederic A. Fleming, Jr.	Export-Import
Mrs. Morris Glesby	Housewife
**Rev. Thomas Griffin	
Henry Groppe	Consultant, Oil Firm
**Arthur Higgs, D.D.S.	
Don A. Horn	Labor
**Mrs. Nickles Howard, Jr.	Barber
Simeon Hyde	Personnel Director, Dow Chemical
Mrs. Chris Iannucci	Housewife
**Winston Johnson	Postal Clerk
**Mrs. Everette Jones	Teacher
**Barbara Jordan	Attorney, State Senator
**Mrs. A. C. Kelly	Owner, Day Nursery
**Rev. William Lawson	
George A. Lloyd	Community Relations, Humble Oil
Joseph L. Melnick	Ph.D.
*Raul Molina	Owner, Mexican Restaurant Chain
R. L. Motard, Ph.D.	
**Mrs. Charles W. Pemberton	Housewife
Ronald Roberts	Political Science, Houston Baptist College
**Judson Robinson, Jr.	Realtor
Ben Russell	Owner, Art Supply Store
**J. Reuben Sheeler, Ph.D.	
William Silber	TRW Systems
**Melvin Sikes, Ph.D.	Clinical Psychologist, V.A. Hospital
Mrs. Alfred Stokes	Business Administrator
Morton L. Susman	U.S. Attorney, Southern District
Robert Vickers	Attorney
**Mrs. Charles E. White	Housewife
**Clarence White	Businessman
John Wildenthal	Attorney
Stewart A. Wilber, M.D.	
William J. Salman	Vice President, Canadian Gulf Lines
**Louis Kenneth Rachal	Postal Clerk
Margy Pollard	
George B. Gibbs	Gulf Publishing Company

*Mexican-American
**Negro

January, 1968
ig

THE HOUSTON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES

For the Eleven Months Ended August 31, 1965

INCOME			
Memberships and Grants			
Individual Memberships	$13,897.70		
Corporate Memberships	6,050.00		
Foundations, Associations, etc.	2,275.00	$22,222.70	
Other Income			
Memorials	426.50		
Programs & Projects	5,070.55		
Books & Literature	377.57		
Miscellaneous	898.96	6,773.58	
TOTAL INCOME			$28,996.28
EXPENSES			
General & Administrative Expense			
Salaries	12,994.83		
Allowances	3,450.00		
Office Supplies & Expense	2,071.15		
Postage	825.08		
Printing	1,029.00		
Repairs & Maintenance	268.00		
Rent	965.00		
Taxes	607.86		
Telephone	1,255.85		
Travel & Meetings	2,457.00		
Utilities	230.08		
Miscellaneous Expense	339.44	26,493.29	
Committees & Projects			
Arts	3,179.83		
Education & Employment	51.64		
Health Committee	7.00		
Housing Committee	130.09		
Others	1,229.55	4,598.11	
TOTAL EXPENSE			$31,091.40
DEFECIT			(2,095.12)

HOUSTON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Operating Statement for Year-to-Date with comparisons

JANUARY-NOVEMBER

	1967		1966	
	Income	Expense	Income	Expense
INCOMES				
General Membership	15474.05		14283.	
Corporate	4700.00		7350.	
Foundations	1476.06		2281.	
Memorials	159.00		238.	
Miscellaneous	479.51		147.	
TOTAL INCOMES	22238.62		24299.	
OPERATING EXPENSES				
Salaries		14097.02		17711.
Payroll taxes		637.69		680.
Rent		750.00		1650.
Utilities		317.43		459.
Telephone		1092.68		2040.
Office Supplies		2049.33		2288.
Postage		653.86		1069.
Bookkeeping		975.00		700.
Allowances		2000.00		374.
Travel		302.78		773.
Publicity		189.02		
Insurance		68.04		339.
Miscellaneous		122.10		223.
Misc. Comm.		25.53		(11.)
Dues, etc.		65.69		53.
Interest		108.33		
Auto Maint.				424.
Other taxes		34.50		
Printing				
TOTAL OPERATING EXPENSES		23489.00		28772.
PROJECTS				
Arts	110.00	129.50	148.	737.
Gen. Meetings	2194.24	1867.31	1258.	739.
Housing Comm.	75.00	65.70	402.	395.
Vista	6956.19	7616.55	3930.	1165.
H. R. Week	418.35	332.05		325.
Finance	39.72	263.78		539.
HYCOHR		37.68	75.	302.
Employment		28.00		
Housing Found.	7281.29	7281.29		
Miss. Children's Fund	2477.25	2158.60		
Education	569.20	375.25		
Relocation of office	3249.65	3185.45		
Racial Tension				
Cultural Enrichment	3721.00	3747.00		
TOTAL PROJECTS	27091.89	27088.16	5813.	4202.
SURPLUS	3.73		1611.	
TOTAL ALL INCOMES	49330.51		30112.	
TOTAL ALL EXPENSES		50577.16		32974.
TOTAL ALL SURPLUS	(1246.65)		(2862.)	

12/22/67
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See Ford Fd. Review Team

Clifford J. Campbell
2004 N. E. Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

December 5, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

The attached is what I thought we said.

Your views and assistance for further refinement will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Clifford J. Campbell

Clifford J. Campbell

CJC:dd
Attachment

cc: Mitchell Sviridoff

file

Notes taken in connection with long distance telephone calls with Paul Anthony, Executive Director of SRC, 12/4/67, re final review of SRC activities:

1. We have agreed that, from our point of view, the week of January 21, 1968 will be the period for the SRC Review. Panel members will arrive in Atlanta, Sunday the 21st. The review will extend through Thursday the 25th with adjournment taking place at 5 o'clock (or before) in sufficient time for the group to make airline connections.

These tentative dates will be discussed with Mitchell Sviridoff and John Wheeler.

2. Monday, January 22nd, will begin with a review panel breakfast at the hotel at which time orientation for the team will take place.

3. The review panel will be divided into teams to which will be added a member of SRC's staff, a member of SRC's board, the president or chairman of a local state board and members of the Ford Foundation Review Panel. In all likelihood, there will be four such teams; each of which will visit one state. Tentatively, the states selected are as follows:

(a) Florida,
(b) Virginia,
(c) South Carolina,
(d) Mississippi

It is anticipated that this visitation will take not less nor more than two days. Plane schedules will be arranged for departure from Atlanta sometime during late afternoon or the evening of Monday, January 22nd. All members of the team should return to their latter hotels not later than Wednesday evening, January 24th.

4. The fourth and final day of the review will be on Thursday, January 25th. It will probably begin with a breakfast session at our hotel to which will be invited SRC board members and staff. This session, which may extend to 11:30 a.m., will be given over to a question and answer period based upon the review teams' experiences in the field. This session will adjourn just prior to lunch.

5. Our plenary session will begin with luncheon and extend up to 5 o'clock (if necessary) and adjourn in time for all of us to meet our respective plane schedules.

6. Paul and I have agreed to confer with each other by Friday, December 8th for further refinement of this schedule. At future sessions we hope to discuss and finalize other matters pertaining to the review program.

File
Ford Fd - Review Team
Jan. 1967

December 6, 1967

Mr. Clifford Campbell
Consultant
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Cliff:

This is to reconfirm the details of the review as discussed on the telephone and to add a little elaboration.

Tentatively, we have agreed on the dates of January 22-25. (Incidentally, both the Marriott and the Regency, which we discussed, are both sold out for that period. In fact, I have just learned that our furniture market meets January 21-26 and desirable downtown space is booked up. However, I think we can work this out, and will await for your confirmation of these dates before going any further.)

I gather the team would arrive on Sunday afternoon, January 21st and be here in the office on the morning of January 22nd for a full day here. On the morning of the 23rd teams would leave here for visits with state councils, returning on the afternoon of the 24th. Beginning with breakfast on the 25th, we would all meet

together until lunch time when you and the team would want to go into session without SRC representatives.

For the morning of the 25th we would try to have available the President, John Wheeler; the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Dr. Raymond Wheeler; and several members of the Executive Committee.

We have tentatively agreed on visits to the state councils in Florida, Virginia, South Carolina and Mississippi. Each team would be accompanied by one SRC staff person and in each city visited, where possible, an SRC board member and the president of the state council concerned would also serve as hosts.

As I mentioned to you earlier, I feel that essentially the review team will want to look in effect at two operations. One is, of course, the Southern Regional Council, and the other is the state councils. Earlier, the Foundation took separate action in support of these two groups, and I assume it would again.

I think, too, that an important part of the review team's work would be in attempting to obtain, at least to a slight degree, an assessment of the region and its needs and perhaps even to get some reactions from some of the enlightened people as to the effectiveness of SRC and the role it is playing. As little time as there is for this, I would like to ask your consideration of looking at the two-day trip as not only an evaluation of the state councils, but to make some attempt at assessing the region and its needs, and so forth. Toward that end, if you wish, we will provide you with

names and addresses of knowledgeable people with whom the several teams might talk. If we do so, I will make a sincere effort to provide suggestions of persons who are objective and, frankly, in a few instances I would like to provide names of persons who would be critical of us.

(Again, I sincerely look on this as an opportunity for an independent evaluation at a time when I think none of us know all the answers, and at a time when we very much need some answers.)

Again, let me assure you, and not simply for the sake of securing further financial support, the review team will have the complete cooperation of me and my colleagues and of our policy leadership. Quite apart from the future, we are sincerely grateful for the current support of the Ford Foundation, and for the programs that have been made possible because of that support. And, we welcome this opportunity for the Foundation to make a judgment on our use of that support.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Ford Fd. Review Team

MEMORANDUM December 12, 1967

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony

- o -

We have just had word that the review team from the Ford Foundation will arrive in Atlanta on Sunday evening, January 21st. The team will spend Monday, January 22nd in our offices; Tuesday and Wednesday, January 23rd and 24th, will be spent travelling the region; and on Thursday, January 25th the team will be back in Atlanta (though not in the office, however).

Please make every effort to be available on Monday, January 22nd. At this point, it does not seem as though most of the staff will be involved, except for Monday, January 22nd, all day.

file
Ford Fd. Review Team
1967

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MEMORANDUM December 12, 1967

To: Members of the Executive Committee

From: Paul Anthony

- o -

We have just learned that the Ford Foundation Review Team will review SRC programs during the period, January 21-25. I think it would be quite good if a portion of our next Executive Committee meeting could include a report to you of whatever results we might have at that point from the review. This being the case, I would like to suggest that we change the date of the next meeting from Saturday, January 20th to Saturday, January 27th. If it appears that a number of you cannot make it on that date, we will try for another.

Please indicate your availability on the enclosed card.

See: Fund Fd. Research team

December 13, 1967

Mr. Clifford Campbell
c/o Summit Hotel
51st at Lexington
New York, New York

Dear Cliff:

Enclosed is an effort at brief commentaries on the Southern Regional Council and the state councils.

I hope you find them helpful.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

Note: Sent to copy Campbell Clift at Sherman Hotel, Chicago & also at Portland, Oregon address

20(cc)

See: Ford Fd. Review Issue 1967

THE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

In 1944 the Southern Regional Council was organized as a general membership organization. Many of the original members, in fact, had previously been members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

In the early 1950's, partly in anticipation of the Supreme Court's ruling on school segregation, the Council board reviewed this structure. Largely at the urging of George Mitchell, who had great faith in the need and possibility of interracial cooperation on the community level, a plan was devised whereby the Council would cease to have general memberships and would turn its membership over to newly created Councils on Human Relations in each of the Southeastern states. Incredibly, the idea included autonomy of each of the several newly created agencies. The thinking behind this was that as efforts developed it was likely, for instance, that situations and solutions would be considerably different in Virginia and Alabama, and that those closest to the situation would be in a position to analyze them and make policy concerning them.

The plan was that SRC would find funds to provide all of the operating expenses for staff of each state Council for a period of three years. During that time each Council would emphasize the development of local councils and the involvement of members in each community throughout the state. At the end of three years, it was planned and anticipated that SRC would turn over full authority to the respective state council when that council would be sufficiently strong in membership and financial support ~~that it could~~ to continue on its own resources.

This dream of a truly interracial movement in which Southerners would work together community by community to resolve their problems was largely unrealized at the cut-off date (November, 1957) because of the region's reaction to the 1954 court decision. No one had accurately guaged how violent that reaction was to be. Indeed, interracial activities that had been possible before 1954 became more difficult and sometimes impossible. Any interracial activity, or even support of the Supreme Court Decision, was looked upon as suspect, and frequently as subversive.

Therefore, when the target date for "self support" arrived, no council could support its minimum operations and three councils (Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas) were already in the process of disbanding because of the pressures against them.

The problem was further complicated because the Fund for the Republic, which had supported this effort, was going out of business. In one of its final grants the Fund gave SRC $200,000 to use as it saw fit. With these funds SRC devised a grant-in-aid program of $50,000 a year for the state Councils. When the initial grant ended the Field and Taconic Foundations assumed support at the same level. This amount was sufficient to keep the remaining eight ~~(8)~~ councils in operation on a subsistence level. They grew in membership and local support, but slowly and painfully.

When in 1965 the Ford Foundation provided $100,000 a year for three years for the grant-in-aid program, and SRC raised from other sources an amount approximately equal to this, the situation changed substantially. We were able to encourage the revival of staffed Councils in Louisiana and Mississippi, and to provide approximately $200,000 to the ten ~~(10)~~ staffed councils, plus modest support, to a local effort in Houston, Texas.

The typical state council now has two professional persons, a budget of about $35,000 per year, and local councils functioning to some degree in the larger cities of the state. Total membership is approximately 15,000 and total funds raised, exclusive of SRC and foundation support, is slightly in excess of $200,000.

Generally, the programs of the councils remain the same -- to encourage people to join in an interracial activity in a given community and to develop specific programs involving lay people in the problems of the community. The state council staff is expected to encourage this, to provide technical assistance, and to develop statewide programs and information. This continues to be the only effort in a truly interracial organization in the region.

Quite obviously the goals are far more ambitious than available resources. Further, the state councils now suffer from and mirror much of the new tensions, suppicions, and several philosophies rapidly emerging in the region as well as in the nation. The Southern Regional Council considers its financial support and staff assistance to this interracial movement to be one of its significant ~~parts~~ programs. We continue to feel this and continue to seek means of providing more effective staff and larger financial support.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

December 13, 1967

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

The Southern Regional Council was organized in 1944 as an outgrowth of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919. The Incorporators were the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, then Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, then President of Fisk University, Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church, Mr. Ralph McGill, Publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, and the late Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President of Atlanta University.

There was a feeling during World War II that the region would be considerably different after the war, that a new organization was needed both to escape the relatively paternalistic concepts of the Commission and to provide a number of specific skills for non-discriminatory regional development.

Dr. Guy Johnson took a one year's leave of absence from the University of North Carolina to serve as the first executive director of the Council. In 1947 George S. Mitchell was appointed second executive director, in 1957, Harold C. Fleming, in 1961, Leslie W. Dunbar and in 1965, Paul Anthony.

From its beginning the Council's primary interest has been in race relations in the Southeastern region. During all of this time a basic function has been research and interpretation of conditions and needs. As a portion of this function, the organization has developed to a rather substantial degree a technique of working closely with the press and other media. The Council has sought to develop a reputation of accuracy and reliability, and to a reasonable degree, this effort has been successful. Because of it the agency is able to provide story and program ideas, background information, and interpretative materials for the leading newspapers, magazines, and television networks of the country.

Periodically, the Council launches special projects toward a certain end. The most ambitious of these has been a Voter Education Project beginning in 1961 which, over a three-year period, expended some one million dollars in support of programs to achieve Negro registration. As a

result of this approximately 688,000 new voters were added to the rolls. A second voter project, begun in 1966, is operating for three years with similar purposes. In 1965 a grant from the Ford Foundation also made it possible for modest projects to be sponsored in the areas of Community Organization, Urban Planning, Crime and Penal Rehabilitation, and Labor Education. This funding from the Ford Foundation also allowed the Council to expand to its highest level of operation, which is currently at approximately $1,250,000 a year. This rate of operation represents, relatively, a time of affluence for the agency. Financially the beginnings of the operation were very modest (approximately $40,000 a year) and continued that way through 1953. At one point it became necessary for George Mitchell to borrow on his life insurance to keep the organization going. Almost the same situation was reached again in 1957. In 1954, the Fund for the Republic made its first grant to SRC. Over the next three years the Council was to receive approximately $1,500,000 from this source. Most of these funds went toward the establishment of the state Councils on Human Relations, discussed in a separate memorandum. When the Fund for the Republic ceased operations, SRC almost followed suit. In time, however, other significant support was found from the Rockefeller Foundation, a long time supporter; the Stephen Curriers (later the Taconic Foundation), the Field Foundation, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and the New World Foundation.

The Council is not a "program" agency. That is to say for instance, its approach to the problems of urban planning would not be to try to devise plans for every southern city or even, indeed, to approach many southern cities. Rather, through its dealings with planners, governmental agencies, professional associations, and others, through the work of the project director and through the research and information prepared for this project, it attempts to educate to the need, offer solutions, and interpret reasons, including ones of self-interest, as to why such things are necessary as well as right. In a sense, the Council attempts to be a behind-the-scenes influencer; sometimes a "finagler."

The Southern Regional Council has no illusions of its power or ability to change the region. At best we can look for opportunities that are promising, needs that are pressing, new developments that require interpretation, or situations which hang in the delicate balance. We can only hope that such resources as we can bring to bear will make a difference.

These skills and this realistic appraisal of limitations may be the reason the Council is unique, as we think it is. The Council is a strange agency, neither completely academic nor research-oriented in nature, nor action-oriented in the usual sense of that term. It is an agency, born out of the particular southern mind, which is designed in the best judgment of those who direct it to meet the particular southern need. This, in the sense of building a society as well as in the sense of correcting old evils, leads to the merging of special skills, interests, and resources. We find ourselves, therefore, attempting to analyze responsible questions raised about the exuberant student movement of the deep South, or to confer quietly with a southern governor, to advise on request about appointments to federal governmental posts, to engage scholars for highly academic research, or to rush out a special report to clarify issues.

The Council is a body of 100 members representing 100 Southerners from racial, religious, and professional groupings in the region. Responsibility for governing the organization rests with an Executive Committee of fifteen (15) persons. A list of the members and the Executive Committee is attached.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

December 13, 1967

Give Ford Fd. Review Team

file

THE FORD FOUNDATION
~~477 MADISON AVENUE~~
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10~~022~~17
320 East 43rd Street

December 13, 1967

COPY

Mr. John Wheeler
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dear John:

The current Foundation grant to Southern Regional Council will expire at the end of 1968. In view of the size of the grant and its relationship to the whole operation, we are trying to reach a determination on renewing the grant as soon as possible. We are shooting for spring, which will give SRC at least seven or eight months advance notice of what will happen at the end of the year.

In this connection arrangements have been made for a Foundation evaluation of SRC for several days commencing January 22nd. Our consultant, Clifford Campbell, whom you have met on several occasions, is serving as principal liaison and chairman of the review team. He is working on details of the review with Paul Anthony.

I hope Paul will make the necessary arrangements with you so that the review team will have an opportunity to meet with you. I am not certain whether the arrangements will include a Board meeting. As plans develop, we will advise you.

Sincerely yours,

Christopher F. Edley

CFE/fb
cc: Mr. Paul Anthony
Mr. Clifford Campbell
bcc: Mrs. Mildred Epstein

See Ford Fdn 1967

December 15, 1967

Mr. Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr.
Secretary
The Ford Foundation, Inc.
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. McDaniel:

An internal eleventh month check on receipt of committed project funds has indicated that we made an error in submitting the Grant Quarterly Payment Request form to the Foundation. On the form we correctly reported the annual grant total to the Council of $324,000 and a five quarter total expenditure of $388,000. However, when we gave our by-quarter estimated expenditures we divided the annual grant of $324,000 by five quarters when we should have used this procedure with a total of $388,000. The result is that we indicated quarterly payments of $64,800 when we should have indicated quarterly payments of $77,760. The result is, of course, that at this time we have received from the Foundation $64,800 less than the annual grant amount.

This is to ask your consideration of two things. May we have by the end of the year a

remaining payment of $64,800 to complete the total amount granted and budgeted of $324,000 for 1967? And, for 1968, may we have quarterly payments in the amount of $77,600? Enclosed is a copy of the form originally submitted to you and a corrected form as it should have been when submitted.

Please know that we deeply regret any inconvenience this may cause the Foundation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

THE FORD FOUNDATION

GRANT QUARTERLY PAYMENT REQUEST
(To be submitted annually)

GRANTEE: Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Purpose: Studies and technical Assistance related to human relations programs in the South

Grant Number: 66-3

Date of Grant: 10-5-65

Amount of Grant: $972,000

a. Total Payment Received through last Annual Reporting Date:

October 5, 1965 (month/year) $ $324,000

b. Total Expenditures through last Annual Reporting Date above $ 293,935*

c. Balance $ 46,065

d. Estimated Expenditures for 5 quarters following last annual report (important - see instructions) $ 388,800

e. Estimated amount required to end 5 quarters above $ 388,800

f. Payments Required

	Quarter Ending	Balance beginning of each quarter	Estimated Expenditures (Lined by quarters)	Payments from Ford Foundation	
				Amount	Date received or requested
1	3-67	0	$77,760	$77,760	Jan. 1967
2	6-67	0	$77,760	$77,760	March 1967
3	9-67	0	$77,760	$77,760	June 1967
4	12-67	0	$77,760	$77,760	September 1967
5	3-68	0	$77,760	$77,760	January, 1968

Date: December 19, 1966 Signature: _____

For Ford Foundation Processing

Secretary	Program	Treasurer	Comptroller

*Estimated

File
Ford Fd. Review Team

December 18, 1967

Dr. Emory F. Via
University Extension
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
432 North Lake Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Emory:

The Ford Review Team will review the several programs with the project directors on Monday, January 22nd. I very much hope you can be here at that time.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Hi. Fol. Reserve Team.

SELECTED
STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Southern Regional Council

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5225 Ponce de Leon Boulevard
Coral Gables, Florida 33124
Telephone: 661-5598 (AC 305)
Executive Dir: August VandenBosche
Chairman: Mrs. Henrine W. Banks

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone: 525-6468 (AC 404)
Executive Dir: John McCown
Chairman: The Rev. C. S. Hamilton

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
306 First Federal Building
Jackson, Mississippi 39201
Telephone: 948-0878 (AC 601)
Executive Dir: Kenneth Dean
Chairman: The Rev. Powell Hall

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
233½ North Greene Street
Greensboro, North Carolina 27401
Telephone: 275-6589 (AC 919)
Executive Dir: Will C. Allred
Chairman: John R. Taylor

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1420 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201
Telephone: AL. 6-8808 (AC 803)
Executive Dir: The Rev. Paul Matthias
Chairman: The Rev. M. D. McCollom

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
818-B 17th Street, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37203
Telephone: 256-5691 (AC 615)
Executive Dir: Baxton Bryant
Chairman: Dr. William G. Pollard

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
17 East Cary Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219
Telephone: 648-4444 (AC 703)
Executive Dir: Frank Adams
Chairman: M. C. Martin

See Ford Fd. Review team

December 18, 1967

Mr. Clifford Campbell
2004 North East Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Cliff:

Enclosed are my notes dictated from our Saturday conversation. Hope they are in agreement with your recollections.

We have today reserved a private dining room for our luncheon on Monday the 22nrd, and this morning I have confirmed with John Wheeler and Ray Wheeler their availability on Tuesday, the 23rd. So things are moving along.

In the slight event I don't write to you between now and Christmas, let me take this opportunity to extend to you and yours every good wish for the season from all of us here.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

MEMORANDUM December 18, 1967

Re: Notes on Telephone Conversation Between Clifford Campbell, Ford Foundation, and Paul Anthony, Southern Regional Council, Saturday, December 16, 1967.

- o -

= We agreed that the definite dates for the review of SRC are to be January 22-24, 1967. The group will arrive in Atlanta on the evening of Sunday, January 21st and depart on the afternoon of Wednesday, January 24th. The group will stay at the Air Host Inn, adjacent to the Atlanta airport.

The schedule is as follows:

JANUARY 21, 1967

Individuals on the team arrive. No activity is planned.

JANUARY 22, 1967

A private breakfast for the group is scheduled for 8:30 a.m. (Is this the desirable hour?) Paul Anthony will join the team at this time and extend a welcome.

After breakfast the group will go to the SRC office and assemble in the Council's Conference Room. At this time, in executive session, the team director will present the orientation for the group. Thereafter, the team will begin hearing brief summary reports from each of the professional program and project directors. Questions and comments about each presentation will follow.

Lunch and a brief coctail period is scheduled from 12:00 noon to 2:00 p.m. This will be in a private dining room of a restaurant with SRC professional staff attending.

Among the reports given will be a summary year-end financial statement by the Secretary-Treasurer, and a representative from the auditors will be available for any questioning desired by the team.

The afternoon session will end at 5:00 p.m. No activities are planned for the evening.

JANUARY 23, 1967

The team will assemble at 9:00 a.m. in a private meeting room at the Air Host Inn. If the review of the several projects is not completed on Monday, this review will continue on Tuesday morning. Thereafter, Paul Anthony will be available for a continued review with the team of Council affairs. The other item of business for Tuesday will be a discussion of the state Councils on Human Relations. At that time the team will review the documents provided by the state Councils (see below), and those members of the team who have visited individual state Councils will make their reports.

Should these matters be completed before the end of the day the team director will proceed to call the group into plenary session.

A dinner will be planned for the evening in a private dining room at the Air Host Inn. Cocktail services will begin at 6:00 p.m., and dinner will be scheduled for 6:45 p.m. At the dinner, in addition to the team, will be the Executive Director; the President, Mr. John Wheeler; the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler; and several representatives of the Executive Committee of SRC.

JANUARY 24, 1967

The team will assemble in a private meeting room at the Air Host Inn at 9:00 a.m. This will

be the final session and the plenary session, if it has not begun the afternoon before. The group will plan on ending the meeting at 12:00 noon, unless the team director should feel it necessary to continue the meeting longer. Members of the team will depart in mid-afternoon or thereafter on the 24th.

Prior to the review, individual members of the team will be asked by the team director to visit four (4) state Councils on Human Relations. These are the Councils to be visited: Virginia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Florida. In addition to the visitations, where a member of the team has some knowledge of a given state Council (such as Miss Marian Wright, in Mississippi), that team member will also be asked by the team director to include a report on that Council.

Prior to the meeting, each state Council Director will be asked to provide the following written reports which will be forwarded as a group to the members of the team by the SRC:

(1) A report of no more than five (5) pages on the state Council concerned; its history, program, and plans for the future.

(2) Summary financial reports of income and expenses for the years 1965, 1966, and 1967.

(3) A one-page statement indicating the state Director's opinion on problems, listed by priority. These may be program problems, financial problems, administrative problems, or whatever.

(4) A list of the Board of Directors of the state Council, indicating occupation and race of each member.

Memorandum - 4.
December 18, 1967

Prior to the meeting, SRC will provide to the members of the team the following materials:

(1) A table of organization.

(2) A listing of staff with brief descriptions of background of each.

(3) A copy of the operating budget, 1967.

(4) A summary financial statement, 1967.

(5) An audit for 1966.

(6) A copy of the Director's Program Report, 1966.

(7) A copy of the first draft proposal submitted by SRC to the Foundation staff for consideration of support after the current funding ends, December 1968. (This to be provided by the Foundation staff.)

- 0 -

File
Ford Fd. Review Team

BC: John Wheeler
Paul Anthony

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Mitchell Sviridoff

CC: Christopher Edley
Mildred Epstein

FROM: Clifford J. Campbell

DATE: December 27, 1967

SUBJECT: Southern Regional Council Review -- Atlanta, Georgia, December 22nd through the 24th -- Request for the use of the services of Marvin Feldman for one day.

During our recent visit to Oakland, California, you will recall I discussed with you my interest in securing your approval to invite Marvin Feldman to join the Ford Foundation team for the review of SRC activities. Your view, at that time, was that you would take the matter under consideration and that we would discuss it further later. He would be with us for one day only; namely, Monday, January 22nd.

Subsequently, I discussed this with Chris and Marvin. Chris is in agreement with me that Marvin is in a position to make a major contribution from the standpoint of Manpower Development and vocational-technical education. As you know, these are key elements that are missing in most programs beamed in the direction of the poor. These factors are inextricably tied to the economy of the South. Marvin's super vision would, I think, serve to shed much light on the critical issues. Marvin will cooperate if you approve.

Therefore, this memorandum seeks your approval of this request.

CJC:dd

Jake
Ford Fd.
1967

December 29, 1967

Mr. Christopher Edley
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Chris:

Enclosed is one copy of the first draft of our proposal. Eleven (11) additional copies are being sent to you separately. Others are available if you have need of them.

During the holidays I tried to reach you until I learned you were sensibly off until the 2nd. I will try again to talk with you on Tuesday about the schedule for submission of the proposal in support of the state Councils.

In the meantime, every good wish for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

file
Ford Fd. Revised team

MEMORANDUM December 29, 1967

To: Members of the Executive Committee

From: Paul Anthony

Re: Proposal to the Ford Foundation.

- o -

Enclosed is a copy of the proposal submitted today to the Ford Foundation.

Shortly, we will submit a separate proposal requesting increased support for the state Councils.

A PROPOSAL

to the

FORD FOUNDATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

December 31, 1967

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A REQUEST TO THE FORD FOUNDATION

from the

Southern Regional Council

INTRODUCTION

This is to request the consideration of the Foundation of continued support to the Southern Regional Council after the current grant expires in December 1968.

On October 1, 1965 the Ford Foundation announced a grant to the Council of $324,000 per year for three years. With the permission of the Foundation the operating period was slightly extended to run through 1968. (Subsequently the Foundation made a three-year grant of $100,000 per year in support of the state councils on human relations. This will be dealt with in a separate document.)

The Council is now nearing completion of the second year of this three-year program operation developed and funded in 1965. These programs include the substantial Voter Education Project and specialized work in such areas as community organization, prison reform, prevention of delinquency, urban planning, and others; all operated within the Council's traditional methods. We have attempted to keep the Foundation informed of the details of these programs, and hesitate to go into further detail here. However, a year-end report will be provided early in 1968.

Under any circumstances it would be appropriate, indeed necessary, to begin an evaluation and review of current programs and priorities, especially in planning for the future should funds be available for those plans.

Given the current situation in the region and in the nation, this review is all the more imperative. For this reason the agency has been going through one of the most exhaustive evaluation periods in its history.

We feel we cannot ask the Foundation for continued support without making an attempt to briefly outline our description of current conditions and the philosophy and thinking which will be reflected in the Council during the period of the requested support. In doing so, it should be noted that this comes at a time of great confusion, disagreement, misunderstanding, pessimism, and alarm in the region as well as in the nation. Too, we have approached our plans for the future with an essential ground rule of accepting per se nothing for the future simply on the basis that we have done it in the past and it was in the past of value.

Last year at the Council's Annual Meeting the Executive Director reported in his statement to the Members: "....forewarning....I feel the single important qualification I bring to the position you allow me to hold is that of directing this new and expanding Southern Regional Council into the mold and philosophy of all the Council has been to date. I cannot express to you too strongly my dedication to the Southern Regional Council as I have known it over the past decade and as I have seen it evolve."

That statement is emphatically reaffirmed at this moment even as there is the need for questioning the past while thinking and planning for the future. But the statement was made, and is reaffirmed, with the idea that the Council is a flexible organization; one capable of changing with the times in an attempt to

meet, serve, indeed sometimes influence, the course of the times. In short, the continued most valued characteristic of the Council is its flexibility.

If the Council has been anything in the past -- and it has been much -- it has been not simply a source of information but an interpreter of uniquely valuable and reliable information. It has been, too, not simply the voice of woe over injustice, but rather that voice that challenged injustice. The Council has directed a challenge to the best that was in man and the best that was in society. The challenge has been moral and it has been intellectual. It has drawn from the highest ideals of the society, but has not hesitated to document the most elementary factors of self interest. Ideas, information, challenge, sound goals—this has been the best of the Council. There is another important characteristic of the Council. At times of insanity in this region the Council has tried to speak sanely. At times of confusion, the Council has tried to offer direction. (And certainly, insanity and confusion have been typical, not atypical, of this region during the Council's life.)

Now, in late 1967, in the region and the nation we are told there is a growing disillusionment and bitterness among Negro Americans. We are told Negroes are increasingly questioning all the institutions of this society. They are institutions of the white man, we are told, and the white man has become suspect. We are told there is a widening gulf between white and black and that if we gauge progress in terms of a unified society then we are retrogressing.

Those who speak these things are correct, we believe.

We are told, too, that the day of the backlash has arrived. Perhaps it has. More importantly, among whites

in this country there is now undoubtedly a considerable overt expression of the prejudice of white America. Of equal importance, there is now among whites, fear, disgust, misunderstanding.

We are told the white liberal establishment in this country is in disarray. There is great confusion, we are told, among liberals and none of the unity of old when all the good guys and the bad guys were lined up in neat order against each other. Perhaps so.

All these things we are now told, or have ourselves concluded, have a large measure, if not the whole measure, of truth in them.

If these events are thus we of the Southern Regional Council have two ways in which to react:

(1) We can cry "Oh, Lost"; we can dream of the good old days when it was all so neat and promising. We can crawl into our lair and enjoy great measures of self-pity as we lick our wounds luxuriously.

(2) We can recognize that the society in which we live and for which we have concerns has never been beautiful, just, or well-ordered. The institutions of our society have never been perfectly responsible or perfectly responsive. The men of this society have always been capable of nobility while committing or allowing to be committed the most despicable of acts. Recognizing this we can be disappointed and concerned, but realistically maintain our faith and our objectives.

The Southern Regional Council shall choose the second alternative. In doing so we can only hope that

we have learned something of particular value in speaking sanely and offering direction.

If we are correct in our evaluation of the times and the agency, as we feel we are, we feel, too, there was never a time to be more grateful for this role or never a time when it was more necessary to perform it.

In fact, while trying hard to avoid the role of Pollyanna, and certainly not accepting the mantle of the optimist, we feel there may be good in the tragedy of America 1967.

In 1957 we began to witness what we called "the tragedy of Little Rock." It was the beginning of an era just as two years ago we began the era of "the tragedy of Watts." But Little Rock, as tragic as it was, had another element -- an important element -- standing out very clearly if only it could be seen through the spectre of troops, mobs, innocent children. That element was the element of a society in convulsion. That was, too, the indisputable evidence of a society in the real process of change.

As pitifully inadequate as it was, when the handful of Negro children went to the "white" school, history was made and there was the slight beginning of an old and rigid pattern being cracked if not shattered. As pitiful as it was, when Orval Faubus and the white mobs, young and old, spat, screamed, cursed and kicked, the ugly face of bigotry and hatred came from behind the closed doors recognizing that the quiet, efficient patterns of automatic separation were threatened. Bigotry started to fight openly because it was seriously challenged. As pitifully late and inept as it was, when federal troops marched into Little Rock, the federal government finally indicated there was a "law

of the land" and a national government to enforce it.

Now, throughout the nation, there are convulsions and tragedies that make Little Rock almost look insignificant. But, we suggest, there are parallels. And, perhaps there are parallels of hope.

There is value in what we have seen, heard and experienced. Churches stir, the poor become articulate, whatever their reactions, affluent America is at least confronted with the other America.

These items of possible significance are not offered as predictions of an immediate happy future. Rather, they are offered to suggest that these events have caused some, including the Council, to conclude that goals, beliefs, ideals, and methods are reaffirmed, not shattered.

This request to the Ford Foundation is presented not only with sincere gratitude for past support, but also with understanding of present demands on the Foundation. It is offered, too, with a sincere sense of modesty. It is depressing to us all that the past so nearly continues. But, perhaps the summary of this request is our attempt to say to the Ford Foundation we feel our accomplishments justify the request for your consideration, and we plan our programs without a sense of depression about the future.

There follow the several specific projects and functions for which we would like to request consideration of funding. A summary budget is included after the several requests by subject.

INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

In our initial request to the Ford Foundation we indicated that, except for appropriate overhead funds, we were not asking for support of programs already in operation. Rather, we requested funds to undertake additional programs and projects not otherwise possible. The same is true of this request.

For instance, as indicated elsewhere, the Council's information and research functions are at the heart of the operation. In this operation a group of talented researchers clip and file from the major newspapers in the region, the major national newspapers, and a number of periodicals. A library is maintained of basic books, state and federal reports and statistics, and scholarly journals. This information is available to and frequently used by the media, scholars and students, colleagues in other agencies. The information staff deals with the media, not in a public relations sense, but in an informative and supportive role, frequently prepares, and always edits and produces all Council publications including all project publications and the quarterly New South. Although these resources are particularly supportive of the several projects, we consider the function part of our "general operations" and plan its financing accordingly.

There are two items only which we should like to include under this section with the following rationale:

(1) The current Ford Foundation grant allows a total for printing of $35,000. We request an increase to $50,000 in consideration of increased production costs and to allow for a modest increase in the titles published and the numbers printed.

(2) Experience during the two years of the current grant have indicated that our project publishing activity is sufficiently heavy to require the full-time services of a managing editor to produce these publications. The item of $15,000 is requested to cover the total costs, salary, benefits and supportive expenses, of this position.*

(1) Project printing.....	$50,000	
(2) Managing Editor, publications.	15,000	
		$65,000

* The titles of project publications published during the first two years of the current grant are listed in the appendices.

SPECIAL PROJECT ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND EDUCATION

This project is directed by Mr. John Lewis. A number of persons, including Mr. Al Ulmer, former project director, serve on occasion as consultants. We feel, in terms of the funds expended, that no program has been more productive or more pertinent to current needs and developments in the region.

Two main program functions have developed with this project which we should like to see continued:

(1) Knowing as much as possible of the rural and urban self-help and cooperative efforts going on in the region, to be of some help to them in providing technical assistance from the staff and the consultants, including help in fund raising - public as well as private - and in attempting to be reliable sources of information to public agencies and private foundations who are interested.

(2) Assisting in the creation of needed new programs and efforts in this area and in assisting public agencies and private foundations in their support. During the past two years we have, for example, assisted in the development of a program of intensive cooperative education, administered by the Southern Consumers' Education Foundation in Lafayette, Louisiana and supported by a two-year grant of approximately $600,000 from the Ford Foundation. Another example would be the role of the project staff in the creation of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, an effort to provide the needed services for the Federation. A project consultant is serving as the first acting director of the Federation (under the direction of their board) and to date SRC has been able to raise some $20,000 from foundations in support of the

Federation.

The total amount currently budgeted for the Project on Community Organization and Education is $46,560. We request consideration of a renewal as follows:

Salaries and benefits.....	$19,250.00	
Travel, director and consultants.	6,000.00	
Consultant fees.....	6,000.00	
Contingency Fund*.....	20,000.00	
Total		$51,250.00

* The contingency fund is planned to have available small funds for stimulating programs, to provide for initial planning, or to provide modest emergency financial assistance where justified.

URBAN PLANNING PROJECT

The Urban Planning Project has as its purposes to assess urban planning in the region, to encourage involvement of all the community in progressive programs, to encourage local governments to make all services available on an equal basis, and to evaluate the policies of and cooperate with the several federal agencies. These purposes include, of course, interest in housing, and in transitional and integrated neighborhoods. The project is directed by Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA.

The project staff has been heavily involved in professional consultations with the leadership, official and unofficial, of a number of communities. There have been a number of consultations with persons in the regional and national office of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, as well as a meeting with Secretary Weaver. The project director and the executive director have worked with C. A. Doxiadis Associates and have interested Dr. Doxiadis and his firm in doing an ambitious study of a portion of the region should funds be available. The project director is now making initial moves toward creating interest in this among some of the region's major business leadership and it is at least possible that, in time, several million dollars will be provided from the business sector for such review and planning by Doxiadis.

The Model Cities Program opens up an additional avenue of program. Currently, in cooperation with the planning firm of Candueb-Flessig, an exploration is being made of the feasibility of providing skilled consultants to each of the cities in the region involved in the Model Cities Program. If the exploration proves encouraging we then hope to investigate ways of implementing this idea -

possibly even of suggesting a national effort through the cooperation of a group such as Urban America.

The research and publications program (see appendices) has been especially rewarding. Every publication issued by this project has created a demand which necessitated reprintings.

Our two years with this project has confirmed what we already really knew. The future of our cities and an alertness to the human factor in planning for them is one of the absolute essentials in seeking the decent society. More specifically for the Council, we need on the one hand someone on the staff to keep us alert to the developments in this area, and on the other hand we certainly need someone to not only respond to events but to try to help shape them.

We should like to be able to continue this project and to have a modest expansion. We feel the need to expand the professional staff to two persons and to have some resources for research and use of consultants. We are, therefore, requesting consideration of the following budget for the project.*

Salaries (2 professional, 1 clerical)	$40,700	
Travel	4,000	
Consultants	6,000	
Research	10,000	
Total		$60,700

* The current funding of the project is $33,000 per year.

LABOR EDUCATION PROJECT

This project has as its primary purpose reaching and influencing the behavior of the intermediate and lower echelons of leadership of organized labor in the region. The project director has been Dr. Emory F. Via, on leave of absence from the University of Wisconsin.

Work has ranged from participation in single meetings through participation in weekend and one week institutes, to the direction of the one month National Institute of Labor Education Southern Union Staff Training Institute held at the University of Georgia. The project director has had repeated occasion to have successful and detailed collaborative undertakings with the Southern Office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. This relationship has proved valuable to both parties.

The interests of this project also include the area of merit employment. A substantial project has been developed and funded in cooperation with the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund for the purpose of achieving substantially more employment of Negroes in the textile industry, especially in the Carolinas.

We feel this program is valuable not only for the results in this needed area, as referred to very briefly above, but also because it enables us with our several staff and program interests to relate to this important group in the South.

After two years with the project Dr. Via has returned to the University of Wisconsin. He continues to serve as a consultant to the project and we are very hopeful he will return to the Council on a permanent basis in June 1968.

We should like to request consideration of the Foundation's support of this project at approximately the

present level of operation.* We propose the following budget per year for the requested grant period:

Salaries	$24,750	
Travel	3,000	
Seminar costs, all	10,000	
Total		$ 37,750

* The current grant in support of this project is $31,335.

PROJECT ON CRIME AND CORRECTIONS

The project on Crime and Corrections, under the direction of Mr. John O. Boone, formerly with the U. S. Bureau of Prisons, has expended considerable effort in the areas of research, consultation and program support.

The publications and research of the project are listed in the appendix. Recently the project has conducted a study of Negro youth culture which we feel is quite significant. In preparation is a study on disparity in sentencing in the region, in terms both of race and economic levels.

A number of state systems have been visited and recommendations made concerning program and operations. We are particularly hopeful of the results of staff work in Arkansas. The staff have provided technical advice to state and local agencies in areas such as police-community relations, institutional design, program planning and training.

The staff has provided support and advice to several innovative programs in the areas of delinquency prevention and post-release assistance. And, we are hopeful the groundwork has been done for a regional compact in this area through the Southern Governors Conference.

There are two areas in which the project can make valuable contributions in the future. These are in research and consultation and technical assistance.

There is a real and growing need for correctional research of a type which will throw more light on the effect of the penal process on the people who are caught up in it -- both in terms of differential treatment, length of sentence, early release and other factors affecting people, especially non-whites. The whole question of imprisonment as an appropriate means of control

and/or deterrence and its usefulness as a means of re-socialization are subjects which official agencies and professional associations are unwilling or unable to deal with. In these areas we would hope to conduct studies which would contribute both to public education and professional awareness.

The project can make a useful and perhaps unique contribution in this area by providing administrators with confidential and unbiased evaluation of their efforts in crime prevention and correctional treatment. Additionally, there is need for advice in the development of classification, treatment and post-release assistance programs which will reflect the best of current thinking. Support can also be offered for the development of innovative private programs in the whole field -- ranging from bail bond projects to community treatment efforts for convicted felons.

While refunding at approximately the same general level would be adequate, full exploitation of opportunities and requests for consultation and technical advice, as well as the travel required for the collection of dependable research data, would seem to call for a somewhat higher level of funding in these areas.

We request consideration of support to continue this project with the following budget:*

Salaries and supportive costs	$ 28,600
Travel - staff and consultants	4,000
Consultants	6,000
Research	8,000
Total	$ 46,600

* The project currently operates on a budget of $34,000 per year.

SPECIAL RESEARCH AND CONSULTATIVE SERVICES

The present grant of the Ford Foundation provides funds for a number of consultative services and special research in several stipulated areas. These are:

Fair Employment and Anti-Poverty	$ 22,000
Housing	3,000
School Integration	10,000
Welfare Programs	15,000
Technological Unemployment	6,000
	$ 56,000

These funds have been very important to us and they have enabled us to do, we think, some very significant work both in publishing needed information - such as that on school integration and in providing consultants - such as those on neighborhood stabilization. We should very much like to have a continuation of these resources.

However, experience has shown these several breakdowns by amount are somewhat arbitrary and not as flexible, by designated subject, as is practical from a standpoint of changing need and opportunity.

We should like consideration of renewal of the grant for $56,000 to be used in support of Special Research and Consultative Services with the understanding these funds will be expended in the subject areas designated above but with flexibility that will allow us to respond to changing needs and opportunities.

PROGRAMS FOR THE BUSINESS SECTOR

Unlike our work with areas such as the church, education, and labor, the Council has done little work concerned with the business sector. This has been largely due to the fact that in the past, with few exceptions, the leadership in the business world was simply of no mind to cooperate with or receive assistance from an agency like SRC.

(In 1957-58 the Council did conduct an ambitious program of educating the region's leadership, including that in business, of the economic implications of the Little Rock crisis, but even here few people were aware of the extent to which SRC initiated and financed this program.)

Now we believe things have changed, at least somewhat. At least some industries are now making an effort to hire those previously considered unemployable. Some of the business and financial leadership have begun to be aware of the damages to the total society created by the existence of slums and ghettoes. Some of this leadership at least is beginning to realize that there must be substantial changes in the society if we are to continue with an economy which operates on the concept of the profit motive.

Because of these changes the Executive Committee of the Council has concluded that there is now, for the first time, sufficient receptivity on the part of the business and financial communities of the region to justify modest expenditures on our part in an attempt to influence and educate these communities to the reality and need of racial justice. We should like particularly to take advantage of the change now taking place and to accelerate it.

To do this we propose preparing a series of reports, some very brief, some relatively long, to be circulated as widely as possible to business and financial leadership

and to the Chambers of Commerce in the region. These studies would deal with regional economic development, with manpower needs and potentials, and with case histories of positive programs being successfully conducted. (There might also be documentation and analysis of programs that failed.) Included also would be case histories of the incredible inclination toward self help and economic development on the part of Negroes in the region, rural and urban.

We would not attempt to have a staff for this project. Rather, the program would be directed by present staff, in some instances materials would be prepared internally, and the remainder would be done by consultants. For these purposes we ask consideration of $40,000 per year for the requested grant period with the following breakdown of that amount:

Consultants	$ 15,000
Printing and distribution	25,000
Total	$ 40,000

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

During 1967, the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., funded 121 programs. The number of funded programs exceeded the number supported last year by 15. Programs were financed in all eleven old South states.

In addition, the Voter Education Project sponsored a wide variety of new programs. Chief among these were the seminar for Negro city councilmen and county officers held at Clark College in July, and the institute held in December for elected Negro officeholders in Mississippi.

Thirty-four elected Negro officials from across the South attended the three-day meeting in July. VEP joined with the Center for the Study of Southern Public Policy at Clark College in sponsoring the seminar.

Eighteen of the 22 newly elected Negro officeholders in Mississippi attended the December meeting. The meeting, held at the Downtowner Motor Inn in Jackson, was a historic one, and it attracted considerable attention in Mississippi. Among those attending the two-day institute were Negroes elected to the offices of supervisor, chancery clerk, justice of the peace, constable and legislator. They listened attentively to sessions on such subjects as the duties and responsibilities of their offices, how to serve the people, politics, economics, and dealing with the press. The group found that it had a common problem in being bonded to take office, and it sent a telegram to the U. S. attorney general regarding this difficulty.

Major voter registration efforts during 1967 came in Mississippi, Virginia, Louisiana and South Carolina, although some voter registration drives were supported in ten of the eleven states. Voter registration was

spurred ahead by statewide elections in the first three states listed above. The areas selected included some of the most difficult in these states. VEP programs were partly responsible for making it possible for Negroes to win county-level offices in all three states. The list included a legislator in each of the three states. Registration programs in South Carolina were tied to that state's re-registration law, which requires all voters to re-register in order to vote in 1968.

Special mention might be made of several registration projects in North Carolina and Georgia. In Charlotte, North Carolina, VEP sponsored its first registration drive through a community anti-poverty agency. In Robeson County (Lumberton), North Carolina, VEP funded a registration drive among Lumbee Indians which added nearly 4,000 names to the voting books. When three counties (Terrell, Lee and Screven) were designated for the first and only federal examiners sent to Georgia, VEP acted immediately and was instrumental in setting up voter registration campaigns in all three counties.

During 1967, VEP helped move two additional state VEPs toward permanent status. The Arkansas and North Carolina Voter Education Projects received funds, elected boards, and employed full-time directors. VEP continued its support of the South Carolina Voter Education Project and assisted SCVEP in obtaining a new director. It is hoped that a recent statewide meeting in Baton Rouge has provided the basis for organizing a state VEP in Louisiana.

Leadership training received increasing attention during 1967. Statewide leadership training meetings were held in North Carolina, South Carolina, Arkansas and Texas. The latter was held through the Texas Leadership

Conference, and the other three through state VEPs. Typically, these one-day conferences consisted of general meetings and workshops on such topics as registration, voting, citizenship education, registration and election laws, the role of Negro officeholders, and the anti-poverty program. Hundreds of Negroes from all corners of these four states attended the leadership conferences.

During 1966 VEP joined the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund in sponsoring one-day institutes for Negro candidates in South Carolina and Alabama. The institutes were most useful in enabling Negro candidates to protect themselves against election fraud. These institutes for candidates were continued this year in Mississippi and Louisiana, the latter being the largest such meeting yet held. In each case, Fred Wallace of the Legal Defense Fund has been in charge of briefing the candidates.

The Clark College and Mississippi seminars already mentioned were among the more successful and inspiring in which VEP has been involved. These meetings, along with the VEP sponsored conference last year for Negro legislators, marked the first time that such groups of Negro officeholders had met in the South. (Prior to this year, of course, there was only one Negro officeholder at the county level in Mississippi, and he was elected last year.) As did the meeting of Negro legislators, these seminars provided the base for continuing liaison for the officeholders who attended.

Speakers for the Clark seminar included Bayard Rustin, Miss Marian Wright, Dr. Vivian Henderson, Jack Greenberg, Dr. Samuel D. Cook, and others. On the basis of his experience with these successful programs, the VEP director was asked to participate in planning the

national conference of Negro officeholders which was held in late September in Chicago.

Speakers for the Mississippi meeting included Dr. Henderson, Mr. Rustin, Frank Smith, Jack Young, Julian Bond, Horace Ward, Claude Ramsay, Clarence Mitchell, and William Raspberry. Also participating were lawyers from the Legal Defense Fund and members of the VEP staff.

The Voter Education Project supplied $2,000 of the cost of a workshop for Negro school board members which was held in August at Arlie House near Washington. This workshop was planned and conducted by the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality, Inc. The Arkansas VEP held a training institute for Negro school board members in that state in November.

Additional emphasis also was placed on citizenship education during 1967. Most of the Mississippi, Louisiana and Virginia registration projects were tied in with citizenship education work on procedures for casting the ballot. The same was true of several registration projects in North Carolina, Georgia and Florida. VEP funded a citizenship education program in Memphis, and $6,600 was allocated to the regional office of the Urban League for citizenship education in Florida and Alabama.

Research grants include Dave Emmons, Holmes County, Miss.; Charles Webster, Crenshaw County, Ala.; and Dean B. R. Brazeal, a study of registration problems in rural Georgia. Another research grant went to Armstead L. Robinson, a Yale student. His research on Negro life in Memphis during the Reconstruction enabled him to apply successfully for the Scholar of the House program at Yale.

VEP employed nine student interns during the summer, three of whom worked with the Atlanta All-Citizens Registration Committee. For the second year, VEP helped

the YWCA sponsor student programs of voter registration during the spring holidays. And as always, young people played important roles in local registration programs funded by VEP across the region. One VEP student intern, Miss Patricia Collins, served in the office of Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen. Another, Bernard Parks, served in the offices of Mayor Allen and Atlanta Alderman Q. V. Williamson.

With VEP assistance, a second citizenship education film was produced by the Auburn League of Women Voters. Called "Getting To Know Them," the film explains the duties of state and local officials in Alabama. The film was televised in Alabama in August.

The Voter Education Project during 1967 continued to be the primary source of information on voter registration, Negro candidates and Negro officeholders in the South. Several books and national publications requested and received permission to use VEP statistics. The research director collected information and maintained files which enabled him to answer numerous requests from newspapers, news magazines, television networks, writers, college students and professors, civil rights organizations and others. The research director also was responsible for the writing and/or editing of all VEP publications.

The third year of the current Voter Education Project probably will be its biggest. We sense that the interest of the citizenry will be very high, for in addition to congressional elections and the Presidential election, four Southern states will be electing governors and seven will be electing U. S. senators. Along with this will come county, district, state and national political conventions and the usual wide variety of local elections.

With just over half the region's adult Negro population registered (as against nearly three-fourths of the whites), VEP's services are expected to be in greater demand than ever next year. Negroes are beginning to enjoy political successes throughout the region, even in such hard-core states as Mississippi and Alabama. There is a growing awareness of political participation as a lever for justice and equal rights. Consequently, there is more interest among Negroes in registering, voting and running.

Institutes for candidates should be held next year in most, if not all, of the states of the Old South. Additional institutes for officeholders also are being planned. Along with this should come more leadership conferences as a means of developing potential candidates and organizers. We hope to employ more student interns, possibly to serve this winter with Negro legislators. We will continue to develop citizenship education materials, such as know-your-government booklets. And we will continue our efforts to organize state VEPs, which can be valuable watchdogs over such processes as political conventions. Finally, we must continue our efforts to get Southern Negroes registered -- which is, after all, where political participation begins.

The current Ford Foundation grant includes support of this project in the amount of $24,000 per year.* This was seen initially as "seed money" and it has been. During 1966 and 1967 the project has raised and used approximately $325,000 per year and we anticipate a similar amount for 1968.

After considerable thought and evaluation we are of

* A state-by-state breakdown of VEP grants for 1967 is included in the appendices.

the opinion that substantial activity in this area of interest will be needed after 1968. This need includes continued interest in and support of voter registration activities. The need, however, emphasizes leadership training of and providing supportive materials and information to the emerging Negro leadership along the lines reflected in the experiences reported on above.

We feel a project structured along present lines in administration and budget is needed with a budget of approximately $400,000. Toward this end we ask the consideration of a grant during the request period of $200,000 per year with the understanding the Council will attempt to raise a like amount from other sources.

SUMMARY BUDGET OF FUNDS REQUESTED, 1969 - 1971

Information and Research		
Project printing	$ 50,000	
Managing Editor, Publications	15,000	$ 65,000.00
Project on Community Organization and Education		
Salaries and Benefits	19,250	
Travel, director and consultants	6,000	
Consultant fees	6,000	
Contingency fund	20,000	51,250.00
Urban Planning Project		
Salaries	40,700	
Travel	4,000	
Consultants	6,000	
Research	10,000	60,700.00
Labor Education Project		
Salaries	24,750	
Travel	3,000	
Seminar costs	10,000	37,750.00
Project on Crime and Corrections		
Salaries	28,600	
Travel	4,000	
Consultants	6,000	
Research	8,000	46,600.00
Special Research and Consultative Services		
All	56,000	56,000.00

Programs for the Business Sector			
Consultants	15,000		
Printing and Distribution	25,000	40,000.00	
Voter Education Project			
Toward a budget of $400,000	200,000	200,000.00	
NCC			450,000
SRC Overhead (20%)	111,460	111,460.00	90,000
Total		$668,760.00	540,000

A P P E N D I C E S

FORD FOUNDATION GRANT
October 1965 - December 1968

Urban Planning Project	$ 33,000
Fair Employment Anti-Poverty	
Research and Consultants	22,000
Housing	
Consultants	3,000
School Integration	
Research, Fees and Travel	10,000
Welfare Programs	
Research and Consultants	15,000
Project in Crime and Corrections	34,000
Technological Unemployment	
Research	6,000
Project in Community Organization and Education	46,560
Labor Education Project	31,335
Voter Education Project	24,000
Printing	35,000
Seminars	10,105
SRC Overhead	54,000
TOTAL:	$324,000

PROJECT PUBLICATIONS, 1966 - 1967

COMMUNITY ACTION PROJECT:

The Day Before Payday by Helen Howard, New South, winter, 1966. This article by a resident of Atlanta's Vine City, a Negro neighborhood organized for self-help projects, relates in a moving, subjective way what poverty is like from the point of view of a Negro mother.

Proposed: A Kibbutz in Mississippi by John Mudd, Marian Wright, and Henry Aronson, New South, winter, 1966. This was a kind of "working paper," by three individuals produced "as the basis of a proposal" for action to help solve some of the South's rural poverty problems.

The Shape of Things: Poverty by Al Ulmer, New South, winter, 1966. A summary of poverty program achievements through 1966 and an assessment of the program's potential.

Growing Up in Lightning by Jerrilyn McGhee, with photographs by Al Clayton, New South, fall, 1966. This article was done by a young journalism student at Clark College who had spent some time working with children in a Negro neighborhood called "Lightning."

White Power in the Black Belt by Miriam Wasserman, New South, winter, 1967. An indictment of the USDA's complicity in discriminatory administration by local officials of federal farm programs.

CDGM: Who Really Won? by Pat Watters, New South, spring, 1967. An in-depth analysis of CDGM.

Welfare in Mississippi: Tradition vs. Title VI by Robert Anderson, New South, spring, 1967. Complaints of Mississippi welfare applicants and recipients as revealed in hearings before the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission.

Breakdown in the Negro Family: Myth or Reality? by Barbara Whittaker, New South, fall, 1967. A critical look at some of the findings of the Moynihan report.

A City Slum -- Poor People and Problems. A Special Report on an attempt to build a community organization around local self-interest issues.

Cooperatives, Credit Unions, and Poor People. A Special Report appraising the trend toward cooperatives and credit unions.

CRIME AND CORRECTIONS PROJECT:

The Constitution, the Police, and the People. New South, fall, 1966. By McNeil Smith, Greensboro attorney.

The Convicts by Ronald Sturrup, New South, spring, 1967. A revealing look at the demoralizing effects of prison life written by a former inmate of the Federal Penitentiary in Atlanta.

The Paradigm of Dixie Hills by James Holloway, New South, summer, 1967. This study of an urban riot emphasizes the frustrations of ghetto dwellers.

Black Youth in a Southern Metropolis. An analysis of an extensive youth questionnaire reflecting attitudes of Negro youth enrolled in Atlanta high schools.

URBAN PLANNING PROJECT:

Neighborhood Transition: The Moods and the Myths by Margaret Long, New South, fall, 1966. Interviews with white and Negro residents in some of Atlanta's "changing neighborhoods."

Anthropocosmos: The World of Man. Excerpts from a speech by C. A. Doxiadis, New South, fall, 1966.

Blueprint for Segregation: A Survey of Atlanta Housing by Samuel Adams, New South, spring, 1967. Reprinted together with a map of Atlanta's racial housing patterns.

Fair Housing Restored in California by Joseph B. Robison, New South, fall, 1967. This article examines the Supreme Court decision striking down California's controversial Proposition 14.

Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program. Special Report setting forth a program for residents of so-called "changing neighborhoods."

A Home of Our Own. A manual for homebuyers with a special section devoted to the problems of Negro buyers.

Slum Ghettos in Your Town. Guidelines for city officials in facing the total problem of slums.

Neighborhoods -- Where Human Relations Begin. An assessment of neighborhood organizations in Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia.

A Guide to Programs for Better Homes and Neighborhoods. A layman's guide to government and private housing programs.

Atlanta Residential Patterns. A graphic presentation of broad residential classification of Negro areas: transitional areas, homes in need of minor and major repair, and public housing.

Atlanta Housing Study. A twelve-page reprint of the New South article by former research director Samuel Adams.

LABOR EDUCATION PROJECT:

The Testing Hoax by Karl U. Smith, New South, summer, 1966. This article by the director of the Behavioral Cybernetics Laboratory at the University

of Wisconsin was based on testimony of the author before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights which was investigating the misuse of personality tests in government employment.

Wages, Insurance, and Growth by Raymond Munts, New South, fall, 1966. An analysis of the southern states' unemployment insurance programs by the former director of the AFL-CIO's Social Security department.

Sorrow Song in Black and White by Vera Rony, New South, summer, 1967. A sensitive look at the organized labor movement in the South during the Great Depression.

More Money for You. A pamphlet explaining employees' rights under newly enacted minimum wage regulations.

New 1966 Minimum Wage Law with Explanation. The Fair Labor Standard Act with 1966 Amendments distributed by the Labor Education Project of SRC.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT:

The Dilemmas of Negro Protest Strategy by August Meier, New South, 1966. An analysis of Negro protest and political strategy in the states most affected by the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the presence of federal voting examiners.

A Lesson in Responsible Leadership by Nicholas Katzenbach, New South, spring, 1966. An address by the former U. S. Attorney General, emphasizing federal activity in the enforcement of the Voting Rights Act. The address was made before a South-wide meeting of members and friends of the Southern Regional Council.

Negroes as the New Force in Southern Politics by Charles Morgan, New South, spring, 1966. Excerpts from a speech by the director of ACLU's Southern Regional Office before the Fourth Annual Convention of the Alabama Democratic Conference.

Potential for Democracy in the South by Pat Watters, New South, spring, 1966. Remarks of the Southern Regional Council's information director before the Seminar for Congressional Assistants sponsored by the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D. C.

The Challenge and the Promise by Vernon E. Jordan, New South, summer, 1966. An analysis, first of the impact of Negro votes in crucial elections, plus a look at the relationship of voting to the overall problem of eliminating racial discrimination in southern society.

The Tragic Myth of Black Power by Samuel DuBois Cook, New South, summer, 1966. A relating of the Black Power movement to the realities of democratic politics with a warning as to the self-defeating probability of racial separatism.

Notes From a Field Trip by Bill Beardslee, New South, winter, 1967. Reflections on visits to VEP projects in rural Mississippi by a former VEP staffer.

Southern Politics and the Negro Movement: Looking to the Future by Pat Watters and Reese Cleghorn, New South, fall, 1967. Excerpts from CLIMBING JACOB'S LADDER, a documentary account both of Negroes in southern politics and the civil rights movement of the early 1960's. The book -- a project of the Southern Regional Council -- is based in large part on previously unpublished documents of the first Voter Education Project.

The Southern Negro Vote and the 1968 Elections by Bayard Rustin, New South, fall, 1967. A personal

view of the 1968 elections as they relate to future civil rights and economic gains of Negroes.

Voter Registration in the South. County-by-county registration figures by race for seven southern states as of summer and late summer of 1966.

How to Conduct a Voter Registration Campaign. A handbook for local VEP organizations.

Know Your Georgia Government. A simplified explanation of the Georgia governmental process.

GENERAL PUBLICATIONS:

Black Belt Schools: Beyond Desegregation. A pamphlet by four Georgia educators with their sample suggestions of unusual programs for curing rural education problems in the South.

Southern Justice: An Indictment. A documentary account of the South's system of dual justice.

The Continuing Crisis. A report in pamphlet form on race-related violence in the South. This was published jointly by the Southern Regional Council and the American Jewish Committee.

School Desegregation, 1966: The Slow Undoing. An examination of the status of school desegregation in the twelfth year since the Supreme Court decision against racially separate schools. The study -- issued as an SRC Special Report -- includes a narrative account of the South's assault on the federal school guidelines and a critique of the guidelines' potential.

Public Assistance in the South. An SRC Special Report on how the southern states spend their public assistance funds. Included is a comparative statistical breakdown by state and by public assistance category.

Dual Justice in the Courts: Unconcerned Community. A workbook for the Fellowship of the Concerned on possible courses of local action in dealing with the problem of dual justice.

On the National Crisis. A statement by the Southern Regional Council issued in the aftermath of a summer of riots and civil disorder.

Hungry Children. A report by a team of six physicians on the health and living conditions of Negro children in six Mississippi counties.

In Their Own Words. A student appraisal of what happened after school desegregation in Alabama.

Public Assistance: To What End? A Special Report examining restrictive welfare regulations in the eleven southern states.

APPENDIX III

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Project on Crime and Corrections
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Mr. John H. Wheeler
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VEP GRANTS
January 1 - December 19, 1967

ALABAMA	$ 10,981.00
ARKANSAS	12,724.39
FLORIDA	4,320.00
GEORGIA	30,491.25
LOUISIANA	20,200.37
MISSISSIPPI	44,617.29
NORTH CAROLINA	30,350.00
SOUTH CAROLINA	41,765.60
TENNESSEE	7,657.00
TEXAS	5,000.00
VIRGINIA	17,900.00
OTHER FUNDS	4,500.00
TOTAL:	$ 230,506.90

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND FUND BALANCES
ARISING FROM CASH TRANSACTIONS

December 1967

ASSETS

Cash in Banks:		
Regular Checking - Citizens Trust Company	15,693.50	
Regular Checking - First National Bank of Atlanta	26,336.31	
Payroll Account	648.56	
Savings Account	69,027.57	
		111,705.94
Investments:		
Trust Fund		
Other Securities	323,766.22	323,766.22
Due from Foundations:		
		435,472.16

FUND BALANCES

General Operations	12,821.77	
Add amounts withheld from employees and not yet remitted	1,237.00	14,058.77
Advance Appropriations		25,000.00
Reserve Fund		84,329.45
Voter Education Project		
Add amounts withheld from employees and not yet remitted		
Grants-in-Aid to State Councils		100,305.28
Southern Leadership Project		6,831.45
Economic Research and Counselling		5,377.91
Special Fund for Educational Projects		13,679.42
Rural Advancement Project		8,020.00
Fellowship of the Concerned		7,344.44
Project for Library Development		1,565.07
Second Special Fund for Educational Projects		150.12
Labor Education Project		19,763.03
City Planning		4,055.98
Fair Employment		14,031.92
Housing		1,518.35
School Integration		3,677.72
Welfare Programs		109.37
Rehabilitation of Criminals		17,836.09
Technological Unemployment		6,459.45
Community Organizations		187.52
Voter Education Project		72,746.41
Special Fund for Student Human Relations Councils		6,477.45
Printing		(333.68)
Seminars		
Federation of Southern Cooperatives		19,367.85
Lillian Smith Biography		
American Jewish Committee & SRC Research Project		2,912.79
		435,472.16

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
GENERAL OPERATIONS
STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

December 1967

	Month of December	Year to Date
RECEIPTS from:		
Foundations		135,125.00
Organizations		100.00
Individuals	705.00	3,544.61
New South Subscriptions	932.90	7,383.30
Advance Appropriations		50,000.00
Sales from Miscellaneous Literature, Books, etc.		3,053.52
Interest Income		19,704.58
Overhead from Project Grants	12,000.00	12,000.00
Total Receipts	13,637.90	230,911.01
DISBURSEMENTS:		
Salaries and Wages	13,871.90	158,452.20
Social Security	548.72	5,923.01
Travel	319.35	8,628.38
Telephone and Telegraph	708.43	7,400.74
Executive Committee and Annual Meeting		10,085.39
Consultant Fees and Travel		
Books, Subscriptions, Research Materials	336.35	2,583.57
Office: Supplies	228.24	3,142.59
Equipment		1,830.78
Maintenance	23.50	3,525.69
Equipment Rentals	227.21	3,670.83
Other		160.28
New South: Postage	250.00	2,081.08
Printing		
Authors' Fees	5.00	1,370.65
Other	122.04	737.10
Postage - General	277.45	4,840.00
Rent	883.33	10,599.96
Printing	143.08	2,445.17
Accounting		1,000.00
Insurance: General	96.00	968.00
Staff Benefits	1,504.97	13,439.76
Foreign Visitors		
Development		7.98
Miscellaneous	1,076.68	6,121.76
Research		
Moving		1,306.75
Contingency		2,846.80
Total Disbursements	20,622.25	253,168.47
Excess (or Deficit) of Receipts over Disbursements	(6,984.35)	(22,257.46)
Fund Balance, Beginning	35,079.23	35,079.23
Fund Balance, Ending	28,094.88	12,821.77

REPORT I: SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1966 - 1967

The grant-in-aid made available to the South Carolina Council on Human Relations has made possible an expansion of program into new areas with outreach to a wide range of groups and persons in the state. The Council has conceived the basic purpose in the expansion effort to be the development of a broadly-based citizen's movement concerned with the full development of the human resources of the state with a greatly increased participation of all citizens in the processes of community life which vitally affect their lives.

The basic assumption of SCCHR development under the grant-in-aid program has been that there is direct correlation between membership growth and program development. Outreach, increasing membership, and financial support are possible only as significant viable program develops at both the state and local levels. In line with this premise, the S. C. Council on Human Relations has utilized the resources made available to it in a variety of ways.

1) Program Development

From January-June 1966, the resources of the entire SCCHR staff (Executive, Rural, Student, and Program Directors) were coordinated to develop a qualitative new program entitled SPEED-UP. This was a student demonstration project designed to function in hard-core poverty areas of the state.

Since no planning grant was available from OEO, the entire staff and four part-time workers, whose employment was made possible through the grant-in-aid, visited thirty colleges in South Carolina for extended conferences with administrators, faculty and students. They also met with thirty-five

town or county groups for discussion with citizens concerning community needs and the possible development of a summer project in each locale to meet some of those needs.

SPEED-UP, funded for three months (June-August 1966) through an OEO demonstration grant, involved:

> . . . 105 college students from 23 South Carolina colleges in community projects in 28 neighborhood centers located in 13 communities of the state;
>
> . . . 2030 children and adults in a wide variety of classes, ranging from basic English and math to drama, art, sewing, and Negro History; and in community projects which included family life institutes, career conferences, and citizen organization to secure surplus food, or enforce building codes, or desegregate a swimming pool;
>
> . . . 275 citizens, representative of all segments of the communities, organized as advisory committees for each center.

The great significance of SPEED-UP was not in the number of people involved, but in its validity as a demonstration project at a time when CAP agencies in many of the counties of the state were weak and ineffectual. Parents and community people in the neighborhood were organized, and processes were begun to meet basic needs related to health, welfare, education, and jobs. In one community, Sumter, such a group became articulate to the point of protesting and demonstrating against low wages paid to domestic and custodial workers. Upgrading of wages was immediate in this case since most of the employers were military personnel and the commandant of the base issued

a strong directive urging payment of the minimum wage, and interestingly enough, the directive upheld the right of protest as a basic American freedom.

Colleges were confronted with the possibility of relating their great resources to community needs in a meaningful, vital way. The project also demonstrated the capacity of students in South Carolina colleges to initiate and carry through significant community programs, working and living together as bi-racial groups even in hard-core South Carolina communities.

The SPEED-UP project has been directly related to SCCHR growth. Hundreds of persons in dozens of colleges and communities of the state learned of the purposes and program of SCCHR, sponsoring agent for SPEED-UP. Two new local councils on human relations have been organized as a direct outgrowth of SPEED-UP. Tutoring projects have continued in a number of local communities and are continuing to increase in the colleges of the state.

Other significant projects made possible through the grant-in-aid were:

Tutorial Workshops held in five colleges of the state in February 1966 with Lowell Dodge, Director of Youth Educational Services in North Carolina, as the leader. Also, five hundred students and faculty members participated in these workshops.

Operation Search intensified its work with a bi-racial staff made possible by employing a part-time student worker who, with SCCHR's regular student staff, visited fifteen large, predominantly-Negro, accredited high schools in the period from November 1966 - March 1967. The purpose of the visits was to confer with prospective college students, inform them concerning the integrated colleges of the state and encourage their possible enrollemnt in these colleges. This effort aimed to "move beyond tokenism" at the college

level. This bi-racial staff also visited colleges of the state in the interest of developing local student councils on the campuses.

The office staff was strengthened in January 1966 by adding a qualified office manager to systematize office procedures, thus freeing the professional staff for concentration upon program, public relations, membership, and expansion. Unfortunately, this person was unable to complete a year, but was very helpful in upgrading the administrative routine.

2) Extension and Outreach

In the fall of 1966, one member of the Council staff was asked to carry special responsibility for the development of local council program and membership, as well as outreach to new prospects. This work has had three major facets:

a. Strengthening existing local councils many times entailed several visits to one community, personal interviews with many people, group conferences, and guidance in program planning and organizational structure. For example, four visits were made to the Greenville Council which was almost ready to dissolve in the late fall of 1966. With the assistance of the extension staff, a new program was developed, focusing especially on school desegregation. Greenville membership in SCCHR increased from a tragic low of nine paid members in 1966 to forty members at the end of 1967.

b. Organization of new councils and preparation for council development. Three new local councils have been formed in the period since the grant-in-aid-began. In addition, visits have been made to communities for exploration of possible council development and for assistance in planning. A total of twelve new communities have been visited, some of them several times. In six of these, a new council has already been organized or the immediate development for the future is encouraging. In the other six, the process is just

beginning. It is encouraging to note that three communities in the past month have requested visits for exploratory conversation.

c. State-wide programs for interpretation of SCCHR, for outreach, and citizen involvement have included three district meetings held in the spring of 1967 on "New Dimensions in Human Relations," and twelve workshops held in conjunction with the annual meetings which have dealt with the broad scope of social issues confronting South Carolina. For these programs, many non-members as well as members have been involved in the planning processes and as resource leaders. For almost every workshop, a broadly-representative committee planned together for the program.

During the past two years, membership in SCCHR has shown a slow but steady growth, increasing from 957 at the end of 1965 to 1364 at the end of 1967. (Not included in these figures are 135 members of local councils who have not yet joined the state council). This is neither spectacular nor adequate. Staff and members of the Board of Directors of SCCHR, however, feel that seeds have been sown and processes begun which will be fruitful for the future.

In a state such as South Carolina, the building of dynamic, bi-racial citizens movement requires constant, continuous effort with imaginative and creative approaches to the massive problems of ignorance, injustice, prejudice, provincialism, and apathy. The South Carolina Council on Human Relations has found no easy answer, no magic formula for achieving its goal. The process of involvement in the realms of man's needs keeps those who participate alive and alert -- at the growing edge of our greatest human challenge.

REPORT II: SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT FOR 1965

Balance brought forward January 1, 1965 (Includes $14,437.54 in checking account and $22,681.96 in savings accounts)		$ 37,119.50
INCOME		
SCCHR Membership dues	$ 5,480.16	
SCCHR Contributions	9,983.75	
SRC Grant-in-aid	4,800.00	
SRC Rural Advancement Project	12,000.00	
NAIRO (Eleanor Roosevelt Intern)	1,250.00	
Southern Student Project	95.00	
National Sharecroppers Fund	36.48	
Taxes Withheld but not remitted	44.36	
Columbia CHR account	343.00	
Miscellaneous	225.69	
Total Income		34,258.44
Total Funds Available 1965		71,377.94
EXPENSES		
Salaries	31,104.00	
Employer FICA	840.11	
Travel	4,036.03	
Office Administration and Program (Rent, Postage, Telephone, Supplies, Equipment, etc.)	4,591.66	
Local Council Support	716.29	
Miscellaneous	329.41	
Total Expenses		41,617.50
Balance December 31, 1965		$ 29,760.44

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR 1966

Balance brought forward January 1, 1966		$ 29,760.44
INCOME		
SCCHR Membership dues	6,021.50	
SCCHR Contributions	4,924.01	
SRC Rural Advancement Project	12,000.00	
SRC Grant-in-aid	13,600.00	
SRC Student Program	1,612.50	
SRC Special Programs	401.10	
Field Foundation Grant	17,000.00	
NAIRO (Eleanor Roosevelt Intern)	1,250.00	
Columbia CHR account	237.00	
Savings Account Interest	450.00	
Miscellaneous	1,465.26	
Total Income		58,961.37
Total Funds Available 1966		88,721.81
EXPENSES		
Salaries	32,398.30	
Employer FICA	1,293.26	
Travel	4,776.94	
Office Administration and Program	11,032.78	
Local Council Support	642.00	
Miscellaneous	963.53	
Total Expenses		51,106.81
Balance December 31, 1966		$ 37,615.00

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR 1967
(not including December)

Balance brought forward January 1, 1967		$ 37,615.00
INCOME		
SCCHR Membership Dues	6,399.75	
SCCHR Contributions	654.00	
SRC Grant-in-aid	13,600.00	
SRC Rural Advancement Project	12,000.00	
SRC Consultant Fees	344.84	
Field Foundation Grant	17,000.00	
NSF-RAP Special Co-op Project	200.00	
Sub rentals	390.00	
Gifts for retiring executive director	492.25	
Taxes Withheld but not remitted	105.77	
Columbia CHR account	186.00	
Savings Account Interest	814.38	
Miscellaneous	597.27	
Total Income		52,784.26
Total Funds Available 1967 (not including December)		90,399.26
EXPENSES		
Salaries	32,520.32	
Employer FICA	1,378.54	
Travel	2,974.40	
Office Administration and Program	4,956.51	
Gift for retiring executive director	400.00	
Local Council Support	640.00	
Columbia CHR account	17.22	
Miscellaneous	2,172.63	
Total Expenses		45,059.62
Balance November 30,1967		$ 45,339.64

REPORT III: SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
BOARD OF DIRECTORS - 1968

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President				
(N) Rev. Matthew McCollom	P. O. Box 423	Walterboro	29488	Minister (Meth. Dist. Supt.)
First Vice-President				
(W) Dr. Robert J. Moore	835 Stebondale	Columbia	29203	College Prof. (History)
Second Vice-President				
(W) Miss Thelma Heath	1013 Gregg St.	Columbia	29201	Social Work
Secretary				
(N) Mrs. C. O. Spann	2200 College St.	Columbia	29205	Housewife
Treasurer				
(W) Mr. Thomas B. Boyle, Jr.	P. O. Box 11837	Columbia	29202	Insurance Executive
Past President				
(W) Dr. William H. Wesson	4511 Shannon Springs	Columbia	29206	College Prof. (Economics)
Members-at-large				
(N) Mrs. John F. Potts	Voorhees College	Denmark	29042	College Fac. (Guidance)
(N) Dr. Charles H. Thomas	S. C. State College	Orangeburg	29115	College Prof. (Education)
(W) Mrs. Edmund Yaghjian	1730 College St.	Columbia	29201	Housewife and Artist

STUDENT COUNCIL

President				
(W) Mr. Monroe Wright	Erskine College	Due West	29639	Student

LOCAL COUNCILS CHAIRMEN AND REPRESENTATIVES TO THE BOARD

Aiken				
(W) Chrm: Mr. Tom Rial	791 Boardman Rd.	Aiken	29801	Chemist (Sav. River Proj.)
Charleston				
(W) Chrm: Mr. Joseph Cabaniss	39 Broad Street	Charleston	29401	Attorney
(N) Rep: Rev. John Enwright	32 Bull Street	Charleston	29401	Minister
Clemson				
(W) Chrm: Dr. Merrill Palmer	208 Highland Dr.	Clemson	29631	College Prof. (Math)

Columbia					
(W) Chrm:	Mr. Webster Myers	6309 Pinehill Rd.	Columbia	29206	College Prof. (Law)
(N) Rep:	Mr. James Artemus	2500 Laurel St.	Columbia	29204	Attendant (Vet. Hosp.)
Florence					
(W) Chrm:	Dr. Iverson Graham	Central Methodist	Florence	29501	Minister of Counseling
(N) Rep:	Rev. W. P. Diggs	1607 N. Irby St.	Florence	29501	Minister - College Prof. (Sociology)
Greenville					
(N) Chrm:	Dr. W. F. Gibson	409 E. McBee St.	Greenville	29601	Dentist
(W) Rep:	Mr. Martin England	P. O. Box 10201	Greenville	29603	Minister-Adm. Annuity Prog.
Hartsville					
(W) Chrm:	Mrs. Paul Rogers	1105 Dogwood Lane	Hartsville	29550	Housewife
(N) Rep:	Mr. Harold Young	1907 Sixth St.	Hartsville	29550	Mortician
North Augusta					
(N) Chrm:	Mr. Tommie Johnson	416 LeCompt Ave.	N. Augusta	29841	Clerical(Sav. River Proj.)
(W) Rep:	Mr. Robert Poteet	535 Tanager Road	N. Augusta	29841	Ret. military
Rock Hill					
(W) Chrm:	Rev. Edward V. Wahl	P. O. Box 895	Rock Hill	29730	Cath. Priest
(N) Rep:	Mrs. Sallie Moreland	Clinton Jr. Col.	Rock Hill	29730	College Pres.

TERMS ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1968

(W) Sister Mary Anthony	77 America St.	Charleston	29403	Social Work
(N) Mr. Hudson Barksdale	331 N. Dean St.	Spartanburg	29302	School Prin.
(N) Mr. Sanford P. Bradby	310 Barnwell, N.E.	Aiken	29801	Ret. Prin.
(W) Mr. Ervin Dargan	Rt. 3, Box 311-A	Darlington	29532	Business Ex. (Pres. Roundwood Corp.)
(W) Mr. John Hills	4405 Winthrop Ave.	Columbia	29206	State Gov't. (Budget Bureau)
(N) Rev. James Hinton	1222 Heidt St.	Columbia	29204	Minister-Ret. Insurance Exec.
(N) Dr. H. D. Monteith	6505 N. Main St.	Columbia	29203	Physician
(W) Dr. Joseph Novak	802 Poinsettia St.	Columbia	29205	College Prof. (Math)
(W) Mr. I. Mayo Read	103 Tradd St.	Charleston	29401	Accountant
(N) Rev. James O. Rich	324 W. Reed St.	Anderson	29621	Minister
(N) Mrs. Dorothy Robertson	Rt. 5, Box 19-C	Anderson	29621	Teacher
(N) Mr. Dewey Duckett, Jr.	2304 Manse St.	Columbia	29203	OEO Administrator

TERMS ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1969

(W) Mr. William B. Barron	689 Sedgewood Dr.	Rock Hill	29730	Insurance Ex.
(W) Dr. Lauren Brubaker	9 Churchill Circle	Columbia	29206	College Prof. (Religion)
(N) Mrs. Gladyce R. Cole	1540 W. Market St.	Cheraw	29742	Religious Ed. (OEO project at present)

TERMS ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1969 (continued)

(N) Mr. Austin V. Edwards	S. C. State College	Orangeburg	29115	Admin. Assoc. (Farmers Home Ad.)
(W) Mr. David Ellison,III	1019 Rickenbacker	Columbia	29205	Insurance
(W) Rev. Howard McClain	2519 Stratford Rd.	Columbia	29204	Minister-Dir. Christian Act. Council
(N) Mr. Hemphill Pride	4042 Coronado Dr.	Columbia	29203	Attorney
(W) Rev. Fred M. Reese	435 Summit Dr.	Greenville	29609	Minister
(N) Mr. John Stevenson	1906 Oak St.	Columbia	29204	School Administrator

TERMS ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1970

(W) Dr. Racine Brown	851 Arbutus Dr.	Columbia	29205	Dir., Mental Health Comm.
(N) Mr. Herbert DeCosta	91 Spring St.	Charleston	29403	Contractor-Builder
(W) Rev. A. M. Fisher	1814 Bradley Dr.	Columbia	29204	Minister
(N) Mrs. Daisy D. Johnson	1920 Blossom St.	Columbia	29205	Dir., Urban League
(W) Dr. Everett Laitala	112 Keowee Trail	Clemson	29631	College Prof. (Engineering)
(W) Mrs. Ruth Levine	1040 Brentwood Dr.	Columbia	29206	Housewife - Interior Decorator
(W) Miss Helen W. Mims	110 Janeway Ave.	Greenwood	29646	College Staff (Guidance)
(N) Rev. I. DeQuincey Newman	P. O. Box 1148	Columbia	29202	Dir., NAACP
(N) Dr. Benjamin F. Payton	Benedict College	Columbia	29204	College Pres.
(N) Rev. O. L. Porter	305 N. Calhoun St.	Greenville	29601	Minister
(W) Mrs. Helen Rader	518 Woodrow St.	Columbia	29205	Housewife
(N) Dr. Odell Reuben	Morris College	Sumter	29150	College Pres.

HONORARY LIFE MEMBERS

(N) Mr. J. E. Blanton	Rte. 1, Box 252	Cordova	29039	Ret. College President
(W) Dr. James M. Dabbs	Route 1	Mayesville	29104	Writer-Farmer
(W) Miss Mary E. Frayser	229 Johnston St.	Rock Hill	29730	Ret. College Faculty
(W) Dr. Wil Lou Gray	1851 Devine St.	Columbia	29201	Ret. Adult Education
(W) Dr. L. P. Hollis	P. O. Box 1377	Greenville	29602	Ret. School Superintendent
(W) Mrs. T. B. Stackhouse	1513 Laurel St.	Columbia	29201	Housewife - Civic Leader
(W) Mrs. James M. Dabbs	Route 1	Mayesville	29104	Housewife - Teacher Preschool program
(W) Mrs. Alice N. Spearman	3401 Brookwood Ct.	Columbia	29204	Ret. Exec. Director (S. C. Council on Human Relations)

REPORT IV: SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
MAJOR PROBLEMS IN 1968

Foremost among the problems that the South Carolina Council on Human Relations will have to confront this year is the development of new and dynamic program thrusts at both the state council and local council levels. By and large, those efforts which have in the past two years had a significant impact in these realms now appear to generate considerably less influence. In some instances, they have been replaced by focusing on other local needs, but with the absence of any top priority statewide emphasis, several of our councils have lapsed into varying degrees of inactivity.

For this reason, one of our first objectives this year is to identify the one main goal to which we as a state council wish to commit the greater portion of our energies between now and December. Like other southern states, we have a massive maze of issues and dilemmas which desperately need attention. Recognizing this, we yet are determined so to delimit the scope of our main thrusts that the possibilities for concrete results shall be significantly enhanced. We are at the present time in this process of priority selection and program formulation, and will within the next six weeks begin to implement what emerges as our key emphasis for the year.

Tied in directly with new program development will be a concerted effort to secure greater membership participation and financial support within our state's boundaries. We are realistically confident that this is obtainable from a considerably broader range of South Carolinians, but only if we can get across to them an image of our organization as one that "gets things done" in

terms of meeting basic human need.

One further problem we must deal with is that which revolves around our need to be in closer contact with students on South Carolina campuses. In this state, the only real ferment we have in many localities is initiated by such people, and we feel we should be trying to aid their efforts insofar as they hold the promise of constructive change. A new Negro associate director will soon be hired who will work very closely with this problem.

Paul W. Matthias
Executive Director

File
Ford Fd. Review Team

January 2, 1968

Mr. Clifford Campbell
2004 North East Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Cliff:

Enclosed are the copies of letters sent to the selected state councils, also a summary list of the selected councils.

I forgot to bring up with you this morning the possibility of our getting together on Wednesday, January 10. I can be available here on that day or can remain in Washington to talk with you there. Which do you prefer?

We shall attempt to have in the mail, per your instructions, the SRC material on Friday, January 5. The State council material will go out no later than Friday, January 12.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures

January 2, 1968

Mr. August VandenBosche
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
5225 Ponce de Leon Boulevard
Coral Gables, Florida 33124

Dear Augie:

This will confirm the details of our telephone conversation relative to the Ford Foundation Review Team. The team would like to discuss the affairs of the Florida Council with you and your president on the afternoon of Tuesday, January 23rd. There will also be present similar representation from at least five (5) other Councils. The meeting will begin with lunch at 12:30 p.m. on the 23rd at the Air Host Inn near the Atlanta Airport. There is a small bus for transportation to and from the Inn. If it is not at the loading zone, you will find a direct-line telephone at the airport near the baggage area. You and your president may plan to leave for home on any convenient flight after 5:00 p.m. when the session will likely end.

SRC will be responsible for all travel costs.

The team requests that either you or your president be prepared to give a presentation of no more than five (5) minutes on the affairs, needs and hopes of your Council. I would assume this could be simply a five minute oral summary of your five-page paper which will have been submitted to the Committee earlier.

I look forward to seeing you on the 23rd.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Clifford Campbell
The Ford Foundation

January 2, 1968

Mr. John McCown
Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear John:

This will confirm the details of our telephone conversation relative to the Ford Foundation Review Team. The team would like to discuss the affairs of the Georgia Council with you and your president on the afternoon of Tuesday, January 23rd. There will also be present similar representation from at least five (5) other Councils. The meeting will begin with lunch at 12:30 p.m. on the 23rd at the Air Host Inn near the Atlanta Airport.

This review session will end no later than 5:00 p.m. on the 2rd.

The team requests that either you or your president be prepared to give a presentation of no more than five minutes on the affairs, needs

and hopes of your Council. I would assume this could be simply a five minute oral summary of your five-page paper which will have been submitted to the Committee earlier.

I look forward to seeing you on the 23rd.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Clifford Campbell
The Ford Foundation

BLANK

January 2, 1968

Mr. Baxton Bryant
Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
818-B 17th Street, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Dear Baxton:

This will confirm our telephone conversation of last week relative to the Ford Foundation Review Team.

Prior to January 22nd Dr. James V. Cunningham of the University of Pittsburg will visit Nashville to review the affairs of the Tennessee Council. You will hear from Dr. Cunningham shortly concerning this visit.

As another part of the review, the team will wish to meet with representatives from several of the state Councils, including Tennessee. For this purpose you and your president are asked to be in Atlanta on the afternoon of Tuesday, January 23rd, beginning with lunch at 12:30 p.m. The Committee may wish to have this session run until 5:00 p.m.

Arrangements to return home can be made for any time after that hour on the 23rd.

Lunch and the afternoon session will be at the Air Host Inn, which is just off the airport property. The Inn maintains a small bus to transport people to and from the airport. If the bus is not in the loading zone, there is near the baggage area a telephone connected to the Inn.

SRC will be responsible for expenses in connection with this visit.

The Team requests that either you or your president be prepared to give a presentation of no more than five (5) minutes on the affairs, needs and hopes of your Council. I would assume this could be simply a five minute oral summary of your five- page paper which will have been submitted to the team earlier.

I look forward to seeing you on the 23rd.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Clifford Campbell
The Ford Foundation

January 2, 1968

Mr. Kenneth Dean
Executive Director
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
306 First Federal Building
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

Dear Ken:

This will confirm our telephone conversation of last week relative to the Ford Foundation Review Team.

Prior to January 22nd Miss Marian Wright of Jackson will visit you to review the affairs of the Mississippi Council. You will be hearing from Miss Wright shortly concerning this visit.

As another part of the review, the team will wish to meet with representatives from several of the state Councils, including Mississippi. For this purpose you and your president are asked to be in Atlanta on the afternoon of Tuesday, January 23rd, beginning with lunch at 12:30 p.m. The Committee may wish to have this session run until 5:00 p.m.

Arrangements to return home can be made for any time after that hour on the 23rd.

Lunch and the afternoon session will be at the Air Host Inn, which is just off the airport property. The Inn maintains a small bus to transport people to and from the airport. If the bus is not in the loading zone, there is near the baggage area a telephone connected to the Inn.

SRC will be responsible for expenses in connection with this visit.

The team requests that either you or your president be prepared to give a presentation of no more than five (5) minutes on the affairs, needs and hopes of your Council. I would assume this could be simply a five minute oral summary of your five-page paper which will have been submitted to the team earlier.

I look forward to seeing you on the 23rd.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Clifford Campbell
The Ford Foundation

January 2, 1968

The Rev. Paul Matthias
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1420 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Paul:

This will confirm our telephone conversation of last week relative to the Ford Foundation Review Team.

Prior to January 22nd Miss Marian Wright of Jackson, Mississippi will visit Columbia to review the affairs of the South Carolina Council. You will hear from Miss Wright shortly concerning this visit.

As another part of the review, the team will wish to meet with representatives from several of the state Councils, including South Carolina. For this purpose you and your president are asked to be in Atlanta on the afternoon of Tuesday, January 23rd, beginning with lunch at 12:30 p.m. The Committee may wish to have this session run until 5:00 p.m.

Arrangements to return home can be made for any time after that hour on the 23rd.

Lunch and the afternoon session will be at the Air Host Inn, which is just off the airport property. The Inn maintains a small bus to transport people to and from the airport. If the bus is not in the loading zone, there is near the baggage area a telephone connected to the Inn.

SRC will be responsible for expenses in connection with this visit.

The team requests that either you or your president be prepared to give a presentation of no more than five (5) minutes on the affairs, needs and hopes of your Council. I would assume this could be simply a five minute oral summary of your five-page paper which will have been submitted to the team earlier.

I look forward to seeing you on the 23rd.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Clifford Campbell
The Ford Foundation

January 2, 1968

Mr. Will C. Allred
Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
233½ North Greene Street
Greensboro, North Carolina 27401

Dear Will:

This will confirm our telephone conversation of last week relative to the Ford Foundation Review Team.

Prior to January 22nd Mr. George Esser, Director of the North Carolina Fund, will visit Greensboro to review the affairs of the North Carolina Council. You will hear from Mr. Esser shortly concerning this visit.

As another part of the review, the team will wish to meet with representatives from several of the state Councils, including North Carolina. For this purpose you and your president are asked to be in Atlanta on the afternoon of Tuesday, January 23rd, beginning with lunch at 12:30 p.m. The Committee may wish to have this session run until 5:00 p.m.

Arrangements to return home can be made for any time after that hour on the 23rd.

Lunch and the afternoon session will be at the Air Host Inn, which is just off the airport property. The Inn maintains a small bus to transport people to and from the airport. If the bus is not in the loading zone, there is near the baggage area a telephone connected to the Inn.

SRC will be responsible for expenses in connection with this visit.

The team requests that either you or your president be prepared to give a presentation of no more than five (5) minutes on the affairs, needs and hopes of your Council. I would assume this could be simply a five minute oral summary of your five-page paper which will have been submitted to the team earlier.

I look forward to seeing you on the 23rd.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Clifford Campbell
The Ford Foundation

January 2, 1968

Mr. Frank Adams
Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
17 East Cary Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219

Dear Frank:

This will confirm our telephone conversation of last week relative to the Ford Foundation Review Team.

Prior to January 22nd Mr. George Esser, Director of the North Carolina Fund, will visit Richmond to review the affairs of the Virginia Council. You will hear from Mr. Esser shortly concerning this visit.

As another part of the review, the team will wish to meet with representatives from several of the state Councils, including Virginia. For this purpose you and your president are asked to be in Atlanta on the afternoon of Tuesday, January 23rd, beginning with lunch at 12:30 p.m. The Committee may wish to have this session run until 5:00 p.m.

arrangements to return home can be made for any time after that hour on the 23rd.

Lunch and the afternoon session will be at the Air Host Inn, which is just off the airport property. The Inn maintains a small bus to transport people to and from the airport. If the bus is not in the loading zone, there is near the baggage area a telephone connected to the Inn.

SRC will be responsible for all expenses in connection with this visit.

The team requests that either you or your president be prepared to give a presentation of no more than five (5) minutes on the affairs, needs and hopes of your Council. I would assume this could be simply a five minute oral summary of your five-page paper which will have been submitted to the team earlier.

I look forward to seeing you on the 23rd.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Clifford Campbell
The Ford Foundation

CLIFFORD J. CAMPBELL
2004 NORTH EAST CRAMER STREET
PORTLAND, OREGON 97211

January 4, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Your letter of January 2nd, together with attachments, arrived this morning. Thanks for everything, particularly the list of selected State Councils on Human Relations which provides basic information for contacts to be made by our visiting consultants.

Thanks for reminding me that there is a bit of unfinished business with reference to our get together next week. Let's plan it for Washington, D.C., Hay Adams Hotel. Might we begin with breakfast--say 8:30 a.m. and carry on until our agenda runs out. If I do not hear from you, I will assume that this meets with your approval.

Sincerely yours,

Clifford J. Campbell

CJC:dd

Paul Anthony

This is a sample of the letters sent to the consultants who will make visitations. Such letters went to Miss Wright and Messrs. Esser and Cunningham.

- C O P Y -

January 4, 1967

AIR MAIL - SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. George Esser, Jr.
Executive Director
The North Carolina Fund
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

Dear George:

This letter will serve to confirm our recent conversation concerning your willingness to serve on our Foundation team for the review of SRC activities scheduled for Atlanta, Georgia January 21st through the 24th. We appreciate your willingness to visit, sometime during the week of January 15th, the SRC State Council programs for North Carolina and Virginia.

We would hope that your visit will provide the basis for you to prepare a written report in which you will present your evaluation of the state and local Human Relations Councils included in this assignment. We are primarily interested in program effectiveness, adequacy and present status of development. Your report should be brief but comprehensive. The selection of areas of empahsis is left to your judgment.

Each of the ten councils is being requested by Paul Anthony to provide for us a report of council activities. In addition, there will be extended, through SRC, an invitation to the presidents and executive directors of seven of the councils to be with us on Tuesday, January 23rd to discuss their respective programs.

It is anticipated that the reports of our consultants will be presented on Monday, January 22nd during our orientation session. This setting will include the members of our review team only.

It is assumed that the consultants accepting this assignment, for visitation during the week of January 15th, will find one day on site adequate to cover the specifics of this assignment.

The chairman or executive director of the North Carolina and Virginia State Councils is anticipating your visit. Please call them at the following numbers for further details:

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
233½ North Greene Street
Greensboro, North Carolina 27401
Telephone: . . . . . (AC 919) 275-5689
Executive Director: . Will C. Allred
Chairman: . . . . . John R. Taylor

VIRIGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
17 East Cary Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219
Telephone: . . . . . (AC 703) 648-4444
Executive Director: . Frank Adams
Chairman: . . . . . M. C. Martin

If further clarification is necessary, please call me:

Clifford J. Campbell
(AC 503) 288-3446
Portland, Oregon

Sincerely yours,

Clifford J. Campbell

CJC:dd

cc: Mildred Epstein

See Ford Fd. Review Team

January 5, 1968

Mr. George Esser
Executive Director
The North Carolina Fund
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

Dear George:

Enclosed are the materials requested by Cliff for the members of the Ford Foundation Review Team. Separate materials requested of the state Councils will be sent to you next week.

Sorry about the bulk of this, but what Mr. Campbell requests you shall receive!

Look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 9.

See Ford Fd. Review Team

January 5, 1968

Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina 28207

Dear Dr. Wheeler:

Paul has asked me to share with you, in his absence, the enclosed materials. These have been prepared, at the request of the Ford Foundation, for use by the review team.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures - 9.

File
Ford Fd.
Review Team

January 5, 1968

Miss Marian Wright
538½ N. Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39202

Dear Marian:

Enclosed are the materials request by Cliff for the members of the Ford Foundation Review Team. Separate materials requested of the state Councils will be sent to you next week.

Sorry about the bulk of this, but what Mr. Campbell requests you shall receive!

I do hope you will find an opportunity to come over for a visit prior to the review.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures--2.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 East 43 Street,
New York, N. Y. 10017

P. 7
Dep 1/8/68

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

file Fourth Qtr. 1968

January 5, 1968

5th Quarterly Payment for 1967

Mr. Paul B. Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

We enclose The Ford Foundation's check for $64,800 1-8-68 Kathy payable to your order.

This remittance represents a quarterly payment on our Grant No. 66-3 studies and technical assistance related to human relations programs in the South.

We would appreciate your acknowledging receipt of this check by signing and returning the attached copy of this letter in the enclosed envelope.

Very truly yours,

Norman W. MacLeod

Norman W. MacLeod
Assistant to Treasurer

Enclosures

P. S. We are also, enclosing a set of Grant Quarterly Payment Request forms which are to be submitted, in duplicate, with your annual report to the Secretary's office of The Ford Foundation.

See Job Folder Review Team

via air mail

January 5, 1968

Mr. Clifford Campbell
2004 North East Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Cliff:

Enclosed are the materials requested about the Southern Regional Council. Seven copies have been sent to Mildred as you requested, and copies have also been sent to Marian Wright and George.

The requested state Council materials, along with our proposal for continued support of them, will be sent similarly at the end of next week.

In the meantime, I look forward to seeing you in Washington on Wednesday.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 9.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM January 5, 1968

To: Members of the Ford Foundation Review Team

From: Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

- o -

Enclosed are several documents requested by Mr. Clifford Campbell for use by the team. They are:

(1) A summary statement on the Southern Regional Council;

(2) A summary statement on the state Councils on Human Relations;

(3) A list of members of the Southern Regional Council;

(4) A summary financial statement for 1967;

(5) An audit for 1966;

(6) A 1968 budget;

(7) The Director's Program Report for 1966;

(8) A table of organization;

(9) List of SRC staff.

Next week, at Mr. Campbell's request, we will send you information about the state Councils.

I look forward to seeing you on January 22nd.

- o -

Paul —

In case you missed it, I found the Cover Story of Business Week quite interesting

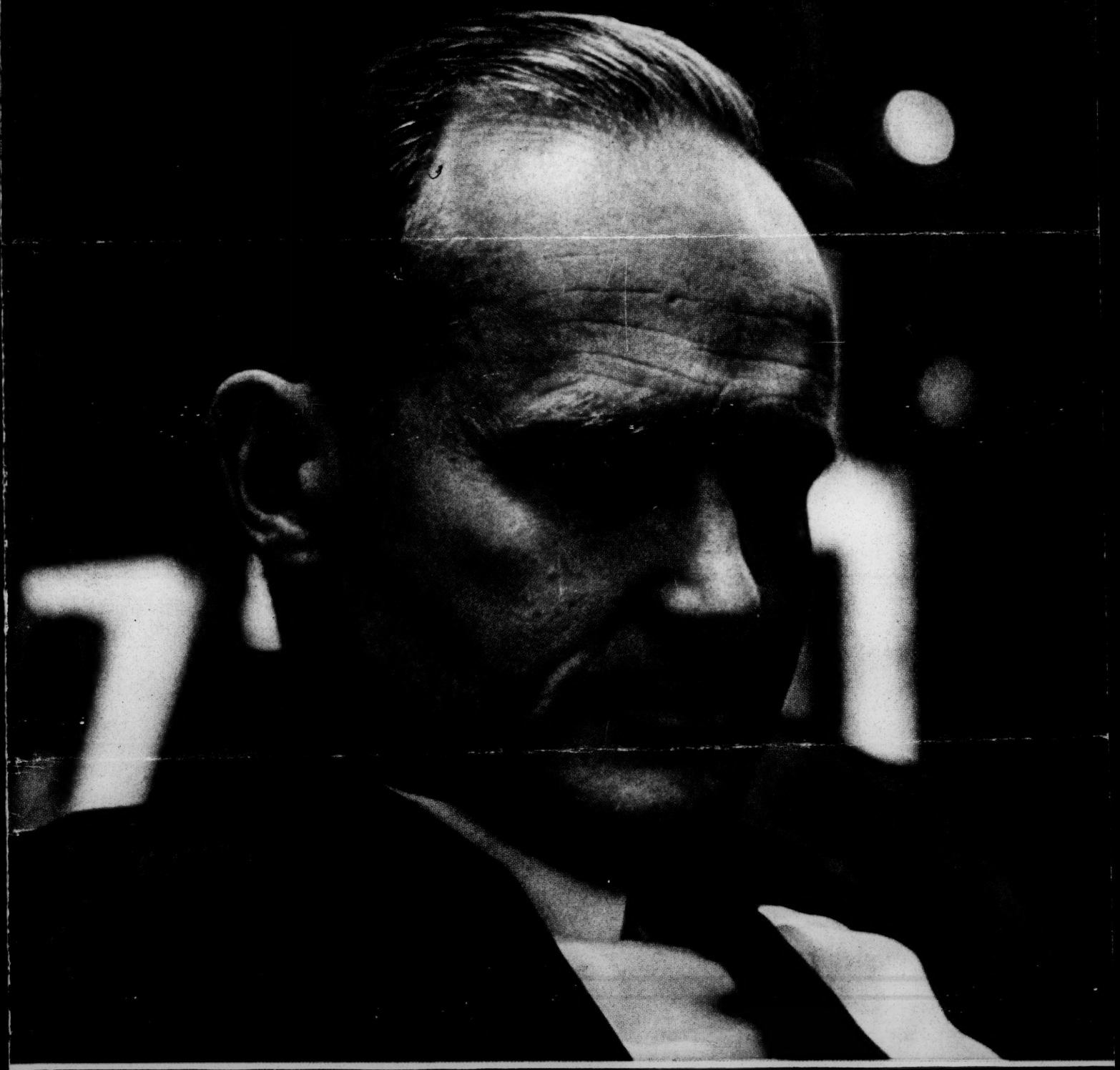
Warm regards,

Ralph

MS — file

Fine Job 7d 1968

Business Week



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ATLANTA GA 30308

More brainpower for every buck

Though he has cut the Ford Foundation's disbursements by a third, new president, McGeorge Bundy, is getting dramatic results—as in the CORE grant that helped elect a Negro mayor

The Ford Foundation executive, a seasoned philanthropoid, glanced through the glass wall of his brand-new office in New York, across an interior garden blooming below, toward the president's tenth-floor suite.

"Things are crispier around here," he said. "We had a hierarchical organization before—the bright ideas came from below, and the higher you went the more they said 'no.' Now we're more horizontal. There's more interchange. Now bright ideas come from all over the place."

His word is "crispier." Other Ford professionals use "exciting" and "zest." But all refer to the change that life in the world's largest philanthropic foundation has undergone since McGeorge Bundy, the 48-year-old former adviser to two Presidents, took over as head man two years ago.

'Cabinet meetings' bring Bundy and top Ford Foundation officials together for informal talks nearly every week that touch all Ford interests.

Bundy is still as Washington remembers him, the New Frontiersman, articulate, intellectually tough, and as coolly self-assured as Groton, Yale, Harvard, and a Boston Brahmin ancestry can make a man. Backed by Ford's board of trustees, he has cut Ford's $300-million-a-year disbursements by nearly one-third—while honing its professionals with such Bundyisms as: "The less money, the more thinking." He has revamped the organization so that top hands nowadays are more aware of what lower hands are doing, and vice versa. And he has shown an unphilanthropoidal courage for public visibility and controversy.

Street scene. While Ford money goes—and will continue to go—to good works around the world, Bundy sees Ford's big job in the streets of America. "Equality of opportunity is the nation's No. 1 problem," he says, "therefore, it's our No. 1 problem." Thus, under Bundy, Ford money is being increasingly aimed at that target. And in the words of an associate, "Mac isn't bound by the traditional pieties."

Washington may be pouring broadsides of anti-poverty funds into the same cause, but Bundy feels there is still room for the foundations, by skillful marksmanship, to score effective hits. He and his board are willing to step beyond the pale of foundation orthodoxy to do it.

Last July, for instance, $175,000 in Ford money went to Cleveland's branch of the Congress of Racial Equality, one of CORE's best but tinged enough by the controversiality of its national leadership to scare off the more cautious. Much of the Ford grant went toward voter registration—and Cleveland in November elected Carl B. Stokes the first Negro mayor of a major U. S. city. "Mac," a colleague says, "didn't feel we had to agree with everything Floyd McKissick says to make the grant."

Reviving a sleeper. Since going to New York, Bundy has made headlines with a plan to rekindle the flagging aspirations of the nation's noncommercial television apparatus, into which Ford has poured some $100-million. "We weren't getting our money's worth," he says. He has called for a domestic satellite network on which noncommercial stations could feed from fees from commercial users—a plan that has given the Federal Communications Commission, COMSAT, and the commercial networks a good deal to chew on.

For convenience, the press calls it the "Bundy plan." New Yorkers talk of another "Bundy plan"—a plan, evolved by a task force headed by the foundation's visible new president, that would decentralize the city's vast public school establishment into 15 to 30 divisions.

Still another "Bundy plan" is expected to be making headlines soon. At the request of New York's Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, Bundy has headed a select committee (members include educator James B. Conant) to examine the future of private education in the state. Bundy's group is expected to recommend direct state aid to independent colleges and universities, all suffering financial want.

Rousing issue. This is almost certain to arouse the perennial debate over prohibitions in New York—and most other states—against spending public funds on private education, except that it would shift the arena from parochial schools to the college level.

If the pattern he has set since coming to New York holds, Bundy can be expected to be in the middle of it. Although he solemnly insists "I try not to get involved with civic affairs," Bundy has been hip-deep in the hubbub that has followed the "Bundy plan" for New York's schools.

Exercising skills honed to a fine edge in Harvard's academic halls

Visibility is earmark of Ford's new $16.4-million headquarters, built around open core with interior gardens below.

We found someone to pin last year's success on. Business. You used Mead's printing papers, educational products, corrugated containers, packaging products and machinery—at record rates. And it looks as if we'll button up even better sales this year. Thank you, business.

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and the official nerve centers of Washington, Bundy has gone wherever he has been called, to inform, persuade, and answer the cries of alarm. The most difficult of his listeners have been school administrators, who see little virtue in splintering their domain, and New York's militantly organized teachers.

McGeorge and the dragon. The teachers feel that if they did not actually slay the Board of Education dragon in a bitter strike last September, they at least wounded it. And they see the "Bundy plan" as suggesting that 15 to 30 new dragons —largely autonomous district boards —rise in its place. Bundy, the ex-dean, understands. "The teachers work in a highly anonymous system," he says. "The parents have been making angry noises, and the rumor mills have been working. They [the teachers] are frightened."

They are also hostile. At one meeting, Ford's Mario D. Fantini, chief staff man involved in the plan, was shouted down by the cry, "When did you ever teach in New York?"

Bundy has faced their angry mood with typical Bundy flair. When he took the platform at his next teacher meeting, he began: "I have never taught in New York schools." The teachers applauded and heard him out. He is booked to talk to other groups into March.

The New York school fracas—fraught, as are most big-city school problems, with deep racial overtones—demonstrates to Ford personnel two characteristics of their new president. First, Bundy could have remained aloof, but did not. Mayor John V. Lindsay, faced with a legislative demand for a decentralization plan to substantiate an appeal for greater state aid, called for a task force, and Bundy took charge. "It wouldn't have worked without Bundy," a Ford associate says, noting the conflicting community elements involved, particularly Negro parents militantly unhappy with things as they are and suspicious of more "studies."

Secondly, Bundy worked throughout hand-in-glove with Fantini who, as a program officer in public education, is at least three notches below him on the Ford Foundation totem pole.

Bundy, his associates have learned, is more interested in expertise and the facts than in heirarchy. "Mac's liable to bound in here any minute to give me or someone else hell about some paper or other," says one program officer.

Fast change. Indeed, the Ford Foundation today bears more of the Bundy stamp than the world of pro-

Detroit's Jim Tabor won't clip this coupon to the Texas Industrial Commission today—but his boss should!

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State_____ Zip_____

President Bundy has "staff person's" grasp of detail, here gives typical quick resonse to a subordinate's call.

fessional philanthropy would have conceded two short years ago. Bundy himself attributes the speed of change "partly to accident and partly to anno domini." Time was certainly one of the factors—Bundy's arrival more or less coincided with the mandatory retirement of five of the 15 trustees and two of Ford's then three vice-presidents. It was clearly a time for basic decisions.

Most basic, perhaps, was whether the Ford Foundation should husband its $3-billion assets and plan for an indefinite future. The foundation, with income of some $150-million a year from its holdings, was in the habit of granting in the $300-million range.

"We couldn't keep it up for very long without a cutback of the corpus of the foundation," Bundy says. At the heady rate it was going, a top aide points out, Ford's endowment would have been halved in 10 years.

Colleges cut. The trustees have lowered the foundation's sights closer to the $200-million range, with the target set in the coming year. The biggest casualty has been Ford's special program for capital grants to colleges and universities, into which Ford poured $325-million in matching funds over six years.

Though this may appear to leave the colleges high and dry, Bundy says it does not. While aware of college needs ("We could spend $500-million there tomorrow"), Bundy takes the view that matching Ford's funds at up to four-to-one over the years has given university presidents "the habit of large fund drives." Yale, for one, has responded by launching its own capital-funds drive for $388-million over 10 years, the largest such campaign in history.

"That job is done," Bundy says of the special program, "and its good continues."

Ford's cutback, far from being a desperation move, was one of simple conservation. Since receiving the Ford family bonanza of 88% of Ford Motor Co. shares, which put it in the philanthropic big-time a dozen years ago, Ford Foundation has consistently invaded its capital—by some $1.1-billion since 1956.

Leader in its field. Yet income in the last fiscal year was $158.1-million, highest in its history, and gross assets stood at $3.59-billion—more than three times those of its nearest philanthropic competitor, the Rockefeller Foundation. However, since large chunks of the money are committed though not delivered to grantees, Ford prefers to think of its net assets as something just short of $3-billion.

Ford Motor Co. stock, once the bulk of the foundation's treasury, now makes up slightly more than 50% of its assets—some 32.5-million non-voting shares worth about $1.7-billion. The foundation's equity in the motor company, an embarrassment over the years, thus has been reduced to about 31%.

Former World Bank chief Eugene R. Black, finance chairman of the foundation's board and firm backer of Bundy's policies, says the foundation plans no additional large public sell-offs to reduce its Ford holdings. It will rely chiefly on the attrition of occasional sales to Ford company pension plans and the like.

The Bundy economies, Black says, do not mean that the foundation ever intends to reduce its grants to the level of its annual income figures, and is always open to a "good idea"—such as the $600-million idea with which Ford raised

basis, and getting answers back can often take hours.

Swifter computers with big, safeguarded memories have let us change all that. Now we're developing time-sharing systems that furnish a reply almost as soon as the question is received. With the recent delivery of one of the largest third generation computers, our Richland facility is now being converted to a true time-sharing network using CSC developed and implemented software.

The pivot on which a time-sharing system is balanced is a responsive and efficient "executive" program. It oversees all the work to be done, allots time, establishes priorities, and channels incoming and outgoing data.

The danger of shoddy programs was never more important than in time-sharing. If the thousands of interrelated program elements are inefficiently conceived and arranged, the "executive" program itself can become so complex that it would occupy most of the memory and consume much of the computer's calculating power.

We've been working with these systems for over 200 man-years. This includes both "executive" programs and all the other time-sharing software support. Among the latter are program checkout systems, control language systems, and conversational processors (e.g., FORTRAN, and PL/1). For instance, we recently designed a FORTRAN to compile 5000 cards a minute. (This is excellent speed for any computer system, time-sharing or otherwise.)

Currently we're involved in new time-sharing projects — ranging from modest systems for the near future to mammoth fourth generation systems for the next decade. If you or one of your customers has a time-sharing system in mind, write the president for a copy of our brochure. It tells of a couple of man-centuries of experience we figure you can't afford to ignore.

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college and university salaries across the U. S. a few years ago.

Organizing and leading. With $3-billion in the vault that is now not likely to shrink, Bundy focuses his attention less on dollars than on Ford's human resources, which he deems considerable. Backed to the hilt by his trustees, he has restructured the foundation to make the most of Ford's brainpower, and has added two prime recruits.

First, he broadened the vice-presidential level to four men, and made them a team. W. McNeil Lowry, a 14-year veteran with Ford and interim president until Bundy arrived, heads the division of Humanities and the Arts. F. Champion Ward, former deputy vice-president for international programs, was raised to vice-president of the Division of Education and Research—and the rank of deputy was erased in the Bundy streamlining.

Adding two. David E. Bell, former U. S. director of the budget, chief of AID, and a Bundy associate in Harvard and New Frontier days, was brought in to head the foundation's International Division. The latest addition is Mitchell Sviridoff, who served briefly as New York's Human Resources Commissioner until Bundy beckoned. He is vice-president for national affairs.

Talking it over. None of Bundy's vice-presidents sits in an airtight compartment. Bundy uses them, in Bell's words, as "a council of senior advisers" in key judgments. Nearly once a week he has them all in, along with Ford's administrative officers, for what has become to be known as "the cabinet meeting." Discussion runs the range of Ford's interests.

Below the "cabinet" level, Bundy has eliminated much of the stratification that can beset big foundations. "Below vice-president," one top aide explains, "all professionals are equals, except that some are more equal than others." The "more equal" ones are called under the Bundy scheme "program officers in charge." The rest are "program officers." No more does Ford have "program directors," whose former autonomy over segments of the foundation's work is a Ford legend.

The result is that every Ford professional has access to a vice-president and to Bundy himself—or is likely to find that they have unimpeded access to him. Equally important, from Bundy's point of view, vertical barriers that once existed between professionals of different disciplines are also largely gone. Ideas, the commodity Bundy prizes most, are the result.

Their production is further encouraged by the pragmatic code of the New Frontier by which Bundy operates. He tends to see the possibilities in an idea rather than search for reasons not to do it, his associates say, and takes the view that any of his vice-presidents "is entitled to one $100,000 mistake."

"Mac's got enough confidence to admit it when he has been wrong," one close associate says. "We don't worry that we'll be trapped, as some foundations have been, into supporting an idea that proves ineffective."

Older Ford hands confirm that he is more inclined to say "yes" to an idea than his predecessor, Henry T. Heald, who led the foundation through 10 of its most productive years. McNeil Lowry, who filled the void between the two regimes, knows both men well.

"Only the style is different," he says. "Heald's forte was decision-making, the commonsense answer. His nay was his nay, but if you came back with the facts, you would prevail. Bundy relates right at his desk very quickly to every staff person—he's more like a staff person."

Big territory. Indeed, he has the credentials. For the 58 months before he took over the Ford reins, Bundy was Special Assistant for National Security to two presidents—a super "staff person" the New York Times once called "the Administration's custodian of the world."

Plucked by President Kennedy from Harvard, where, at 34, he had risen to dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Bundy ran what came to be known as "the little state department" in the White House.

Today his ties with Washington are still strong. During last summer's Middle East crisis, Johnson recalled him to the White House for several weeks. "I was nabbed," says Bundy, "because that was the condition under which the President let me go."

Non-committal. When capital talk, too, turns to future secretaries of state—under future administrations—one of the first names still mentioned is Bundy's. He does not encourage such speculation—he just doesn't talk about it.

Ensconced in the Ford Foundation's new headquarters—a month-old architectural surprise of glass, steel, South Dakota granite, and central indoor gardening on New York's 43rd Street—Bundy has the look of permanence. He clearly likes his job, even implies occasionally that he's still learning it. A scion of Boston's Lowells on his mother's side, he can view the giving away of millions with a frugal Yankee smile, and say, "It's not a very New Englander thing to be doing." **End**

Materials Supplied by State Councils for Ford Review Team

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
8 January 1968

BRIEF HISTORY OF
THE ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations organized a Board of Directors in December, 1954 and obtained a staff in April, 1955. It was incorporated under Arkansas law as a non-profit organization in July, 1955. From 1955 to August, 1966 the Executive Director of the Arkansas Council was Nat R. Griswold. Associate Directors have been Christopher C. Mercer, Jr. (1955-1957); John W. Walker (1959-1960); and Ozell Sutton (1961-June, 1966). On August first, 1966 the Board of Directors selected Elijah Coleman as Executive Director.

During the years 1955-1961 the ACHR was primarily concerned with the implementation of the 1954 Supreme Court school decision. At that time the byword of the ACHR was "transition without tragedy." The bulk of the work was done through pamphlets written by the Executive Director; and panel discussions and private meetings with school officials, Negro representatives and ACHR staff. Because of the orientation of the Executive Director, a great deal of liaison work and conference meetings were accomplished with the cooperation of church related organizations: American Friends Service Committee and the "Conference for Community Unity"; "Retreat for Christian Ministers"; Greater Little Rock Conference on Religion and Race. Prior to the school crisis in 1957, progress of the ACHR was steady and community acceptance was gratifying.

From 1957-1961 Little Rock remained the focus of activity of the ACHR. An innovative program, "Bridges across the Barrier," sponsored by ACHR brought Little Rock's white liberals and Negro leaders closer through personal responsibilty for Negro children in integrated schools. All previous progress in human relations was cancelled, and a new and more difficult approach was initiated.

During the years 1961-1965 the staff continued its role as personal negotiators and arbitors. This was especially so as a result of SNCC lunch counter sit-ins in Little Rock, and of the 1964 Civil Rights Bill. Private meetings were held with businessmen in order to encourage them to accept the provisions of the bill. The ACHR office served as the agency to distribute and receive complaint forms pertaining to Title II (Public Accomodations) of the 1964 Civil Rights Bill. It was during this time that the ACHR began to receive relatively significant contributions from the Little Rock business community. Toward the end of this period serious attempts were made to strengthen and enlarge ACHR memberships in North Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Conway, and Fayetteville.

1966 - 1967

During the first half of 1966 the Associate Director initiated a number of workshops and conferences. The year began with an "Operation Friendship" project conducted in Little Rock and Jonesboro. The purpose was to encourage and promote interracial understanding through home visitations of whites with Negro hosts. In May the ACHR sponsored a workshop on open housing in Little Rock. The consultant also met with the Fayetteville Community Relations Association, an ACHR affiliate. In April the ACHR sponsored a statewide Student Conference on Human Relations in Little Rock. The conference concluded with a public address by James Farmer. In June, as a public relations gesture, the ACHR sponsored a public dinner for Mrs. David Terry, the "Eleanor Roosevelt of Arkansas." Five hundred guests listened to an address by Harry Ashmore, formerly with the Arkansas Gazette. A concerted effort was made to increase ACHR membership; as a result the Council won the Southern Regional Council's George Mitchell award for a 91% increase in membership.

Under the direction of the new Executive Director and the Chairman of the ACHR Board of Directors, the Council began to move

toward the organization of effective local affiliates. This emphasis was a departure from the highly personal involvement of the staff in the past and from activities centered in Little Rock. Rather than having the staff "put out fires" throughout the state, the primary purposes of the staff would be organizing affiliates and channelling program ideas and materials throughout the state.

An additional impetus to this emphasis was given by the Arkansas Voter Education Project presently located in the ACHR office. The AVEP with its statewide scope and contacts, and with its connection with the ACHR, serves to strengthen the accessibility and awareness of ACHR programs. Although the AVEP is structurally autonomous from the ACHR, it has continued to exist under ACHR sponsorship and administrative assistance. This has resulted in a close working relationship to the mutual benefit of both organizations.

At present the ACHR is working with ten local affiliates. (A local group is considered an affiliate when it has elected officers and has selected working committees.) The affiliates are located in the following areas: Conway, El Dorado, Fayetteville, Forrest City, Fort Smith, Jonesboro, North Little Rock, Ouachita County (Camden), Pine Bluff, and Wynne. In order to encourage programming efforts, the ACHR has developed a "Handbook for Local Councils on Human Relations." In this booklet the following items were stressed:

1. That work needs to be done in order to move from talking about problems to solving them through concrete programming;

2. That the trend of the human rights movement in the South is toward the creation of local organizations dealing with local problems;

3. That it is essential that each affiliate establish an organizational structure;

4. That in the future the state ACHR office would become a resource center, helping to establish local groups and presenting ideas and materials to existing organizations;

5. That local groups, as they become stable and well-organized, must involve more persons in the community and thus broaden ACHR's base of financial support.

In order to fill the gap in this state of the lack of militant grassroots organizations, the ACHR has initiated an Arkansas Welfare Project. This project has two goals: 1) the writing of a simplified welfare manual for use both by the poor themselves and by local affiliates and other concerned organizations, such as the League of Women Voters, church action groups, and O.E.O. programs, as a specific programming tool; 2) the use of welfare rights and responsibilities as an organizing tool among the poor in eastern and southern Arkansas. This latter goal would give additional support to the Arkansas Voter Education Project as it seeks the cooperation of grassroots organizations for political involvement.

Unfortunately, at this date the ACHR has been funded for only one quarter of the anticipated budget ($5,000 of the total $20,000).* Early in 1968 efforts will be made to secure the remaining funds.

* A request was sent to the Ford Foundation

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

Officers and Board of Directors

CHAIRMAN:

Rev. Walter B. Clancy (white)
Catholic priest; professor of sociology

VICE-CHAIRMAN, IN CHARGE OF MEMBERSHIP:

Richard Groepper (white)
Has recently moved to Texas and is employed by the regional O.E.O. office.

VICE-CHAIRMAN, IN CHARGE OF FINANCES:

Mrs. John Samuel (white)
Housewife; part owner of a clerical and mailing service.

SECRETARY:

Mrs. John Gray (Negro)
Housewife

TREASURER:

William T. Kelly (white)
Insurance agent

BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

Charles Nichols (Negro); factory worker
Dr. Mary K. Sands (white); retired professor of speech
John W. Smith (Negro); contractor
Dr. W. H. Townsend (Negro); optometrist
Morton Gitelman (white); professor of law
U. S. Brown (Negro); funeral home director
Mrs. Patrick Murphy (white); director of information, Arkansas State Department of Education, Federal Programs
Rev. Lymell Carter (Negro); Methodist minister
Mrs. Knight Laird (white); housewife

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
8 January 1968

MAJOR PROBLEMS

1. APATHY OF WHITE LIBERALS AND MIDDLE CLASS NEGROES.

It may be a sad commentary on human nature, but I believe that crisis situations are required before people are willing to commit themselves emotionally to solving racial and economic problems. The 1957-59 Little Rock school integration crisis was a cathartic experience for a large number of white liberals and a lesser number of middle class Negroes. Since that time there has been no situation in Arkansas (and more specifically in Little Rock) to equal the emotional, disruptive impact of Central High School. As a result there is a lack of cohesive purpose among the white liberals and middle class Negroes. A sense of compelling urgency is lacking. Since the bulk of ACHR support must come from these two sources, fund raising is becoming increasingly difficult.

2. ABSENCE OF MILITANCY AMONG NEGROES IN ARKANSAS, ESPECIALLY AMONG A MAJORITY OF LOWER INCOME NEGROES.

Historically, Arkansas has not been associated with the Deep South traditions of Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana. Arkansas is more aptly described as "upper" or "middle" South. The racism here has been much less physically brutal than in other southern states; rather, it has been subtle, psychological, and political. It is extremely difficult for the poor to organize and battle against paternalism.

In their brief existence in Arkansas the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee had several effective organizers working in two eastern Arkansas counties (St. Francis, 57% Negro population; Phillips, 57.8% Negro population). It is in these two counties where the Negro poor continue to have the most viable community organizations. In a very real sense the civil rights movement by-passed Arkansas, much to the loss of the poor.

3. The combination of items 1 and 2 above has created a social vacuum of passivity under the guise of moderation in our state. Were there a real "threat" of a militancy of the poor, the white liberals and middle class Negroes could be motivated to act toward meaningful change.

Three ACHR local affiliates (two in academic communities) have been able to move into the area of definite programming, and have been relatively effective. On the other hand, the remaining local groups still find it difficult to deal directly with specific local problems.

The lack of extremists on both the left and right in Arkansas places the ACHR in a tenuous situation. Because of our middle class orientation and support, we cannot "create" a crisis. The poverty, the substandard education, the lack of political involvement, the fear are as real in Arkansas as in any southern state; yet the essential ingredient of tension is lacking. It is within the context of tension that a state council can be most effective.

It is this social reality which is our major problem and which makes our work difficult and slow.

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1965 Financial Report

Balance brought forward December 31, 1964		$ 2,739.57
Balance in savings account		00.00
INCOME		
Annual and Quarterly grants		
B-Fund	$ 8,000.00	
SRC Quarterly	4,800.00	
SRC Special for Conference	1,000.00	
Matching Fund	2,721.66	$ 16,521.66
Local Income		
Membership	$ 1,628.85	
Contributions	2,344.42	
Business Contributions	5,060.00	
New South	7.00	
Literature	11.25	$ 9,051.52
Reimbursements		
Meal tickets (in & out)	$ 508.25	
AVR telephone	44.25	
Travel	281.17	
Headstart	664.00	$ 1,497.67
BANK BALANCE & TOTAL INCOME		$ 29,810.42
EXPENDITURES		
Salaries & Benefits		
Salaries	$ 17,490.49	
Insurance	586.49	
FICA	487.74	
Clerical	19.46	$ 18,584.18
Office		
Rent	$ 875.00	
Telephone	728.57	
Supplies	540.19	
Equipment	545.00	
Postage	612.56	
Interest on transfer	7.00	
Bank charges	19.05	$ 3,327.37
Program		
Printing	$ 701.78	
Travel	2,724.18	
Literature	211.67	
Programs	1,279.30	
New South	39.00	
Meals	459.42	
Refunds to affiliates	78.00	$ 5,493.35
TOTAL EXPENDITURE LESS SAVINGS		$ 27,404.90

Bank Book Balance	$ 405.52
Savings Acct. Balance	2,000.00
Net interest on savings	123.27

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1966 Financial Report

Balance brought forward 1 January 1966			$ 2,528.00
INCOME			
Grants			
Rockefeller Bros Fund	$ 6,000.00		
SRC grant	12,600.00		
W. Rockefeller Matching	2,500.00		
George Mitchell Award	1,000.00		$ 22,100.00
Local			
Memberships	$ 2,378.50		
Membership contributions	3,211.00		
Business contributions	5,110.00		$ 10,699.50
Others			
Miscellaneous	$ 110.38		$ 110.38
		TOTAL	$ 35,437.88
EXPENDITURES			
Reserve for Contingencies (Savings)			$ 2,171.14
Salaries & Benefits			
Salaries	$ 22,479.14		
Insurance	401.66		
F.I.C.A.	860.76		
Retirement	269.30		$ 24,010.83
Office			
Rent	$ 1,475.00		
Improvements	671.00		
Telephone	1,198.58		
Supplies	639.11		
Equipment & furniture	329.82		
Postage	555.90		
Bank charges	13.67		$ 4,883.08
Program			
Printing	$ 867.76		
Travel	1,668.91		
Literature	165.29		
Program	715.26		$ 3,417.22
Miscellaneous	$ 85.00		$ 85.00
		TOTAL	$ 32,396.13

BALANCE 12/31/66 savings and cash $ 2,648.34

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1967 Finance Report

Balance brought forward 31 December, 1966			$ 966.35
INCOME			
SRC Quarterly Grant-in-aid			13,600.00
SRC Welfare Grant			2,085.00
SRC Special Affiliate Workshop Grant			210.00
Rockefeller Bros. Foundation Grant			5,000.00
Loan from ACHR Savings			2,000.00
AVEP Loan Repayment			25.00
Voided checks			33.55
Memberships	$ 2,937.20		
Contributions	3,426.90		
Shares Contribution	330.00		
Jazz Concert Receipts	194.80		
Business Contributions	2,595.00		9,483.90
		TOTAL	$33,403.80
EXPENDITURES			
Salaries & Benefits			
ACHR Salaries	19,034.47		
Welfare Salary	2,820.26		
ACHR F.I.C.A.	765.02		
Welfare F.I.C.A.	102.30		
Retirement	621.10		
Insurance	377.45		23,720.60
Office			
Rent	1,500.00		
Telephone	950.85		
Supplies	849.85		
Equipment	51.24		
Postage	394.53		
ACHR Clerical	26.00		
Audit	202.21		
Petty Cash	30.00		
Bank Service Charges	10.62		4,015.30
Program			
Printing	671.58		
ACHR Travel	1,855.97		
Welfare Travel	179.31		
Griswold,Research Travel	67.75		
Literature	216.20		
Program	745.03		
Griswold,Research	125.00		
Griswold,Research Clerical	128.15		3,988.99
Miscellaneous			
Bank error	20.00		
Interest on loan	4.10		
Misc.	35.00		59.10
		TOTAL	$31,783.99
		BALANCE	$ 1,619.81

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
303-A Foster Street
Auburn, Alabama 36830

January 9, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO : J. Edwin Stanfield

FROM : Bob Valder

SUBJECT: Your Memorandum of December 18, 1967.

A HISTORY OF THE COUNCIL

The Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc. was organized in 1954 and incorporated in 1955. Many of the charter members were members of the Alabama district of the Southern Regional Council. During its existence, the Council has had five Executive Directors; however, it was not until 1965 that ACHR was able to hire a second full-time staff person. The Council has usually employed a full-time secretary.

The ACHR office was first located in Montgomery. Since then, it has been located in Birmingham and Huntsville; it is currently located in Auburn, Alabama. Sometime within the next few months the office will be moved to Montgomery again where it will probably remain for quite some time.

For about the first ten years, membership in the Alabama Council remained stable and small. Beginning in 1965, the membership (and financial support) increased dramatically and has remained at about the same level since then.

The Council has always had "local chapters" in most of the larger urban areas within Alabama. A few years ago, an attempt was made and subsequently disbanded, to organize chapters on a "district" basis. At the present time, our emphasis is upon having chapters which serve only one area. We currently have chapters in Birmingham, East Alabama (Auburn, Opelika and Tuskegee), Huntsville, Mobile, Montgomery, Muscle Shoals, Talladega and Tuscaloosa. We are hoping to organize between two and four additional chapters before 1969--this will probably

be attempted in Decatur, Gadsden, Anniston, maybe in Dothan and maybe (although it is doubtful) in Selma.

You will find twelve descriptive brochures enclosed which describe ACHR in more detail.

THE COUNCIL'S PURPOSES

Again, you may want to refer to the brochures for a general idea of our purposes.

Ideally, our reason for being is to attempt to contribute to an atmosphere in which everyone can live and work together.

We would like to do this without regard to race, color and creed but, given the nature of the society in which we find ourselves, we usually (always?) find ourselves doing things, programming and thinking with regard to race and color.

One purpose is certainly to educate the community--I think this is best done in the monthly meetings of our local chapters.

Another rather specific purpose is to change the community. Of course, we would like to change a community in a basic sense, but we usually find ourselves, for example, trying to help one person find a job or file a complaint through the work of a local employment committee. In other words, by having working committees as part of our local chapter structure we hope the community would be at least a little different.

PROGRAM and ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Introduction: I need to first explain some of the Alabama Council's staffing problems.

On December 31, 1965 the Executive Director of the Council resigned. Between January and June of 1966 the Associate Director performed the functions of a Director. In June, 1966 a Director was hired; he served full-time until September, 1966 at which time he returned to graduate school to

pursue a doctorate. At that time we hoped he would have sufficient time to function part-time as Director, but this hope did not materialize. Then in March, 1967 he resigned and the Board of Directors named the then Associate Director as Director. And it was not until August, 1967 that we were able to locate and place on our staff another Associate Director.

The result of this is that for approximately ten of the past twenty-four months we have not had a Director and that for only eight of the past twenty-four months have we had two full-time staff persons (excluding, of course, the Director of our Rural Advancement Project (RAP) and our office secretary).

Programs

Over the entire two years our program has been oriented towards three major areas (these are not necessarily listed in their order of emphasis or assumed importance).

(1) Agricultural, Rural and Black Belt Programs: Obviously, with an RAP and a full-time director much of the Council's efforts have been directed to these ends. Since joining the staff in February, 1966 he has worked closely with (a) credit unions for poor persons--establishing and helping them develop and (b) low income cooperatives--he has worked almost full-time as one of three "coordinators" with the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association (SWAFCA) for the past 13 months. He and our Associate Director are officials of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives. The RAP Director has recently started the Greene-Hale Sewing Cooperative. Our Associate Director is on the executive board of SWAFCA. For the past two years the staff has worked on Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) elections in most of the Black Belt Counties. The most concerted effort has been in Macon County where in 1967 we lost the election by 36 votes out of over 1,100 votes cast (and thereby missed electing the first Negro to any county committee). That election is now under appeal. The Director has worked closely with the Southern Rural Research Project which is now compiling the results of an in-depth survey conducted in many parts of Alabama and Mississippi concerning discrimination and segregation by Federal agencies.

(2) Local Chapter Development: Our most important, and most emphasized, staff project is servicing, advising and working with local chapters. It becomes increasingly clear that the main value of a Human Relations Council is its capacity for organizing and maintaining groups of local citizens. Among the important methods we use to further this concept are: (a) holding an annual "seminar" for all local presidents; (b) having the staff meet regularly and often with each local president and executive committee; (c) using the staff as constant resource persons with certain local chapter program committees; (d) inviting local presidents to attend Board of Directors' meetings as observers and mailing to the presidents all material which we mail to Board members. Some of the more important local programs were: (a) school desegregation--we believe that the majority of children in Alabama who have attended desegregated schools did so because of the Council and local chapters; (b) employment--a few chapters have working employment committees. Their method of operation is to locate and match job openings with employment needs; when necessary complaints are filed; (c) one chapter has chartered a Federal credit union; (d) one is encouraging their county to add important provisions to its Food Stamp program; (e) every chapter works with their anti-poverty program; (f) four have done voter registration; (g) nearly every chapter has monthly meetings; (h) most have monthly newsletters.

(3) Staff activities in areas where we have no chapters: Some activities are mentioned above. Another project involved weeks of research about many state institutions. The research centered around the appropriations, expenditures, facilities, programs,employment policies, discrimination and segregation, salaries and other matters within the state's Industrial Schools, her Mental Health facilities, the Schools for Deaf and Blind and two school systmes--all of this information was used by the Legal Defense Fund, Inc. to take these agencies into Federal court for purposes of desegregation and equalization.

ORGANIZATION DEVELOPMENT

Introduction: Methods of working with local chapters are listed under "Programs" rather than here to emphasize that we view our work with local chapters as the most important "Program" which the state office has.

Existing Local Chapters: Especially during those times when we have had two staffers we have done a great deal in helping local chapters strengthen themselves--with regard to financial resources, their own organizational development and their programs. In fact, we have emphasized getting chapters that already exist on a sound footing before working on developing new chapters.

Board of Directors: We are gradually winning the good fight of getting our Board involved in policy making and Council programs. We are slowly bringing in "better" Board members; we are also ridding the Board of "deadwood".

New Chapter Development: We are confident that it will be possible to charter two or three new chapters in 1968. We have every intention of making that effort.

Membership and Finances: Our level of contributions has remained about the same as has our membership. Much of the time we have spent on annual campaigns has actually been spent on training and educating local chapters about such matters. We think we have been successful, but time will tell. Our "Challenge Dinners" are slowly becoming community events rather than just fund-raising affairs. We are now organizing a state-wide "Special Gifts" Committee which will locate more large contributors and increase our income significantly.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT - January, 1966
Fiscal year begins on February 1.*

RECEIPTS

	This Month	Year to Date
Memberships and Contributions	$2,689.14	$21,987.81
S. R. C. Grants	1,375.00	6,000.00
Foundation Grants		6,000.00
Miscellaneous Receipts	950.00	7,777.50
TOTAL RECEIPTS	$5,014.14	$41.765.31

EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

Account	Budget	This Month	Year to Date
Executive Salary	$9,200.00	$	$ 7,967.27
Secretary's Salary	3,600.00	261.68	3,061.11
Payroll Taxes (1)	600.00	308.36	2,718.94
Travel Expenses	2,400.00	351.36	3,778.20
Rent	1,500.00	150.00	1,395.22
Office Supplies and Equipment	1,800.00	65.71	2,115.54
Telephone	1,200.00	159.91	1,437.61
Postage	720.00	180.00	1,145.00
Janitorial Service	180.00	20.00	200.00
Printing	500.00		1,316.17
Literature	300.00		205.44
Essay	500.00		
Intern Associate Salary	1,000.00	530.82	2,590.80
Miscellaneous	1,000.00	242.50	2,170.08
Total	$24,500.00	$2,270.34	$30,101.38

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

Volunteer Subsistence		200.00
Transfer to ANB		2,000.00
Transfer to Savings		2,000.00
Annual Meeting		884.02
Refunds to Local Chapters		779.75
Student Conference		228.95
Southern Courier - ACHR Interns (2)	5,000.00	5,000.00
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	$7,270.34	$41,194.10

(1) Budgeted amount to cover employers' share of FICA taxes only. Note that bulk of expenditures is withheld from salaries.

(2) This amount represents a foundation grant received solely for the purpose of contracting "ACHR Interns" on the staff of The Southern Courier.

* This report is for the period from February 1, 1965 to January 31, 1966.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT - January, 1967
Fiscal year begins on February 1.*

RECEIPTS

	This Month	Year to Date
Memberships and Contributions	$1,695.00	$13,665.35
S. R. C. Grant	3,825.00	9,325.00
S. R. C. Expanded Grant		9,000.00
Foundation Grants		12,000.00
Miscellaneous Receipts	100.00	1,634.89
TOTAL RECEIPTS	$5,620.00	$45,625.24

EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

Accounts	Budget	This Month	Year to Date
Executive Director's Salary	$8,600.00		$ 1,854.12
Associate Director's Salary	7,500.00	$ 530.18	6,389.72
Secretary's Salary	3,900.00	258.94	3,571.87
Fringe Benefits (1)	1,800.00	73.46	1,198.49
Staff Travel	3,500.00	239.45	3,434.83
Rent	1,800.00	135.00	1,912.50
Office Supplies and Equipment	2,000.00	96.56	1,673.22
Telephone	1,200.00	258.56	1,668.53
Postage	1,200.00		712.20
Janitorial Service	240.00		100.00
Printing	700.00	47.83	500.73
Literature	300.00	.75	98.75
Accounting	200.00		45.00
Petty Cash	100.00		50.00
Student Wrok	760.00		193.65
Subsistance and Allowance	300.00		
Conferences	1,000.00		1,000.54
Board of Directors	500.00		832.62
Refunds to Locals	500.00		813.25
Miscellaneous	1,000.00	164.35	1,517.55
Total	$36,000.00	$1,805.08	$27,567.57

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

Southern Educational Conference, Inc.		$10,000.00
Employees' Taxes Withheld (2)	212.05	2,237.31
National Sharecroppers Fund		913.07
Rural Advancement Project (3)		1,181.37
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	$2,017.13	$41,899.32

(1) This amount includes FICA, insurance polices and moving expenses.

(2) This amount represents the employees' taxes withheld from salaries.

(3) This amount is RAP's October expenditures which were paid by ACHR.

* This report is for the period from February 1, 1966 to January 31, 1967

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
FINANCIAL REPORT - December, 1967
Fiscal year begins on February 1.*

RECEIPTS

	This Month	Year to Date
Memberships and Contributions	$1,238.38	$13,135.14
S. R. C. Grant-in-Aid		11,475.00
Foundation Grants		
Miscellaneous Receipts	3.30	1,885.30
Freedom Quilting Bee (1)	250.00	6,272.38
TOTAL RECEIPTS	$1,491.68	$32,767.82

EXPENDITURES

Budget Expenditures:

Accounts	Budget	This Month	Year to Date
Executive Director's Salary	$6,000.00	$ 606.28	$ 5,861.29
Associate Director's Salary	7,400.00	501.74	4,414.55
Secretary's Salary	3,900.00	311.49	3,723.13
Fringe Benefits (2)	1,600.00	66.24	1,347.59
Staff Travel	5,000.00	553.29	2,934.64
Rent	1,620.00	115.00	1,365.00
Office Supplies and Equipment	1,500.00	132.14	1,267.22
Telephone	1,800.00	231.01	1,926.49
Postage	1,000.00	30.00	622.25
Printing	580.00	270.55	705.75
Literature	150.00		175.73
Accounting	200.00		150.00
Petty Cash	100.00		50.00
Student Work	250.00		
Subsistance and Allowance	300.00		
Conference	1,250.00		1,047.95
Board of Directors	1,000.00	62.91	967.36
Refunds to Local Chapters	2,250.00		1,129.08
Contingencies	1,500.00		200.00
Miscellaneous	1,300.00	12.75	504.84
Total	$38,700.00	$2,893.40	$28,392.87

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

The Southern Courier		$ 1,000.00
January's State Withholding Taxes		18.00
Freedom Quilting Bee	426.32	3,098.75
Greene-Hale Sewing Center		500.00
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	$3,319.72	$33,009.62

(1) ACHR is receiving contributions for the Freedom Quilting Bee. The contributions are in turn given to the Freedom Quilting Bee.

(2) This amount includes FICA, insurance polices and moving expenses.

*This report covers an eleven month period--February 1, 1967 to December 31, 1967.

RECAPITULATION

Balance on hand December 1, 1967 (Auburn National Bank)	$3,127.31
Receipts during December	1,491.68
Total	$4,618.99
Check Returned	- 24.00
Expenditures during December	-3,319.72
Balance on hand December 31, 1967 (Auburn National Bank)	$1,275.27

Balance in Savings	$5,442.70
Balance in Auburn National Bank	1,275.27
Total	$6,717.97
Balance for Freedom Quilting Bee	-3,173.63
TOTAL BALANCE	$3,544.34

1968 MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

Local Councils	This Month	Previous	Total
Greater Birmingham	10	15	25
East Alabama	23	32	55
Huntsville	11	3	14
Mobile	3	6	9
Montgomery	9	2	11
Muscle Shoals	0	10	10
Talladega	0	0	0
Tuscaloosa	9	7	16
Out-of-State	2	1	3
At Large	2	1	3
TOTAL	69	77	146

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

OFFICERS
1967

President
Dr. C. G. Gomillion
Professor
Tuskegee Institute
Black

Vice President
Dr. Raymond D. Fowler
Chairman of Psychology Department
University, Alabama
Non-black

Vice President
Dr. Everett McNair
Chaplain
Talladega College
Non-black

Vice President
Dr. George H. DeBoer
Professor
Florence State College
Non-black

Secretary
Mrs. Paul J. McCoy
Housewife
Huntsville
Non-black

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Dr. Joseph D. Bettis
Professor
University of Alabama
Non-black

*Mr. Allen Black, Jr.
Regional Director
NAACP Legal Defense Educational Fund, Inc.
Florence
Black

Mrs. John Cashin
Housewife
Huntsville
Black

Mrs. Laura Daly
Housewife
Talladega
Black

Mrs. John Drew
Housewife
Birmingham
Black

Mrs. Clifford Durr
Housewife, Writer
Montgomery
Non-black

*Rev. V. A. Edwards
Minister
Tuskegee Institute
Black

Dr. L. H. Foster
President
Tuskegee Institute
Black

Mr. Joseph A. Gannon
Accountant
Huntsville
Non-black

Mrs. Fannye Harris
Librarian
Tuskegee Institute
Black

Mrs. Grace Hooks
Social Worker
Tuskegee Institute
Black

Rev. Phillip Huckaby
Minister
Birmingham
Non-black

*"At-Large" Executive Committee Members

Mr. Thomas de Jefferson
Insurance Salesman
Tuscaloosa
Black

Mr. James F. Kidd
Professor
Daniel Payne College
Birmingham
Black

Mrs. Willie King
Headstart Secretary
Auburn
Black

Rev. Otis Kirby
Retired Minister
Decatur
Non-black

Dr. Frederick Kraus
Physican
University of Alabama
Birmingham
Non-black

Mrs. George Lamb
Housewife
Mobile
Non-black

Mr. Ralph H. Lee, Jr.
Professor
Alabama A & M College
Black

Mrs. Thelma Mullins
High School Instructor
Sheffield
Black

Mr. Allen Parker
President
Alabama Exchange Bank
Tuskegee
Non-black

Miss Nadine Pate
Psychological Social Worker
Florence
Non-black

Mr. J. E. Pierce
Professor
Alabama State College
Montgomery
Black

Mr. Paul Woolley, Jr.
Publisher
Montgomery
Non-black

*Mr. Earl Pippin
Vice President
Alabama Consumer Finance Association
Montgomery
Non-black

Mr. Alfred Radney
Laborer
Talladega
Black

Mrs. Dorothy Raine
High School Instructor
Mobile
Black

*Mrs. Bill Reed
Director
Day Care Centers
Huntsville
Non-black

Mr. Don Ring
Redstone Arsenal
Huntsville
Non-black

Mr. Jerry Roden, Jr.
Professor
Auburn University
Non-black

Mr. Stanley Rosenbaum
Professor
Florence State College
Non-black

Mr. Louie Sheffield
Chemist
Tennessee Valley Authority
Florence
Black

Mrs. Nancy Spears
Director
Lee County Headstart
Auburn
Non-black

Mrs. James Walbert
Housewife
Birmingham
Non-black

Mr. Joe Wilson
Economic Development Adminstration
Huntsville
Black

Mr. S. C. Watkins
Research Chemist
Tuscumbia
Black

The Major Problems of the Alabama Council on Human Relations in Order of Priority

1. *Convincing local leaders and members that they must respond intelligently and aggressively to a number of very urgent problems:* It has been my experience that it is most difficult to get most local folks to do anything: if they do become active it is then difficult to persuade them to continue the effort on a long range basis--particularly after the "drama" wears off.

2. *The enormity of the problem:* It is becoming all too obvious that no matter how good our programming and our effort might be the problems we are trying to deal with--racism, poverty, exploitation, class, etc.--so permeate the society that it often appears to be utterly impossible to do anything about them.

3. *The recalcitrance of public officials:* In this state it is highly unusual to find officials on a state or county or local level who do not respond to the social climate discussed in #2 above. This is particularly true with the present state administration--but the administration simply sets the pace; other public officials and public bodies differ with the administration only be being more subtle or less powerful. Thus it is a literal impossibility to gain the cooperation or participation of almost any public agency in the state (including Federal ones)--they are the "enemy."

4. *Staff time required to gain the necessary financial support:* The state staff spends approximately two full time months each year on the membership and financial campaign. This is entirely too much. That time needs to be spent on programming and development. It should be noted, however, that this effort is not all negative--it does involve many people in a worthwhile effort, it does help develop the chapters, it does make many people "put their money where their mouth is." And, I might add, we hope that our efforts over the past two years of training local folks and the Special Gifts committee may take much of the burden from the staff.

5. *Changes in local leadership, lack of volunteer time and competing organizations:* It is quite common for a local president or other leader to move from the area or state--this hurts. Secondly, in this kind of organization we rely entirely on persons who have jobs and many other interests (perhaps the main problem we have is the critical need for full-time staff persons in each community). Thirdly, other organizations have their programs and interests and this necessarily detracts from ours. But it should be emphasized that in a way all of this is good--it does automatically provide for "new blood;" and competing organizations do many things we can not do while at the same time they put pressure on us to prove our worth.

Bob Valder

Bob Valder
Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations

See Ford Foundation 1968

January 12, 1968

Mr. Norman W. MacLeod
Assistant to Treasurer
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. McLeod:

Enclosed, as you requested, are the completed Grant Quarterly Payment Request Forms.

Our Annual Report on program is now being completed and will be submitted to the Secretary's office shortly. Our audit for the calendar year 1967 is also being conducted and on its completion we will file with your office and the office of the Secretary that document.

Please know we appreciate your continued support.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

THE FORD FOUNDATION

GRANT QUARTERLY PAYMENT REQUEST
(To be submitted annually)

GRANTEE: **Southern Regional Council, Inc.** Grant Number: **66-3**

Date of Grant: **October 1, 1965**

Purpose: **Studies and technical assistance related to human relations programs in the South** Amount of Grant: **972,000.00**

Annual Reporting Date: **December 31, 1967**

a. Total Payment Received through last Annual Reporting Date:
(final payment made January 5, 1968)
December 1967 (month/year) $ **648,000.00**

b. Total Expenditures through last Annual Reporting Date above $ **595,360.57**

c. Balance $ **52,639.43**

d. Estimated Expenditures for 5 quarters following last annual report (important - see instructions) $ **324,000.00**

e. Estimated amount required to end of 5 quarters above - $ **324,000.00**

f. Payments Required

Quarter Ending	Balance beginning of each quarter	Estimated Expenditures (Line d by quarters)	Payments from Ford Foundation	
			Amount	Date received or requested
1 **3/31/68**		**81,000.00**	**81,000.00**	**January 1, 1968**
2 **6/30/68**		**81,000.00**	**81,000.00**	**April 1, 1968**
3 **9/30/68**		**81,000.00**	**81,000.00**	**July 1, 1968**
4 **12/31/68**		**81,000.00**	**81,000.00**	**October 1, 1968**
5				

Date: **January 12, 1968** Signature:

For Ford Foundation Processing

Secretary	Program	Treasurer	Comptroller

INSTRUCTIONS

ALL FIGURES TO BE IN U.S. DOLLARS

Line a: Insert the closing date of the last annual report. Insert the total of all grant payments received to that date as reported on your financial statements.

Line b: Insert the cumulative expenditures reported as of the date of the last annual financial statement.

Line c: Balance on hand at end of reporting period as shown on last annual financial statement and available for use in next reporting period. (Deduct line b. from line a.)

Line d: Estimate the expenditures which will be required to fulfill grant purposes for five quarters following the closing date of the last annual report. If this is a new grant, estimate only to one quarter beyond your selected annual reporting date.

Line e: Additional funds required during next five quarters to fulfill grant purposes. (Subtract line c. from line d.)

Line f: Payments required from Ford Foundation to supply funds required on line e. Enter in the table the following:

Quarter Ending - Insert last day of each quarter following last annual report date. If this is a new grant, insert the last day of the fiscal quarter in which payments are to commence.

Balance on hand at the beginning of each quarter, if any. The balance on line 1 should be the amount from line c, if any.

Estimated Expenditures - Indicate estimated expenditures by quarters. Total of this column should equal line d.

Payments from Ford Foundation - 1) Enter in the quarter in which received any payments from Ford Foundation since last annual report.

2) Enter quarterly any additional payments required since receipt of the last payment. The quarterly payments requested should not be more than required to meet the needs of each quarter in which requested; i.e., payments should not be requested from the Foundation until the "Balance on Hand" is not sufficient to meet the "Estimated Requirements." Payments will be made automatically by the Ford Foundation on or about the 1st of each quarter in which needed.

Return two copies to the Ford Foundation and retain one copy for your files.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 East 43 Street,
New York, N. Y. 10017

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

January 5, 1968

Mr. Paul B. Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

We enclose The Ford Foundation's check for $64,800 payable to your order. 1-8-68 Kathy

This remittance represents a quarterly payment on our Grant No. 66-3 studies and technical assistance related to human relations programs in the South.

We would appreciate your acknowledging receipt of this check by signing and returning the attached copy of this letter in the enclosed envelope.

Very truly yours,

Norman W. MacLeod
Assistant to Treasurer

Enclosures

P. S. We are also, enclosing a set of Grant Quarterly Payment Request forms which are to be submitted, in duplicate, with your annual report to the Secretary's office of The Ford Foundation.

File Review Team
Ford Fd "Corresp"

via air mail special January 12, 1968

Mr. Clifford Campbell
2004 North East Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Cliff:

Enclosed is a copy of the agenda. Copies as you requested have been sent to Mildred Epstein, Christopher Edley and Mitchell Sviridoff. I hope it accurately reflects our discussions.

Separately, we are mailing to you and the others today the state Councils request.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

via air mail special

January 12, 1968

Mr. Mitchell Sviridoff
Vice President
The Ford Foundation
320 E. 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Sviridoff:

The enclosed tentative agenda for the review team is being sent to you at the request of Clifford Campbell.

I look forward very much to your visit.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

via air mail special January 12, 1968

Mr. Christopher Edley
The Ford Foundation
320 E. 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Chris:

Enclosed is a tentative agenda which Cliff and I agreed on earlier this week. Needless to say, it is subject to the wishes of the members of the team.

Again, I very much look forward to having you visit.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

via air mail special January 12, 1968

Mrs. Mildred Epstein
The Ford Foundation, Inc.
320 E. 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mildred:

Enclosed is a tentative agenda which Cliff and I agreed on earlier this week. Needless to say, it is subject to the wishes of the members of the team.

Again, I very much look forward to having you visit.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

TENTATIVE AGENDA

The following is the suggested schedule of activities for the Ford Foundation Review Team as put together by Clifford Campbell, Ford Foundation, and Paul Anthony, Southern Regional Council.

The Team consists of the following:

after conf. ltr. Sent 1/25/68

1. Mitchell Sviridoff, Vice President, Ford Foundation

2. Christopher Edley, Program Officer-in Charge, Government and Law

3. Clifford Campbell

4. James Cunningham

after conf. ltr. Sent 1/25/68

5. Mrs. Mildred Epstein

6. George Esser

7. Michael S. M. Miller

8. Charles Stewart

9. Basil Whiting

after conf. ltr. Sent 1/25/68

10. Miss Marian Wright

SUNDAY, January 21, 1967 - P.M.:

Team arrival, Air Host Inn, Atlanta Airport. No activities.

MONDAY, January 22, 1967:

8:30 AM - Private breakfast, Air Host Inn -- the Review Team and Paul Anthony.

9:30 AM - Depart for SRC offices.

10:00 AM - First session - Review Team.
(Briefing by Review Team chairman. Reports by several team members with the remainder of the day devoted to reports and discussions with SRC professional staff.) Reporting from SRC will be:

1. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
2. Pat Watters, Information and Research
3. John O. Boone, Project on Crime and Corrections
4. Moreland Smith, Urban Planning Project
5. Edwin Stanfield, Director of Field Activities
6. John Lewis, Project on Community Organization and Education
7. Ruth House Alexander, Secretary-Treasurer and Hal Harden, Auditor, Sowell & Harden Accounting Firm
8. Emory Via, Labor Education Project
9. Vernon E. Jordan, Director, Voter Education Project

12:30 PM - Lunch: Top of the Mart

5:00 PM - Adjournment

7:00 PM - Cocktails and dinner at the home of Moreland Smith

TUESDAY, January 23, 1967:

8:30 AM - Private breakfast for Review Team, Air Host Inn

9:30 AM - Paul Anthony and others available for continued review

12:30 PM - Lunch with selected Presidents and Directors of state Councils on Human Relations

2:00 PM - Review of state Councils on Human Relations

5:00 PM - Adjournment

6:30 PM - Cocktails

7:30 PM - Dinner with members of SRC policy leadership, Clifford Campbell, presiding. Presentations in order: Paul Anthony, John Wheeler, Christopher Edley, Mitchell Sviridoff

(Following dinner the group will retire to a separate room for coffee, liqueur, and continued discussion.)

WEDNESDAY, January 24, 1967:

8:30 AM - Private breakfast, Review Team, Plenary Session

11:00 AM - Analysis and discussion with Paul Anthony

12:30 PM - Adjournment

(No lunch arranged)

A PROPOSAL

to the

FORD FOUNDATION

In Support of the

State Councils on Human Relations

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

January 12, 1968

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A REQUEST TO THE FORD FOUNDATION

from the

Southern Regional Council
in support of the
State Councils on Human Relations

-o-

This is to request the consideration of the Foundation of a grant to the Southern Regional Council for support of the state Councils on Human Relations in the ten southeastern states in the amount of $200,000 per year for a period of three years, 1969-1971. Attached to this proposal are brief descriptions of each state Council and pertinent information on staff, membership and finances.

SRC is currently in the third year of a three-year grant from the Ford Foundation in the amount of $100,000 per year. These funds, with a similar amount from other sources, have enabled the Councils, for the first time in their more than ten years of operation, to become established and, generally, effective operations.

The limitations of these Councils should be noted to be sure. The typical Council is staffed by only two persons in the professional level and operates on

a budget of $30,000 - $35,000 per year. Even with the best of staff and the most effective programs this level of operation obviously is limited.

Yet we believe these limitations, in one sense, contribute one of the two strongest arguments for continued support. A genius of the Council on Human Relations idea is that significant numbers of concerned lay members shall be involved in their communities to resolve the problems of those communities and states. Thus, a small staff with small budget in the best situation is the organizer, the stimulator, the sponsor of energy, talent and concern far in excess of a paid staff.

The second strong argument for continued support of these Councils is, we believe, the fact that these Councils constitute the only organized effort to secure a genuine interracial and interreligious movement in the region. To create and sustain such a movement has been extremely difficult and, as the attachments show, is yet hardly a "mass movement." But it is a solid movement, well established with more than a decade of experience. And this concept of the peoples of the region doing together what must be done is today

more essential than ever.

Attached, also, is a recent policy decision made by the Executive Committee of SRC outlining the way in which future financial support, if available, will be made to the state Councils. In summary this policy stipulates that established state Councils will be considered for grants to make possible specific programs which are desirable in that state and feasible for that Council. It is important to note under this arrangement that requested funds provide additional resources beyond those for the basic operation which the state Council is expected to provide separately, generally from its membership.

There are now, and we suspect there will be at the end of the year, some state Councils which are not sufficiently strong to be either truly independent or in a position to administer additional programs, but which have sufficient potential to warrant further investment. In those instances the SRC policy proposes that a staff person under the direction of SRC might be offered to that state to correct the situation and create an effective and self-supporting operation.

For an effective operation, and to take advantage of the opportunities that exist, we believe the ten state Councils need a total of approximately $400,000 per year in addition to what they are now able to raise separately. Therefore, we respectfully request $200,000 per year of this amount from the Ford Foundation and shall attempt to raise the additional amount from other sources. Should this grant be made SRC would take a 10% (or $20,000) overhead payment from it.

A P P E N D I C E S

STATE COUNCILS STATISTICS

State Council	1967 Membership	Total Income	Non-SRC Funding	No. of Chapters	Professional Staff
Alabama	913	$ 46,562.82	$ 19,262.82	8	3
Arkansas	1,220	32,437.45	16,542.45	11	3
Florida	2,114	38,026.23	13,026.23	19	3
Georgia	1,298	61,940.33	33,340.00	18	2
Louisiana	568	17,521.00	3,521.00	5	1
Mississippi	200 (est.)	43,272.39	26,272.39	3	2
N. Carolina	834	21,560.55	7,760.55	5	1
S. Carolina	1,335	52,784.26	27,184.26	12	3
Tennessee	1,746	43,299.20*	28,298.60*	12	1
Virginia	2,167	34,532.47	19,782.47	28	2
Houston	610	49,330.51	44,330.51	1	1
TOTALS	13,005	$441,267.21	$239,321.28	122	23

*Partial and Incomplete

THE STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS
(A Brief Description)

The Alabama Council on Human Relations

Executive Director is Robert S. Valder, a native of Iowa with several years' experience as a teacher in New Orleans. Youthful, capable, dedicated. Valder is white, but has an extraordinary facility for rapport with Negroes. From a poor family himself, he has great empathy for the poor, also.

The Board of Directors is one of the best. The members have a high sense of loyalty to the state organizations -- tending to think of themselves as members of the Alabama Council, rather than of the local chapters.

One of the most beleaguered of the state Councils, it made a great contribution in its first eight years just by surviving and functioning, however modestly, as a biracial human relations organization in Alabama. Since 1964 membership and local financial support have tripled. After some confusion, staffing is now excellent, with well-qualified associate director and Rural Advancement Project director.

Heavy emphasis on rural problems and on local council efforts. The ACHR has an important function as a source of information and indigenous support of agencies working in Alabama.

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations

Present Executive Director, Elijah Coleman, was previously principal of a Negro high school in Pine Bluff. Administrative Assistant, Mrs. Carole Taylor is unusually able.

Historically most of the Council's efforts were staff-oriented and centered in Little Rock, with very little effort at organization in other communities. Emphasis in past three years on local council organization resulted in eleven local groups where there had been four; membership more than doubled.

Virtually the only civil rights-human relations voice in the state, staff and policy leaders enjoy some access to public officials, including the present governor. In a poor state and with meager resources, the ACHR has had an astonishing influence on social change in Arkansas.

Current program emphases are voter education (it is the only state Council given a statewide VEP grant), prison reform, and welfare rights.

The Florida Council on Human Relations

August VandenBosche, Executive Director, is a minister in the United Presbyterian Church; formerly a denominational executive. He is a knowledgeable and stable administrator. Recently was able to employ a second professional staffer (in addition to R.A.P. director) for first time in FCHR history.

In 1967 the FCHR edged out the Virginia Council as the largest, with about 3,200 members. It has 19 local councils, now, an increase of three in two years.

Inadequate financing has always been a problem for the Florida Council. Large in area, the state is just like the Deep South, especially its northern half. Yet it has a more progressive image, despite notorious problems in St. Augustine and Jacksonville. This makes it difficult to attract financial support within the state or from outside.

Migrant workers and Cuban refugees are problems special to the Florida Council.

The Georgia Council on Human Relations

New Executive Director, John McCown, began October 1, 1967. He succeeded Frances Pauley, who served for the five years preceding. McCown's experience and forte is in community organization; he has already begun a block organization in Atlanta's Vine City slum and a sewing co-op.

Georgia's is one of the larger councils, with more than 1,500 members and 18 chapters. It has been more successful than most in securing non-SRC funds.

Both fund-raising and program have been heavily dependent upon staff efforts. Volunteers have been enlisted more on an ad hoc basis than through regular organization.

The Louisiana Council on Human Relations

Mrs. Patricia Miller, Executive Director, was a successful home-builder before taking the council position in 1966. She also holds a master's degree in counseling.

The LCHR has been re-organized for only three years and has had offices and staff only since June, 1966, when Mrs. Miller began. SRC financial support has been at a level equal to that given other Councils, but is inadequate in the absence of a strong organization and the need to begin one. Mrs. Miller has worked faithfully and doggedly -- at great personal sacrifice.

The Louisiana Council won SRC's George S. Mitchell Award in 1967 for the greatest percentage increase in membership. It now has about 600 members and five affiliated local Councils. Commendably, it has raised about $3,500 from its members in the first year of operation.

Louisiana is as resistant to change as Alabama, especially in the northern part of the state. Yet the state has received little attention from the civil rights movement. The need for a human relations organization there is very great.

The Mississippi Council on Human Relations

Kenneth Dean, Executive Director for three years, is a graduate of Rochester Divinity School. He is the first executive director of re-organized Council. Glennis Barnes is Associate Director.

Board of Directors is made up of able and dedicated people -- some of them deserved to be called "heroic." There are few such in Mississippi, however, and thus far only three local councils have been organized; two others are in the process.

Of necessity much of the program is staff-centered. The staff has been an invaluable source of assistance and information to agencies, both public and private, working or wanting to work in Mississippi. The MCHR staff has had much to do, behind the scenes, with the CDGM controversy, the "hungry children" investigations and hearings on rural poverty. It has also been able on occasion to influence state officials for moderation.

The Virginia Council on Human Relations

New Executive Director, Frank Adams, is young, energetic, well-informed. A former newspaper man (Norfolk Virginian-Pilot) and instructor in urban studies at Goddard College, Vermont. Considerable experience in community organization.

Council has tradition of strong policy guidance from its Board of Directors.

For many years the largest council, VCHR now has about 2,100 members in 28 chapters.

The Council is launching a promising new program to help secure non-discriminatory housing and job opportunities for returning Vietnam War veterans; the effort will be coordinated with Department of Defense. Simultaneously beginning reorganization of local councils into small interest groups instead of a single, large local organization.

The North Carolina Council on Human Relations

Will C. Allred, Executive Director, holds a M. A. degree in history from Emory University. (Thesis: A History of the Southern Regional Council.") He was previously employed by the Pilot Life Insurance Company of Greensboro.

The NCCHR Board of Directors is of the highest caliber. The organization has only five local affiliates, however, which is a great handicap. Local councils were not developed during the first eight years of the Council's life. Now the existence of the N. C. Good Neighbor Council (official state agency) and the multi-million dollar North Carolina Fund make motivation for volunteer, citizens' efforts difficult to find.

Allred has devoted much time to housing problems in Greensboro and the Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill areas.

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations

Mrs. Alice Spearman was director of the South Carolina Council from its beginning in 1954 until her retirement in September, 1967. She has been succeeded by The Reverend Paul Matthias, a young Methodist minister. Other professional staff members are Mrs. Elizabeth Ledeen, Extension Director, and Mr. L. S. James, Rural Advancement Project Director.

The 1,300 members and 12 local chapters are remarkable, considering that South Carolina is a rural, Deep South state. The past two years have seen a change in emphasis from staff efforts to local council development and programming, together with greater involvement of the Board. The new executive director is streamlining administration.

The Tennessee Council on Human Relations

Baxton Bryant, Executive Director, is a Methodist minister who twice ran for Congress in Dallas, Texas (and was almost elected). He has a natural politician's boundless energy. He has been particularly successful in winning the confidence of the dispossessed.

TCHR has recently launched a program of development and fund-raising, using the services of a professional consultant, Mrs. Rilla Moran. Membership is already up more than 50% over last year, and new chapters are being organized. Funds from within the state have increased about 50% also.

Major program emphasis has been on efforts to secure just administration of federal programs, including O.E.O. programs, housing and urban renewal, and welfare.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - STATE COUNCIL RELATIONS

The Committee agreed that the question under discussion must be considered in the light of the needs of the South, which both the Southern Regional Council and the state councils on human relations are committed to serve.

The South has real need for a Human Relations Council movement based on a belief that solution of problems of the area requires the common and combined effort of both races. Perhaps at one time an interracial group was needed to assure the Negro of a share in decisions which concern him. Now the Negro is playing his role and the problem is to prevent repolarization in problem solving. The South needs participation not only of white leaders but of large numbers of white citizens. The Negro leadership needs to feel that significant numbers of whites are ready to share in problem solving. To this end there should be regional leadership by the Southern Regional Council, but there must also be state councils and local councils to bring problem solving to the grass roots level with involvement of larger numbers.

At each level the ideal organization would be a self-starting group of convinced individuals. Strong local organizations would be coordinated by vigorous state councils,

each with a board and staff. The role of the SRC would be one of leadership and assistance. History and reality present a different picture, but this need not forbid an attempt to bring reality closer to the ideal.

State councils fall into two categories, the mature and the developing. The mature councils come close to the ideal. They have boards which are active and interested. They have programs in which board members share. They have local councils which carry program to local communities and assure support of the state council. The state policy board employs staff which executes its policy for these councils. SRC has been giving general support. It now proposes to substitute project support for the general support formerly given.

It can be assumed that in many areas (such as housing, employment, voter education, prison reform, and education) there will be common aims as between SRC and the state councils. Projects in specific areas might originate either with a state council or with SRC. The pattern envisaged is that SRC can approach foundations which reject general support with proposals for projects in specific areas. If interest is shown, SRC would seek to obtain cooperation from state councils on the basis of payment for additional staff which might be needed, together with a solid "overhead"

for general service. If the state council chooses to participate it would have more staff and help in administrative costs. If the state council rejects the offer, the SRC would be free to act with its own staff on the project, but with the understanding that the state council will be kept fully informed. The pattern would be that the state human relations council and the SRC,after a joint consideration of the needs of the state, would be equals engaged in the same cause, cooperating where appropriate and acting independently in some cases.

The case of developing councils is different. There councils need assistance to reach the situation where their boards will take responsibility for setting policy and employing staff. In states which have had no councils or where councils have ceased to be viable and request assistance, the committee pictures the SRC as seeking foundation grants to support an organizing effort. The staff sent into such a state would be employed by SRC and responsible to it. The man or woman sent in would be something of a specialist in setting up a state council. When he has assembled a board, persuaded them to commit themselves to the cause, and started them along the path to regular fund-raising, it is the committee's hope that

the state board would seek its independence and become a mature council. Then it would negotiate with SRC as an equal.

It is the recommendation of the committee that the SRC retain its present role of field service to state councils, whether mature or developing. We recommend that SRC continue consultation on staff, program and methods. We recommend that it form a strong advisory committee on field activities, a committee drawn from SRC members, state council members, and knowledgeable outsiders. We recommend that SRC continue to sponsor meetings and workshops for officers and staffs of state councils. We recommend that SRC tighten the coordination among its own programs as they move into the field so that SRC will speak with one voice in a community. We recommend that SRC work closely with state councils and local councils for their mutual advantage. These recommendations will certainly require enlargement of the Field Activities Department.

One more item should be included in this report. This Committee envisages the transition to the new system of relations as involving full discussion of the proposal and of individual situations with state councils. It assumes that in each case there could be agreement on the classification of the state council, since there are

advantages to each status. One helpful factor would certainly be an allowance of time for a council seeking independence to achieve the necessary support.

In summary the committee recommends a full commitment by the SRC to an enlarged constituency through state and local councils. SRC will seek support to promote councils where they do not exist or are too weak to stand alone. For this developmental stage the SRC will be fully responsible. When state councils have effective board and basic support they will make policy and employ staff. At this stage the SRC will not furnish grants-in-aid for general support. It will, however, continue to give field service. It will, in addition, seek funds for specific projects in which state councils may participate if they choose. By this means some support will be available to councils.

It is the opinion of the committee that such an arrangement would assure staff security while the state council is de facto in a formative stage, while at the same time assuring both the SRC and the state council board of attention to the details of organization and administration. It will also give the SRC control at all points of funds for which it is responsible. Where funds are sought and responsibility accepted for development

of the general operations of the state council, control can be exercised through selection and supervision of personnel. Where funds are sought and responsibility accepted for special projects the control will be exercised through contractual agreement. It seems to us that the strength of the proposal is that it resolves these two fundamental issues.

This report is designed as a policy statement. If adopted it could only be made effective if the Southern Regional Council could win sufficient approval of the policy from funding agencies to secure the necessary financial support.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

JK
MJ - file

file

January 17, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I think the attached report from our project with Southern Consumers' Education Foundation is well worth reading, especially by you, since it indicates so many avenues which must be explored and developed.

I hope that you and your staff will be mindfull of the needs which exist and will do your best to spread the word that something ought to be done by government agencies as well as others to exploit all realistic possibilities.

Sincerely yours,

Christopher F. Edley

CFE/fb
Enclosure

file
Ford Fd. Relations
Team — "Corresp."

January 18, 1968

Dr. John A. Griffin
Executive Director
Southern Education Foundation
811 Cypress Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear John:

This will confirm the dinner with the Ford Foundation representatives and some of SRC's policy leadership. The affair will be at the Air Host Inn on the evening of January 23rd, beginning with cocktails at 6:30 p.m.

I think this opportunity for the Ford people to meet some of the Council's leadership could be extremely important for future support, and I am very grateful to you for being willing to attend.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Post Fd. Review
Team "Corresp"

L. Griffin

January 18, 1968

Dr. Vivian W. Henderson
President
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Vivian:

This will confirm the dinner with the Ford Foundation representatives and some of SRC's policy leadership. The affair will be at the Air Host Inn on the evening of January 23rd, beginning with cocktails at 6:30 p.m.

I think this opportunity for the Ford people to meet some of the Council's leadership could be extremely important for future support, and I am very grateful to you for being willing to attend.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Ford Fd. Robert Teare
"Corresp"

January 18, 1968

Mr. Donald L. Hollowell
Regional Director
Equal Employment Commission
1776 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Don:

This will confirm the dinner with the Ford Foundation representatives and some of SRC's policy leadership. The affair will be at the Air Host Inn on the evening of January 23rd, beginning with cocktails at 6:30 p.m.

I think this opportunity for the Ford people to meet some of the Council's leadership could be extremely important for future support, and I am very grateful to you for being willing to attend.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Ford Fd. Review Team
Corresp.

January 18, 1968

Mr. John H. Wheeler
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina 27702

Dear John:

Attached is a listing of individual donors to SRC for 1967. Thought you might be interested.

On Tuesday evening, the 23rd, the affair for SRC leadership and Ford Foundation representatives begins with cocktails at 6:30 p.m. and dinner at 7:30 p.m. I am sorry to have to ask you to make this trip, but I do look forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

File - Ford Fd. Review Team - Corresp.

January 18, 1968

Miss Josephine Wilkins
Sheraton-Biltmore Hotel
817 W. Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30383

Dear Josephine:

Attached is a listing of individual donors to SRC for 1967. Thought you might be interested.

The Ford Foundation-SRC leadership affair takes place at the Air Host Inn on the 23rd, beginning with cocktails at 6:30 p.m. Thanks for coming.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Free -
Jab & Jd.
Reduced Team
"Corresp."

January 18, 1968

Air Host Inn
P. O. Box 678
Atlanta, Georgia 30320

Gentlemen:

Attached is a list of the people who require reservations at the Air Host Inn.

Thank you for handling these reservations for us.

Sincerely,

James N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant

JNW/km

Enclosure - 1.

file

file
Ford Fd.
1968

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

January 21, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I have just processed your request for payment and revision of your payment request.

You will receive the $64,800 additional requested for 1967, plus $12,800 to make up the difference between the payment forwarded on January 5 in the amount of $64,800 and the $77,600 you asked for in your letter. Additional Grant Quarterly Payment Request forms have been sent to you. When they are returned, we will add them to your file along with the form you sent to us.

Hope you have fully recovered by now.

Sincerely,

Mildred Epstein/gg

(Mrs.) Mildred Epstein
Divisional Administrative
Assistant
National Affairs

File - Ford Fd. Review Team "carrots"

via air mail special January 22, 1968

Mrs. Mildred Epstein
The Ford Foundation
320 E. 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mildred:

Enclosed is one copy of our request for the state Councils. Separately, six additional copies are being sent to you for distribution. We will, today, also send copies to Cliff, George and Marian Wright.

Surely, if we keep this up, we should at least make some contribution to the diminishing postal debt.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

REPORT OF

THE FLORID COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

FOR THE

FORD FOUNDATION REVIEW

JANUARY 21-24, 1968
AIR HOST INN
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

President
Mrs. Henrine Ward Banks
Bethune-Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Florida

Exec. Director, August H.VandenBosche
Assoc. Director, William H. Miles
5225 Ponce de Leon Boulevard
Coral Gables, Florida 33146

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Florida Council on Human Relations was founded in August, 1955, through the efforts of the Southern Regional Council and a group of distinguished Floridians, white and Negro from all walks of life. Some of its pioneer members were Bishops Frank A. Juhan and John D. Wing, Episcopal Church; Dr. J.R. Lee, President of Florida A & M College; Judge George Cooper Gibbs; Mrs. Henry Havens, Miss Eartha M.M. White, Jacksonville; Mr. C.D. Rogers, Tampa; and Rev. John D. Culmer, Miami.

PURPOSE, ORGANIZATION, AND FUNCTIONS

From its origin the Florida Council's aim has been to carry on in Florida a program consistent with the purposes of the Southern Regional Council.

"To function as an eleemosynary organization for the improvement of economic, civic and racial condtions in Florida, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in all efforts toward regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices which will result in the greatest good for all people in the region; to reduce racial tensions, the basis for racial tensions, racial misunderstanding and racial distrust; and to cooperate with local, state, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives."

It is a non-profit, non-political, inter-racial, state-wide membership organization with approximately 2100 members in nineteen local councils. The Florida Council is chartered by the State of Florida and contributions are tax deductible.

The policy making body of the Florida Council is a Board of Directors of sixty distinguished citizens. An Executive Committee of sixteen implements Board decisions and policies.

The Executive Committee operates with the following committees: Housing, Voter. Education, Employment, Education and Finance.

The Florida Council has had a history of dignity, growth and influence during days of ugly strife. The growth has never been spectacular and its role has not always been dramatic. However, in

numerous communities it has been the only organization involved in the work of human relations.

The Council has served two functions over the years which are particularly noticeable. The first, and most important, has been a sensitization function. It has drawn people together in local communities to share in a dialogue between the discriminated against and the discriminator. A second basic function has been in the area of the development of citizen participation. It is impressive to note the number of cases of the involvement of persons in all levels of community social change who have been motivated by the activities of the state and local council on human relations. Councils have sought out people from all strata of community life to serve on anti-poverty boards, community relations boards, welfare agencies, and many other public and private organizations. The councils have motivated individuals and groups to participate in legal action to correct injustices, in voter education, and in many instances of direct action during the trying fifties and the strategic sixties as social change has filtered down to the smallest of Florida's communities.

ORGANIZATIONAL AND PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT UNDER EXPANDED GRANT-IN-AID, 1966-1967

During the past two years, 1966-1967, the Florida Council was given an opportunity to make administrative and organizational changes at a most crucial time in its life in the form of an expanded grant-in aid received from the Ford Foundation through the Southern Regional Council. At this time the council came under the leadership of a new executive director, its fourth since 1962. While there had been a very steady growth in its total membership, number of local councils, program activities, and influence on the state level, it had not developed a sufficient financial operation from its own membership to adequately supply the services, continued development, and staff leadership that was needed.

The first application of the new funds was to employ a full-time office manager. In 1965 part-time secretarial services were utilized. The total spent in that year for such services was $2000.00.

A second use of the expanded grant-in-aid was to move the state office to Miami and secure the necessary equipment for the office. The Council did not own a typewriter, a mimeograph machine or many other basic needs for such an organization at that time.

During previous years the travel of the director had been drastically reduced for several months each year because of the limitation of funds. During the past two years the director has been able to attend to the necessary adminstrative and program reponsibilities which necessitate travel in this large state.

In the program area the Council has conducted several workshops and conferences on the state level to deal with the changing times of social need. Also, the director has been able to attend several in and out-of-state conferences and meetings which were extremely important to his professional relationships and up-grading.

During the past year an emphasis has been placed on two projects which could not have been developed without the grant.

The Metropolitan Miami Project.

The most important has been the establishment of the Metropolitan Miami Project. In Florida, as in all other parts of the nation, it has become increasingly apparent that the most serious problems involving the largest number of persons is occuring in the urban areas. The Greater Miami area is currently experiencing problems of great severity. In July, 1967, an associate director with specific assignment as director of the Miami Project was employed. During the first six months at the job he has been able to do the organizational and staff work to develop a base for a programming operation. The next phase of his work will emphasize program development and financial support. The Metropolitan Miami Project includes work in the West Palm Beach, Ft. Lauderdale and Miami areas.

The Coordinating Committee for Farm Workers.

A second program project which the Florida Council on Human Relations has played a key role in developing is the Coordinating Committee for Farm Workers, a coalition group of nine organizations

concerned about the 100,000 migrant and seasonal farm workers in South Florida--one of Florida's most acute social problems. Since June, 1967, the Executive Director of the Florida Council has served as chairman of the C.C.F.W. and the Council office has done most of the administrative and clerical work of the Committee.

In addition to these two projects, the Florida Council has been involved in some manner in the following program areas:

1. Agricultural workers and non-farm rural poor and minority groups.
2. Quality education for all persons.
3. Citizenship education including voter registration and education.
4. Decent housing, open housing and the building of wholesome communities and neighborhoods.
5. Equal administration of justice, equal protection by law enforcement officers and a reform of inadequate prison conditions.
6. A study of the adequacy and applications of local, state and federal programs of health and welfare.
7. Adequate legal services for the poor.
8. Full implementation of programs available in the war against poverty.
9. Expanding job opportunity for all with an emphasis on opportunity for job training.
10. Education to inform and develop public understanding of problems that breed tension and violence.
11. Community organization to develop the concept that all persons must be involved in the political, economic and social decisions which affect their lives.
12. Recruitment of Negroes for training and apprenticeships in labor unions.

Financial Statement, 1965

Cash:		
Cash on hand and in bank January 1, 1965 (Deficit)		833.38)
Savings Account Balance		654.63
Receipts :		
Excess of Payroll Taxes Collected Over Paid Out	22.25	
Contributions by members	9,783.25	
Southern Regional Council	6,066.56	
Grants	1,200.00	
Convention Reservations	938.40	
Special Contributions	200.00	
Miscellaneous Income-including Interest Earned	1,605.24	19,815.70
TOTAL CASH AND RECEIPTS		$ 19,586.95
Disbursements:		
Postage	511.55	
Office Expense	141.91	
Printing and Publications	568.18	
Travel Expense	2,879.27	
Salaries	11,177.75	
Typewriter Rental	185.86	
Office Space Rent	780.00	
Telephone and Telegraph	548.27	
Miscellaneous Expense	282.20	
Refunds to Councils	717.66	
Insurance	66.00	
Meetings Expense	697.85	
Repairs and Maintenance	8.76	
Professional Fees	193.75	
Equipment	50.00	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS		18,809.01
CASH BALANCE DECEMBER 31, 1965		777.94
Petty Cash		25.00
Florida Bank-Savings Account		596.59
Florida Bank-Checking Account		156.35
		$ 777.94

Louis J. Pollitz
Certified Public Accountant
Daytona Beach, Florida

Cash on Hand and in Bank at January 1, 1966			
Petty Cash		$ 25.00	
Florida Bank and Trust Co.--Savings Account		596.59	
Florida Bank and Trust Co.--Checking Account		156.35	
			$ 777.94
RECEIPTS			
Membership Dues		$ 9,521.07	
RAP Grants		12,000.00	
Expanded Grant in Aid		6.800.00	
SRC Grant		4.600.00	
Other Grants		1,146.80	
Meetings and Conventions		1,189.36	
Employees Payroll Taxes		2,586.88	
Employee Advances Collected		974.51	
Prior Years Tax Refund		402.67	
Miscellaneous		62.40	39,983.78
Sub Total			$40,761.72
DISBURSEMENTS			
Accounting		$ 93.75	
Employee Advances		974.51	
Insurance		370.04	
Meetings and Conventions		2,883.14	
Miscellaneous		240.64	
Office Equipment			
Cost	$ 525.72		
Installation	254.26	779.98	
Office Supplies and Expense		584.80	
Payroll Taxes			
Current Year	$3,446.13		
Prior Year	81.13	3,527.26	
Postage		356.10	
Printing		716.48	
Program		810.76	
Rent		65.00	
Salaries			
Executive Director	$9,999.96		
RAP Director	6,250.00		
Secretarial	3,959.38		
Miscellaneous	56.89	20,266.23	
Telephone and Telegrams		973.30	
Travel		5,376.55	
Utilities		218.71	38,237.25
Cash on Hand and in Bank at December 31, 1966			
Petty Cash		25.00	
Lincoln National Bank of Miami		2,499.47	$ 2,524.47

Thompson and Nichols, Certified Public Accountants

Receipts	
Contributions	$ 9,750.62
Reimburse Travel	964.38
Reimburse Postage	8.00
Reimburse Office Supply	11.25
SRC Grants	13,000.00
RAP Grant	12,000.00
Meetings and Conventions	1,284.98
	$ 37,019.23

Disbursements	
Rent	990.00
Postage	391.22
Office Supply	475.60
Office Equipment	967.22
Travel	3,874.99
" RAP	1,103.80
" Assoc. Dir.	624.13
Salary Director	10, 000.08
" Secretary	4,505.00
" RAP Dir.	4,825.00
" Assoc. Dir.	2,387.78
Employers Soc. Sec.	653.34
" RAP	212.00
Phone	810.39
" RAP	45.40
Miscel.	302.21
Meetings and Conventions	2,370.68
Printing & Publication	181.29
Books, etc.	125.90
Program	575.90
Ext.	5.00
Payroll Taxes	3,587.43
Tax Adjustment	539.41
Insurance Office	154.00
Insurance Health	761.88
Utilities	33.43
Refunds to Councils	74.00
	40,577.08
Cr.taxes	- 3,814.38
Cr. Miscell.	- 97.11
	$ 36,665.59

Balance in Bank 11/30/67	$ 2657.26
Receipts	+ 4007.00
Disbursements	- 3815.84
Balance in Bank 12/31/67	$ 2848.42

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

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Mrs. W.C.White	Housewife, teacher, wife of Minister	White
Mrs. Athalie Range	Funeral Director, City Commissioner	Negro

PRIORITY LISTING OF MAJOR PROBLEMS

SHORT RANGE:

1. Organizational Development: We must become more sophisticated and disciplined in the details of structure and membership in our local councils. This will necessitate securing additional office equipment, development of handbooks and other materials and upgrading our newsletter.
2. Funding Development. This need closely follows the first. That there are people who would and could contribute to the funding of the council is certainly apparent. Our task is the development of a process to reach more people and to state our case convincingly.
3. Program Development. In order to be effective as a state-wide organization and in serving our councils, we must become more creative in the development of programming. While the State council has always provided staff assistance and resources to the local councils, this assistance has been more limited than it should be.

LONG RANGE:

1. The Development of Metropolitan Staffs. The future of the Council lies in meeting the needs of urban areas. In Florida, just as in other parts of the nation, people are moving to the cities and it is here that the problems occur in their greatest severity. Our long-range goals should be to have staffed metropolitan operations in the Tampa-Bay area, Halifax-Orlando-Cape Kennedy area, Jacksonville, and Greater Miami. Regardless of where the state office is, it cannot efficiently staff operations in the major metropolitan areas. Under this change in staffing, the role of the state office would change from organizing at the local level to administration, research, program development and fund development.
2. Development of Program and Research. Research and program development should be a high priority of the state council. Research is needed to secure, digest, and interpret the problems of Florida's communities. A parallel need is to develop creative programs to speak to these problems. To fulfill this goal a professional trained staff person is needed.
3. Development of a Broader Base. Up to this point the Council has consisted entirely of the members of local councils. The Council could well look to the many groups and institutions that might be willing to indicate their social concern by support of the councils. The development of an increased level of financial support should be made by properly challenging the many sources of untapped funds which exist in any state the size of Florida.

File Ford Fd. 1968

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

January 24, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter addressed to Mr. MacLeod enclosing completed copies of the Quarterly Payment Request form for Foundation grant number 66-3. We very much appreciate receiving this information.

Sincerely,

Marilyn Craigie

(Mrs.) Marilyn Craigie
Assistant to the Secretary

Separate mailings:

1. Complete run of Quarterly New Souths (Winter, 1966-Fall, 1967)

2. Neighborhood&&&

Jello
For a Jel.
1968

January 25, 1968

Mr. Michael S. M. Miller
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mike:

Again, it was good to be with you earlier this week.

Relative to the Mississippi meeting, I shall try to call you on the morning of February 8th to determine when we can get together on either the 8th or 9th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File Ford Fd. 1968

January 25, 1968

Mrs. Mildred Epstein
The Ford Foundation
320 E. 43rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Mildred:

Thanks again for everything, and do come more often.

Hope to see you on February 8th or 9th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File Ford Fd. 1968

January 31, 1968

Mr. S. M. Miller
National Affairs Division
The Ford Foundation
320 E. 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mike:

Thought you might like to see this.

Yours very truly,

James N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant

JNW,Jr./mmj
Enclosure - 1.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

January 1968

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John H. Wheeler

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Paul R. Christopher
Lucius H. Pitts
C. G. Gomillion
Josephine Wilkins

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Samuel DuBois Cook
Frank Smith
James McBride Dabbs
McNeill Smith
Albert W. Dent
H. Franklin Williams
Vivian W. Henderson
Marion A. Wright

LEGAL COUNSEL

Joseph F. Haas

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Paul Anthony

*Addresses of officers are given in the attached list of Members of the Council. All organizations and positions are shown for identification purposes only.

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Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina (28647)

Class of 1971 (continued)

Mr. Jack Young
Attorney
213 Redmond Building
Suite 207
115½ N. Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi (39201)

Mr. James E. Youngdahl
Attorney
711 West Third Street
Little Rock, Arkansas (72201)

LIFE FELLOWS

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, '62
The Wren's Nest
P. O. Box 626
Tryon, North Carolina (28782)

Mr. Hodding Carter, '64
Publisher
Delta-Democrat Times
Greenville, Mississippi (38701)

The Rev. Theodore R. Gibson, '66
Christ Episcopal Church
P. O. Box 6
Cocoanut Grove Station
Miami, Florida (33130)

Dr. Frank P. Graham, '67
Chapel Hill, North Carolina
(Room 951, United Nations
New York, New York - 10017)

Mr. Paul E. Green, '65
Author, Playwright
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina
(27514)

Mr. Leonard Haas, '62
Attorney
601 Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia (30303)

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, '62
Educator & Newspaper Columnist
P. O. Box 6056
Richmond, Virginia (23222)

The Rev. Edward A. McDowell, '62
First Baptist Church
754 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia (30308)

Mr. Ralph McGill, '64
Publisher
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia (30302)

Colonel Francis Pickens
Miller, '66
Charlottesville, Virginia
(2810 "P" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. - 20007)

Dr. Riley B. Montgomery, '66
President Emeritus
Lexington Theological Seminary
Lexington, Kentucky (40508)

Mrs. David Terry, '64
411 East Seventh Street
Little Rock, Arkansas (72202)

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, '64
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia (30303)

The Hon. J. Waties Waring, '64
Hyde Park Hotel
25 East 77th Street
New York, New York (10021)

Life Fellows (continued)

Dr. W. D. Weatherford, '64
Black Mountain
North Carolina (28711)

Mr. Carter G. Wesley, '64
Publisher
Houston Informer
Box 3086
Houston, Texas (77001)

THE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

In 1944 the Southern Regional Council was organized as a general membership organization. Many of the original members, in fact, had previously been members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

In the early 1950's, partly in anticipation of the Supreme Court's ruling on school segregation, the Council board reviewed this structure. Largely at the urging of George Mitchell, who had great faith in the need and possibility of interracial cooperation on the community level, a plan was devised whereby the Council would cease to have general memberships and would turn its membership over to newly created Councils on Human Relations in each of the Southeastern states. Incredibly, the idea included autonomy of each of the several newly created agencies. The thinking behind this was that as efforts developed it was likely, for instance, that situations and solutions would be considerably different in Virginia and Alabama, and that those closest to the situation would be in a position to analyze them and make policy concerning them.

The plan was that SRC would find funds to provide all of the operating expenses for staff of each state Council for a period of three years. During that time each Council would emphasize the development of local councils and the involvement of members in each community throughout the state. At the end of three years, it was planned and anticipated that SRC would turn over full authority to the respective state council when that council would be sufficiently strong in membership and financial support to continue on its own resources.

This dream of a truly interracial movement in which Southerners would work together community by community to resolve their problems was largely unrealized at the cut-off date (November, 1957) because of the region's reaction to the 1954 court decision. No one had accurately guaged how violent that reaction was to be. Indeed, interracial activities that had been possible before 1954 became more difficult and sometimes impossible. Any interracial activity, or even support of the Supreme Court Decision, was looked upon as suspect, and frequently as subversive. Therefore, when the target date for "self support" arrived, no council could support its minimum operations and three councils (Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas) were already in the process of disbanding because of the pressures against them.

The problem was further complicated because the Fund for the Republic, which had supported this effort, was going out of business. In one of its final grants the Fund gave SRC $200,000 to use as it saw fit. With these funds SRC devised a grant-in-aid program of $50,000 a year for the state Councils. When the initial grant ended the Field and Taconic Foundations assumed support at the same level. This amount was sufficient to keep the remaining eight councils in operation on a subsistence level. They grew in membership and local support, but slowly and painfully.

When in 1965 the Ford Foundation provided $100,000 a year for three years for the grant-in-aid program, and SRC raised from other sources an amount approximately equal to this, the situation changed substantially. We were able to encourage the revival of staffed Councils in Louisiana and Mississippi, and to provide approximately $200,000 to the ten staffed councils, plus modest support, to a local effort in Houston, Texas.

The typical state council now has two professional persons, a budget of about $35,000 per year, and local councils functioning to some degree in the larger cities of the state. Total membership is approximately 15,000 and total funds raised, exclusive of SRC and foundation support, is slightly in excess of $200,000.

Generally, the programs of the councils remain the same -- to encourage people to join in an interracial activity in a given community and to develop specific programs involving lay people in the problems of the community. The state council staff is expected to encourage this, to provide technical assistance, and to develop statewide programs and information. This continues to be the only effort in a truly interracial organization in the region.

Quite obviously the goals are far more ambitious than available resources. Further, the state councils now suffer from and mirror much of the new tensions, suspicions, and several philosophies rapidly emerging in the region as well as in the nation. The Southern Regional Council considers its financial support and

staff assistance to this interracial movement to be one of its significant programs. We continue to feel this and continue to seek means of providing more effective staff and larger financial support.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

January 1968

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Operating Budgets and Income Forecast - 1968
(Proposed)

SYNOPSIS

BUDGETED:

General Operations	$ 293,400	
Special Projects	751,665	
TOTAL		$ 1,045,065

GENERAL OPERATIONS - 1968

ITEM	1968	1967
Salaries	$ 180,200	$ 184,200
Social Security	5,900	6,400
Travel	9,500	7,500
Telephone & Telegraph	7,900	8,800
Executive Committee & Annual Meetings	10,000	10,000
Books, Subscriptions, Research Materials	4,200	4,200
Office Supplies, Equipment & Maintenance	11,000	11,000
New South, Printing, Postage Fees	6,800	7,800
Postage, General	7,800	8,600
Printing	4,000	4,000
Rent	10,600	11,400
Accounting	3,000	3,000
Insurance -- General	1,000	1,600
-- Staff Benefits	16,500	12,200
Miscellaneous	3,000	3,000
Reserve & Contingency	12,000	12,000
TOTALS	$ 293,400	$ 295,700

PROJECTS

I. Governmental Programs -- Special Studies -- and Technical Assistance

Governmental Programs		
Urban Planning	$ 33,000	
Government Assistance & Studies	22,000	
Housing	3,000	
School Integration	10,000	
Special Studies		
Welfare Programs	$ 15,000	
Rehabilitation of Criminals and Penal Administration	34,000	
Technological Unemployment	6,000	
Technical Assistance		
Community Organization	46,560	
All Above		
Printing	35,000	
Seminars	10,105	
		$ 214,665

II. Grants-in-Aid -- State Councils on Human Relations

Grants-in-Aid	$ 150,000	
		$ 150,000

Projects (continued)

III.	Voter Education Project	$ 325,000	
IV.	Labor Education Project	39,000	
V.	Fellowship of the Concerned	6,000	
VI.	Special Fund for Educational Projects	12,000	
VII.	Special Fund for Student Human Relations Councils	5,000	
			$ 387,000
	Total Projects		$ 751,665

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

The Southern Regional Council was organized in 1944 as an outgrowth of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919. The Incorporators were the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, then Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, then President of Fisk University, Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church, Mr. Ralph McGill, Publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, and the late Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President of Atlanta University.

There was a feeling during World War II that the region would be considerably different after the war, that a new organization was needed both to escape the relatively paternalistic concepts of the Commission and to provide a number of specific skills for non-discriminatory regional development.

Dr. Guy Johnson took a one year's leave of absence from the University of North Carolina to serve as the first executive director of the Council. In 1947 George S. Mitchell was appointed second executive director, in 1957, Harold C. Fleming, in 1961, Leslie W. Dunbar and in 1965, Paul Anthony.

From its beginning the Council's primary interest has been in race relations in the Southeastern region. During all of this time a basic function has been research and interpretation of conditions and needs. As a portion of this function, the organization has developed to a rather substantial degree a technique of working closely with the press and other media. The Council has sought to develop a reputation of accuracy and reliability, and to a reasonable degree, this effort has been successful. Because of it the agency is able to provide story and program ideas, background information, and interpretative materials for the leading newspapers, magazines, and television networks of the country.

Periodically, the Council launches special projects toward a certain end. The most ambitious of these has been a Voter Education Project beginning in 1961 which, over a three-year period, expended some one million dollars in support of programs to achieve Negro registration. As a

result of this approximately 688,000 new voters were added to the rolls. A second voter project, begun in 1966, is operating for three years with similar purposes. In 1965 a grant from the Ford Foundation also made it possible for projects to be sponsored in the areas of Community Organization, Urban Planning, Crime and Penal Rehabilitation, and Labor Education. This funding from the Ford Foundation also allowed the Council to expand to its highest level of operation, which is currently at approximately $1,250,000 a year. This rate of operation represents, relatively, a time of affluence for the agency. Financially the beginnings of the operation were very modest (approximately $40,000 a year) and continued that way through 1953. At one point it became necessary for George Mitchell to borrow on his life insurance to keep the organization going. Almost the same situation was reached again in 1957. In 1954, the Fund for the Republic made its first grant to SRC. Over the next three years the Council was to receive approximately $1,500,000 from this source. Most of these funds went toward the establishment of the state Councils on Human Relations, discussed in a separate memorandum. When the Fund for the Republic ceased operations, SRC almost followed suit. In time, however, other significant support was found from the Rockefeller Foundation, a long time supporter; the Stephen Curriers (later the Taconic Foundation), the Field Foundation, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and the New World Foundation.

The Council is not a "program" agency. That is to say for instance, its approach to the problems of urban planning would not be to try to devise plans for every southern city or even, indeed, to approach many southern cities. Rather, through its dealings with planners, governmental agencies, professional associations, and others, through the work of the project director and through the research and information prepared for this project, it attempts to educate to the need, offer solutions, and interpret reasons, including ones of self-interest, as to why such things are necessary as well as right. In a sense, the Council attempts to be a behind-the-scenes influencer; sometimes a "finagler."

The Southern Regional Council has no illusions of its power or ability to change the region. At best we can look for opportunities that are promising, needs that are pressing, new developments that require interpretation, or situations which hang in the delicate balance. We can only

hope that such resources as we can bring to bear will make a difference.

These skills and this realistic appraisal of limitations may be the reason the Council is unique, as we think it is. The Council is a strange agency, neither completely academic nor research-oriented in nature, nor action-oriented in the usual sense of that term. It is an agency, born out of the particular southern mind, which is designed in the best judgment of those who direct it to meet the particular southern need. This, in the sense of building a society as well as in the sense of correcting old evils, leads to the merging of special skills, interests, and resources. We find ourselves, therefore, attempting to analyze responsible questions raised about the exuberant student movement of the deep South, or to confer quietly with a southern governor, to advise on request about appointments to federal governmental posts, to engage scholars for highly academic research, or to rush out a special report to clarify issues.

The Council is a body of 100 members representing 100 Southerners from racial, religious, and professional groupings in the region. Responsibility for governing the organization rests with an Executive Committee of fifteen persons. A list of the members and the Executive Committee is attached.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

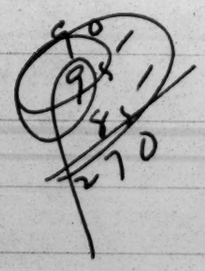
January 1968

170,000

file

	1969	1970	1971 - cut
State Councils -	100,000	80,000	60,000 - 60,000
VEP -	180,000	280,000	180,000 - 30,000
Comm. Wg. & Educ -	51,250	46,250 (-5 ctg./mo)	41,250 (-10 ctg.) - 15,000
Labor Educ -	~~32~~ 37,750 (from sem.)	37,750	~~32~~ 37,750 - ~~10,000~~ 5,000
Business Sector +	35,000 (-5 ptg.)	40,000	40,000 - 5,000
SHC - vendor + support -	~~85~~ 90,000	~~85,000~~ 90,000	~~85,000~~ 85,000 - 5,000

3 x 9 = 270,000



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File Ford Fd. 1968

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Summary Budget of Funds Requested Per Year
for Each of Three Years - 1969-1971

February 6, 1968

		As Originally Requested	Revised Budget
Information and Research			
Project printing	$ 50,000		
Managing editor, publications	15,000	$ 65,000.00	$ 65,000.00
Project on Community Organization and Education			
Salaries and benefits	19,250		
Travel, director and consultants	6,000		
Consultant fees	6,000		
Contingency fund	20,000	51,250.00	51,250.00
Urban Planning Project			
Salaries	40,700		
Travel	4,000		
Consultants	6,000		
Research	10,000	60,000.00	- 0 -
Labor Education Project			
Salaries	24,750		
Travel	3,000		
Seminar costs	10,000	37,750.00	37,750.00

		As Originally Requested	Revised Budget
Project on Crime and Corrections			
Salaries	$ 28,600		
Travel	4,000		
Consultants	6,000		
Research	8,000	$ 46,000.00	- 0 -
Special Research and Consultative Services			
All	56,000	56,000.00	56,000.00
Programs for the Business Sector			
Consultants	15,000		
Printing and distribution	25,000	40,000.00	40,000.00
Voter Education Project			
Toward a budget of $400,000	200,000	200,000.00	200,000.00
Total per year			$450,000.00
SRC Overhead (20%)	111,460	111,460.00	90,000.00
Total		$668,760.00	$540,000.00

In the Council's request of January 12, 1968 an additional request was made in the amount of $200,000 per year for three years in support of the state Councils on Human Relations. Of this amount we proposed taking a 10% overhead, or $20,000 per year.

Following discussion with members of the Foundation staff we should like now to amend this request to $100,000 per year for three years with SRC taking no overhead from this amount.

→ 100 - 80,000 - 60,000 -

= 60,000

See Ford Fd. 1968

February 6, 1968

Mr. Christopher Edley
Program Officer-in-Charge
Government and Law
The Ford Foundation
320 E. 43rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Chris:

Enclosed are three copies of our revised budget. I shall be available to discuss this further with Cliff and Basil at their convenience.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 3.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

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February 6, 1968

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Following discussion with members of the Foundation staff we should like now to amend this request to $100,000 per year for three years with SRC taking no overhead from this amount.

DRAFT

SUMMARY BUDGET OF FUNDS REQUESTED PER YEAR
FOR EACH OF THREE YEARS - 1969-1971

		As Originally Requested	Revised Budget
Information and Research			
Project Printing	$50,000		
Managing Editor, Publications	15,000	$65,000.00	$65,000.00
Project on Community Organization and Education			
Salaries and Benefits	19,250		
Travel, director and consultants	6,000		
Consultant fees	6,000		
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Consultants	6,000		
Research	8,000	46,600.00	- 0 -
Special Research and Consultative Services			
All	56,000	56,000.00	56,000.00

		-As Originally Requested	Revised Budget
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Consultants	$ 15,000		
Printing and distribution	25,000	$ 40,000.00	$ 40,000.00
Voter Education Project			
Toward a budget of $400,000	200,000	200,000.00	200,000.00
Total per year			$450,000.00
SRC Overhead (20%)	111,460	111,460.00	90,000.00
Total		$668,760.00 →	$540,000.00 →

file

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

file 1968

February 12, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
c/o Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I know it took a great deal of careful planning and hard work to insure the kind of smooth-running review you set up for us in Atlanta. You, Jim and your staff did a superb job.

Please express our appreciation to all concerned.

Sincerely,

Mildred

See Ford Fd. 1968 Cliff Campbell

February 16, 1968

Mr. Clifford Campbell
2004 North East Cramer Street
Portland, Oregon 97211

Dear Cliff:

Thanks so much for your letter.

I have sent the revised budget with copies for you and Basil to Chris. I assume you have been sent a copy. I am available to discuss it with you at your convenience.

I was in New York one day this week and tried to see Basil, but he was out of the city.

We are completing arrangements for the meeting about the South now -- to be held in New York on Saturday, March 16th. Will I see you there?

It continues to be a real pleasure to work with you.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See Ford Fd.

CLIFFORD J. CAMPBELL
2004 NORTH EAST CRAMER STREET
PORTLAND, OREGON 97211

February 12, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Time moves swiftly--or do we? Nearly a month has passed since our team reviewed SRC's program. Believe me, I have been away from home most of the time since that visit.

Notwithstanding my request to you to express to your staff thanks and appreciation for their efforts in assisting us to be effective in reviewing your program, I want to use this means of saying it again.

The decision making process was hastened, I think, in great measure because of the excellent preparation of back up materials as well as on the spot presentations.

It was a pleasure, as always, to work with you. I hope to see you real soon.

Sincerely yours,

Clifford J. Campbell

CJC:dd

File

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

File 1968

February 26, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Mr. Edley has asked me to acknowledge receipt of the revised budget you sent him earlier in the month. This material has been coordinated with the proposal already here. Thank you for sending it so promptly.

Sincerely yours,

Fritza Bullwinkel

Fritza Bullwinkel
Secretary to Christopher F. Edley

file Ford Fd. 1968

April 1, 1968

Mr. Basil J. Whiting
Assistant Program Officer
The Ford Foundation
Division of National Affairs
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Basil:

Thanks very much for your recent letter.

I can understand the problems of scheduling, and needless to say, would like to do anything I can to minimize them. However, and quite honestly, I am both disappointed and concerned that we are now likely dealing with a September decision. This is especially true from my standpoint in terms of personnel. There are several people here and several others whom I would like to lure here and who either need reassurances and/or offers -- or the lack of them -- so they can plan their futures.

So be it. We are at your mercy and that's the natural order of things.

I'll look forward to seeing you and welcome your further review when it is convenient with you.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 3/28/68

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

March 26, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I am terribly sorry for taking so long in getting back to you after our review team visit and after our receipt of your revised budget. It took some time for the review consultants to finish off their report to us, and now we have run into Cliff Campbell's long planned trip to Europe.

In light of all this, Chris, Mike, and I have agreed that the best thing would be for us to hold off consideration of refunding of SRC to the fall Trustees' meeting here at the Foundation.

Cliff will be gone for two months. Upon his return I forsee a two or three day visit (probably in early June) to Atlanta. At this time we can go over the goals and methods of operation of the programs for which you are requesting support. This would be the kind of close and detailed analysis that we were not able to do in our large review team visit but which will be necessary for us adequately to justify another grant before our Board of Trustees.

By the way, do any of your people have a reading on the Tennessee River Valley Association (Decatur, Alabama) and its involvement with the Mississippi Test Support Department of the Missile and Space Division of General Electric at Bay St. Louis, Mississippi? I understand that Charles T. Brandon, late of the Pulaski Calvary Rehabilitation Study and Action Committee in Huntsville, is now working for GE, and GE in turn is helping to set up and perform some staff work for TRVA. I would appreciate hearing anything you know about TRVA, GE-MTSD, and Brandon.

Sincerely yours,

Basil Whiting

Basil J. Whiting
Assistant Program Officer

BJW/ma

file Ford Fd. 1968

Mr. Armsey does have a plate 4-4-68 KM

April 4, 1968

Miss Patricia A. Bachmann
Secretary to Mr. Armsey
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Miss Bachmann:

We have checked and Mr. Armsey is on our mailing list and should routinely receive our publications. We seem to have a great deal of difficulty getting our materials to some of the people at the Foundation. Does your mailroom do any selection of what second class mail is to be forwarded?

We appreciate Mr. Armsey's interest very much.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF
EDUCATION AND RESEARCH
SPECIAL PROJECTS

April 2, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of March 12 and the two enclosed special reports (Kenneth Clark and Orangeburg).

We have been receiving your quarterly, New South, as well as one or two other publications. However, I should appreciate very much your checking to see that we are on the mailing list for all SRC publications.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Patricia A. Bachmann

Patricia A. Bachmann
Secretary to Mr. Armsey

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF
EDUCATION AND RESEARCH
SPECIAL PROJECTS

file

April 11, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your April 4 letter. We very much appreciate your checking to see that Mr. Armsey is on the your mailing list.

In regard to your question of whether the mailroom does any screening of second class mail, they do not. Apparently, that type mail is automatically forwarded as soon as it comes into the Foundation.

Sincerely,

Patricia A. Bachmann

Patricia A. Bachmann
Secretary to Mr. Armsey

file Ford Fd. 1968

April 15, 1968

Mr. McGeorge Bundy
President
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mac:

Vernon and I very much appreciate your letter, as we did the opportunity to be with you on Tuesday.

I share with you the reluctance for first names on first exposure. However, I share too the sense that Tuesday created an abnormal situation for those of us who assembled genuinely for grief and respect for Martin King.

Before the assassination last Thursday some of us were becoming very discouraged at our inability to more effectively influence events which were becoming increasingly tragic. And, the assassination increased this. However, on Tuesday — perhaps out of grief -- I sensed a camaraderie among the people in the march which hadn't been present in the civil rights

movement for the last several years. Since then the same feeling seems to have spread throughout the country. Perhaps this is a new beginning. If so, I hope we can, with urgency, take advantage of, and contribute to, it.

If ever we can be of assistance to you or to the Foundation, we would consider it a privilege.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

McGEORGE BUNDY
PRESIDENT

April 10, 1968

Dear Paul:

I suppose it's presumptuous to call you by your first name, but no other way seems right after the hours we spent together yesterday.

We are all deeply in debt to you and to Vernon Jordan for your kindness and courtesy in moving us around yesterday. You managed to get us from place to place without pulling us out of the general human experience of the day, and at the same time -- at least at the beginner's level -- you both gave me a chance to learn a little about the realities of your work. I am deeply grateful and I hope you will both include my office among your ports of call whenever you are in New York.

As for the day itself -- I do not find words to add to what so many have said -- and quite well, too -- on the television and in the newspapers. It was right that we should all have this chance to express our feelings -- but the important part and the hard part now is to get at least a few of the right things done, and done fairly quickly. That is not as easy as walking, but I think it will involve many of the same people.

With renewed thanks,

Sincerely,

Mac Bundy

McGeorge Bundy

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

May 24, 1968

file → Mr. Mitchell Sviridoff
Vice President
The Ford Foundation, Inc.
320 E. 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

573-5000

Dear Mike:

I shall be in New York on June 5 and 6, and I've written Chris for an appointment. On the morning of the 5th I will call your office to determine if you are available, and if we have any need to get together.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
GOVERNMENT AND LAW

May 24, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

My recent conversation with John Boone here at the Foundation was very encouraging. I was particularly interested in his emphasis on eliminating segregation and discrimination problems in corrections and other aspects of criminal justice.

I have indicated to him, however, that the Foundation can only give serious consideration to hard approaches strategically directed to alleviate these problems. We ended with the understanding that he would develop program ideas and be in touch with me later.

Sincerely yours,

C. F. Edley

Christopher F. Edley
Program Officer in Charge

CFE/fb

Wed May 5
11:00 AM
w/Chris Edley

Free Ford Fd.

via air mail May 24, 1968

Mr. Christopher Edley
The Ford Foundation, Inc.
320 E. 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

573-5064

Dear Chris:

I shall be in New York on June 5 and 6 for several purposes, but would especially like to have an opportunity to talk briefly with you. If you are available either of these days would you be good enough to drop me a note suggesting a time? I will make no other definite appointments until I hear from you.

Among other things, I would like to discuss the recent communications between you and T. T. Williams.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME:

FORD FOUNDATION:

REGARDING:

New proposal to Ford for additional funds after 1968 to Crime Project

See John Boone ltr of 6/3/68 and enclosures

DATE:

6-3-68

SEE:
(NAME OR SUBJECT)

CRIME PROJECT

See Ford Fd. 1968

June 17, 1968

Mr. Christopher Edley
The Ford Foundation
320 E. 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Chris:

While the enclosed letter is quite long, I thought you would be interested in it.

Ray Marshall has also read the letter and recently spent some time with Arnold Leibowitz. Ray and I have explored the possibility of a study such as Leibowitz proposes being done at the University of Kentucy with SRC cooperating to a substantial degree.

Marshall and I have also discussed Williams who did meet last weekend with the marketing specialist from SWAFCA and the Grande Marie Co-Op. John Lewis hopes to go over next week to talk with McKnight and Williams, after which I will give you a further report.

On Friday Jim Wood went to Tuskegee Institute relative to answering your question about the 40-acre farm. The information available was very disappointing. Our research department is now working on the question, and I hope you will have something soon.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

MJ - file

file

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

June 18, 1968

Mr. Aaron Henry, President
Mississippi Voter Registration
and Education League
133 South Lamar Street
Jackson, Mississippi

COPY

Dear Mr. Henry:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your proposal and letter dated June 7, 1968, in which you requested support for a voter education project in Mississippi. Your proposal has been given careful consideration, and I regret to advise you that the Foundation will be unable to provide the grant requested.

As you probably know, the Foundation for the past several years has assisted the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Conference which is directed by Vernon Jordan. This program has been of assistance to numerous groups at the state and local levels desirous of conducting voter education projects. It is probable that SRC's program will continue for the next several years. We would hope that this project, which is funded from several sources, would be of assistance to voter education projects in Mississippi. In view of the expertise developed by the SRC staff and its proven ability to assist efforts in many states simultaneously, we expect it to remain the major outlet for the Foundation's contribution to voter education efforts. After a recent review of the SRC program, Foundation staff reconfirmed the validity of this approach.

It is obvious to all concerned with the problem that the funds so far available from SRC and other sources for voter education projects are insufficient to meet the need. We have recently reviewed the level of our support for these efforts, and we hope other funding sources are doing the same. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether one funding source will be able to do much more than make a contribution toward the total need in view of the pressing demands for funds to deal with other problems related to discrimination, poverty, and inadequate education. We hope that our contributions to SRC's voter education program has been and will continue to be of assistance to efforts such as yours. We will see that your request is brought to the attention of Mr. Jordan.

Sincerely yours,

Christopher F. Edley
Program Officer in Charge

CFE/fb
bcc: Mr. Vernon Jordan-Mr. Paul Anthony
Mr. S. M. Miller

Ford Fd. (1968)

File

June 28, 1968

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Voter Edcuation Project
Southern Regional Conference
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Vernon:

Just a note to say thank you for inviting me to spend the weekend with you and your Advisory Committee at Capahosic. I think it was a most fruitful, as well as enjoyable meeting and certainly gave ~~us~~ me a much more thorough insight into the workings of the VEP.

Things are clearing up here at the Foundation and I hope to be down in Atlanta for final negotiations on our grant to SRC within the month.

Once again, thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Basil J. Whiting
Assistant Program Officer

BJW:mcs

cc: Paul Anthony
chron
name
IR-3

Jane
Ford Fd. 1968

MEMORANDUM July 2, 1968

To: Christopher Edley
Ford Foundation, Inc.

From: Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council

This memorandum is in response to your request for specific information on the realistic number of acres required for a minimum adequate income for a typical farm family in the deep South. The information has been collected largely by Glenda Bartley of our Research staff after consultation with individuals at Tuskegee Institute, Auburn University and the University of Georgia. The following observations are limited to Alabama, though comparable information is available for other states.

USDA estimates, for Alabama, that a Class VI farm (income range of $50 to $2,400) averages 75.5 acres. A Class V farm ($2,500 to $4,999) averages 163.3 acres. These figures can be misleading. They assume a typical general farm operation and they allow substantial costs for outside labor.

Our investigation convinced us that an adequate minimum income can be achieved on substantially less

acreage than that indicated by USDA if certain crucial qualifications are met. These would include wise selection of crops, sound cooperative marketing procedures, and, likely, cooperative purchasing of supplies and cooperative use of machinery.

By way of illustration, a study by Sydney C. Bell of the Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology Department, Auburn University indicates the following net profit per acre for the crops indicated. These net figures are compiled on the assumption that all labor is provided by the family unit without outside labor costs. (Professor Bell prefaces each table with the statement, "Based on Good Management Practices.")

Squash (Spring Crop)	$ 250.00 per acre
Cucumbers	263.00
Cabbage	264.00
Tomatoes	274.00
Southern Peas	145.00
Lima Beans	169.00
Snap Beans	425.00

Quite obviously from the above, twenty acres in cash crops, properly grown and marketed, with an additional twenty acres for supportive use -- or a total of a farm of forty acres could provide a minimum adequate income. Beyond the obvious, the key factor, therefore, is not the size of the farm but "good management practices" including the structure under which such an effort would be undertaken.

-o-

Dr Mayberry — Read and Return

Return to L.A. Pitts

FHA Chief For Family Farming

By ACHSAH POSEY

"Bigness is in trouble," the administrator of the Farmers Home Administration, Howard Bertsch, told FHA officials here Tuesday.

Declaring that turning over farming to a small number of big operators would not result in the proclaimed efficiency, he said it would put the American public "at the mercy of a few giant producers who would control their very sustenance."

Bertsch praised the congressmen and senators who have defended the family farm and "We have also, these past months, seen some of the Crown Princes of bigness topple. . . for the first time in many years we are seeing a real breakdown in the myth that bigness begets efficiency and efficiency will solve all problems."

"The merits of the efficiency of large-scale production are being questioned . . . A giant combination of egg producers in Iowa crumbled a few months ago," Bertsch said.

"The whole world of corporation farming in the fruit and vegetable fields has been shaken to its very roots by the curtailment of imported Mexican labor . . . To make up for the lack of cheap labor growers say they will mechanize to a far greater degree, and they will. The large producers also say the price of fruit and vegetables will rise," Bertsch pointed out, "and family farmers may wind up producing a larger share of our truck crops."

"This may be a reversal of all that we have been hearing and seeing for many, many years," he asserted.

He contended that, contrary to what many economists claim, not enough young men are going into farming to take over the farms of those retiring.

The need for increasing large farms has cut drastically into the number of tenant farmers, and produced a large number of farmers who own a little land and rent the rest, Bertsch said.

PUSHES FAMILY FARM
Administrator Bertsch

"We recognize the validity of the argument that farmers are foolish to spend their efforts buying the same farm over and over again as generation follows generation," he added, "but the alternative, the prospect of land being owned by people who are not farmers, sends a chill up our spine."

He suggested as an alternative a system "where a man has title to the land he works and thus has control over this basic resource — but at the same time supports a mortgage that is never paid off."

"Small towns and family farms go together. One supports the other," Bertsch told the group. "Family farmers trade at local stores. Corporate farms buy their supplies in large cities. . . . Will small rural communities survive? That is something for the Farmers Home Administration in large measure to decide."

Auburn Tells Of Changes In Titles

AUBURN — County farm agents of the Auburn Extension Service will no longer be farm agents after July 1, according to Auburn University President Ralph B. Draughon.

Farm agents will soon be known—technically—as "County Extension Chairmen."

Other Auburn Extension Service personnel will have their titles changed also.

In addition to the farm agents, other changes—with old titles listed first—include:

Home demonstration agent to associate county extension chairman; associate county agent, assistant County agent, Negro county agent, and Negro assistant county agent to extension farm agents; associate home demonstration agent, assistant home demonstration agent, Negro home demonstration agent, and Negro assistant home demonstration agent to extension home agents.

District agent to district extension chairman; district home demonstration agent to associate district extension chairman; Negro district agent to district farm agent; Negro district home demonstration agent to district home agent; Negro state 4-H Club Specialist; Negro state 4-H agent-boys to 4-H Club specialist; Negro state 4-H agent-girls to 4-H Club specialist.

Assistant editor-Negro farmer to assistant editor; state leader for Negro extension work to assistant to the director; state home demonstration agent to assistant director for women's work.

file
Ford Fd.
1968

via air mail

July 15, 1968

Mr. Basil Whiting
The Ford Foundation, Inc.
320 E. 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Basil:

Reservations have been made for you and Cliff at the Regency for the nights of July 29th and 30th. I look forward to seeing you both on the 30th and 31st.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Clifford Campbell

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 East 43 Street,
New York, N. Y. 10017

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

3rd payment for 1968

July 16, 1968

Mr. Paul B. Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

We enclose The Ford Foundation's check for $81,000 payable to your order.

This remittance represents a quarterly payment on our Grant No. 66-3 studies and technical assistance related to human relations programs in the South.

We would appreciate your acknowledging receipt of this check by signing and returning the attached copy of this letter in the enclosed envelope.

Very truly yours,

Norman W. MacLeod
Assistant to Treasurer

Enclosures

CR. $81,000
7-18-68 rh

file

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 East 43 Street,
New York, N. Y. 10017

1968

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

Grant payment for 1968

May 23, 1968

Mr. Paul B. Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

We enclose The Ford Foundation's check for $ 97,200 payable to your order.

5/27/68
Kathy Martin

This remittance represents a quarterly payment on our Grant No. 66-3 studies and technical assistance related to human relations programs in the South.

Signed by RHJ & returned wj

We would appreciate your acknowledging receipt of this check by signing and returning the attached copy of this letter in the enclosed envelope.

Very truly yours,

Norman W. MacLeod
Norman W. MacLeod
Assistant to Treasurer

Enclosures

Sole Ford Foundation 1968

1st payment for 1968

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 East 43 Street,
New York, N. Y. 10017

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

February 2, 1968

Mr. Paul B. Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Goergia 30303

Dear Sir:

We enclose The Ford Foundation's check for $64,800 payable to your order. 2-5-68 Kathy

This remittance represents a quarterly payment on our Grant No. 66-3 studies and technical assistance related to human relations programs in the South.'

We would appreciate your acknowledging receipt of this check by signing and returning the attached copy of this letter in the enclosed envelope.

Very truly yours,

Norman W. MacLeod
Assistant to Treasurer

Signed and sent Copy of receipt 2/12/68 RHA

Enclosures

81,
4 ⟌324,000

Ford Foundation
1968

Cr. ref - Panola Land Buyers Assoc.

re: Copy of Panola Assoc. Factsheet sent to Edley 7/18/68

July 18, 1968

Mr. Christopher Edley
Ford Foundation, Inc.
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Chris:

Relative to your letter of July 10, enclosed is a factsheet about the Panola Land Buyers Association which, in part, addresses itself to your questions.

I would have some doubt about Tuskegee's being the most desirable sponsor for a project should one be sponsored. Certainly, Tuskegee has a number of skills which would be desirable and which should be incorporated into any effort. My reservations relate in large part to how deeply convinced I am that the proper structure, the proper leadership, and the proper technical assistance are extremely essential but difficult to come by. Should we, you, and others continue to be interested in this idea, I think we should give very serious consideration to finding a competent

individual to spend several months putting together a structure and a proposal.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Dr. Ray Marshall
Mr. Boudinot P. Atterbury
Mr. Mitchell Sviridoff
Mr. S. M. Miller

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

July 10, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you very much for your memo of July 2nd regarding minimum acreage for decent farm subsistence. It is quite obvious that we run into a number of pesky problems and high risks as we look to the feasibility of small acreage. What can be done if a 20-acre holding is viable is completely different in magnitude to the opportunities open if 40 acres is the required acreage. The difference in the land cost in the Delta, for example, would be $5,000 vs. $10,000. I am not sure that the rural poor can engage in "good management practices" which seem to be the key to feasibility. Where do we go from here?

Should Tuskegee put poor families on acreage to determine whether they are educable and able to perform efficiently? What kind of structures exist or would be possible to assure management which would produce the net profit per acre indicated in the Sydney Bell study? If the 900 acres of land go through in Alabama, would it be possible to carve out some 20-acre farms for model demonstrations? Would Tuskegee oversee this?

I don't expect you to try to answer the above questions but merely want to indicate the questions on my mind at this point. I cannot encourage you to build up any hopes, say at Tuskegee, since I am not certain that the grant would ultimately be approved in the Foundation. What I do mean to indicate, however, is that a proposal which would get to the answers to these questions would certainly be encouraged by me. I hope I will hear further from you or Miss Bartley on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Chris

Christopher F. Edley

CFE/fb
cc: Dr. Ray Marshall
Mr. Boudinot P. Atterbury
Mr. Mitchell Sviridoff
Mr. S. M. Miller

FACTSHEET

PANOLA LAND BUYERS ASSOCIATION

This is the story of forty (40) families evicted from a plantation in Sumpter County, Alabama, and their struggle to buy 901 acres to farm and live on rather than move to the ghettos of our Northern cities. There remain only 15 days on their option to buy this land but thus far they have been unable to secure $130,000 in loan funds necessary for purchase.

SOME BACKGROUND

In 1966, the tenants on Roger's Plantation in Sumpter County, Alabama (1960 census pop. 21,000; 81% Black) with the assistance of civil rights lawyers requested their just portion of the Federal cotton price support, subsidy and defered acreage payment from Mr. Rogers. Rogers was forced to pay his tenants but in retribution, he ceased farming operations and leased his land to the Hammermill Paper Company.

Some of the tenants moved in with local relatives and friends, some seven families were moved by the NAACP to Tuskeegee Institute and a few of the families moved on to Chicago. Some are still living in their old houses on Roger's land but they have pine trees planted by Hammermill up to their doorsteps. There is not even enough land available for growing a home garden, the source of the mainstays of the Southern rural diet: greens and black-eyed-peas. These folks also pay two sets of rent, one to Rogers for the house and another to Hammermill for the land.

Most of the people were and still are waiting. Waiting for something. Until Mr. & Mrs. Louis Black, organizers for the Alabama Council on Human Relations and Southern Cooperative Development Program respectively, began working with the group, they were waiting without hope. The Black's organized the families into the Panola Land Buyers Association and began looking for some land the group could buy and resettle. The people now have some hope of finding land in Alabama so they will not have to move to the Northern city ghettos.

901 ACRES LAND LOCATED

The Panola Land Buyers were able to locate 901 acres of land for sale in Sumpter County. This land was owned by Mr. P. M. Norwood, a local merchant, but he was foreclosed on by the F.H.A. and other local creditors. Because of Alabama's peculiar foreclosure laws, a man has two years after formal foreclosure to redeem his property if he adds 10% to the amount owed. Mr. Norwood is angry with the local power structure for their actions against him and wishes to strike back by redeeming and selling his land to the Black families in the Panola Land Buyers Association. It is a rarity in the South for white folks to sell land to black folks but in this case Mr. Norwood is determined to carry through this sale because of his estrangement with the ruling power structure.

Mr. & Mrs. Black assisted the PLBA in securing funds from the Alabama C.H.R., SCDP and American Friends Service Committee to get an option on the 901 acres at $145 an acre or $130,000 for the total acreage. The sixty day option ran out June 30 and Mr. Norwood extended it another thirty days until July 30--just 15 days away. Less than a year remains of Mr. Norwood's two year redemption period thus there is great urgency in this situation.

LOOKING FOR FUNDS; FHA'S ROLE

The Panola Land Buyers Association has tried many sources for funds but thus far has been unable to secure more than a few weak promises. The PLBA is prepared to offer a mortgage on the 901 acres to any source of the loan funds needed to purchase this land.

Initially it was thought that each of the forty families would be able to get a $3,500 Economic Opportunity Loan from the Farmers Home Administration. These funds could have been pooled and the land purchased in this manner. FHA is legally prohibited from purchasing the land for the PLBA as a cooperative group but must make loans to individuals.

Seventeen members of the PLBA have applied for individual FHA loans. Nine have been approved and eight were rejected. The rejected were said to be poor risks because they do not have proven ability to repay loans. FHA uses this device throughout the South to block the previously landless tenants from acquiring land because of "lack of proven ability to repay." How can a tenant develop "proven ability" when he has never been given a chance to own and farm his own land. In this particular case, FHA as a party to Norwood's foreclosure is especially antagonistic to PLBA members trying to find financial aid to redeem and purchase his land.

If a source(s) could be found for the needed $130,000 in loan funds, the whole acreage could be bought in the name of the Panola Land Buyers Association and then redivided among the members with equity. Some of the members could use their already approved FHA loan funds to purchase a portion from the Association. Other members who have been denied funds by FHA because they did not have a "proven ability of repayment" would have a few years to prove themselves and might then be able to get FHA loan backing to pay out their balance to the PLBA. Still other members and other people in the county have expressed interest in buying a few acres for a house site and garden for cash, if the Association can get the land. If the PLBA can buy the acreage in its entirety, there would be greater developmental possibilities of the land in a cooperative --collective manner.

THE LAND

I have personally visited and viewed the land. The 901 acres is in two non-contiguous though closely connected tracts of 517 and 384 acres respectively. It is located in the Panola community of Sumpter County off Alabama Hgwy. 39 north and west of Gainesville about ten miles north of the intersection of Hgwy 39 and U.S. Hgwy. 11, a much traveled interstate route. Sumpter County is in southwest Alabama bordering the State of Mississippi.

The land is about 80% cleared farm and pasture land. A good part of it was in row crops, cotton and soy beans, when we were there. The remaining 20% is in assorted timbers. There are several ponds on the land. There are five houses and several barns including one with dimensions of 80'x 120', suitable for a feeder pig or calf project. There is one brick house, formerly Mr. Norwood's, overlooking a large pond which could be converted into a recreation area, resort or childrens camp for Black people.

The division of the land in two parts is not a real drawback. The two sites are no more than three miles apart on Hgwy. 39. This division could have a variety of developmental advantages from testing different co-op ownership patterns to setting aside one area as residential and the other for farming.

SWAFCA AND A TIE-IN WITH THE MOVEMENT

Sumpter County is one of ten black belt Alabama counties involved in the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative (SWAFCA). SWAFCA is an organization of small Black farmers trying to raise their meager incomes by marketing: cucumbers, okra, peas, greens, and other vegetables and buying farm supplies together. The PLBA could become a producing unit within SWAFCA perhaps even an area for crop demonstration. There is also already in existence a Southwest Alabama Self-Help Housing Association (located at Pine Hill, Wilcox County, Alabama) that gets OEO funds to give technical assistance to self-help housing groups. The PLBA would not be an isolated cooperative farming development cast adrift in a sea of racist hostility as many past ventures of this type were, but its members will be linked to a powerful and on going cooperative and civil rights movement.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AVAILABLE

If the needed loan funds are secured, the Southern Cooperative Development Program, a Ford Foundation sponsored effort, based in Lafayette, Louisiana, serving four southern states including Alabama, is prepared to lend all technical assistance necessary to make the PLBA Cooperative Program a success. In addition to the efforts of Mr. & Mrs. Black, funds are available for an organizer to be hired to work directly with the PLBA and move on the land with the members. Funds are also available to subsidize up to $2000 of a co-op farm manager's salary. Bookkeeping, accounting, training and other specific consultative services would be available through the SCDP. Charles Prejean, Director of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, based in Atlanta has offered the assistance of his organization to the PLBA.

LOAN TERMS

Since our extended option expires in 15 days on July 30, 1968, our immediate need is for $130,000 to secure purchase of this land now before we lose the chance.

As has been previously explained, the lender could expect a first mortgage guarantee on 901 acres of the finest land in southwest Alabama. As has also been mentioned, a sizable portion of the loan, perhaps as much as half could be repaid within six months from cash purchases of small acreages and FHA purchases for qualified buyers.

We would hope to pay no more than 6% interest on the money borrowed to purchase this land because of the premium and complete collateral securing it. We would prefer to pay an interest rate closer to 2% if this were possible. We would like to borrow this money or the portion of it that we do not foresee repaying in six month short term over no less than five but preferably ten years. If absolutely necessary, the SCDP would be willing to guarantee the first year's interest on this loan immediately.

To summarize, we desperately need to borrow, within the next 15 days, as a loan, $130,000, to purchase 901 acres of land to resettle forty families (200 or more persons), members of the Panola Land Buyers Association, on a cooperative farm in Sumpter County, Alabama before they lose hope and move on to the ghettos of our Northern cities.

John Zippert, Assistant Director
Southern Cooperative Development
Program
Lafayette, Louisiana 70501
Phone: 318-232-9206
July 15, 1968

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

July 18, 1968

Mr. Christopher Edley
Ford Foundation, Inc.
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Chris:

Relative to your letter of July 10, enclosed is a factsheet about the Panola Land Buyers Association which, in part, addresses itself to your questions.

I would have some doubt about Tuskegee's being the most desirable sponsor for a project should one be sponsored. Certainly, Tuskegee has a number of skills which would be desirable and which should be incorporated into any effort. My reservations relate in large part to how deeply convinced I am that the proper structure, the proper leadership, and the proper technical assistance are extremely essential but difficult to come by. Should we, you, and others continue to be interested in this idea, I think we should give very serious consideration to finding a competent

individual to spend several months putting together a structure and a proposal.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Dr. Ray Marshall
Mr. Boudinot P. Atterbury
Mr. Mitchell Sviridoff
Mr. S. M. Miller

Copy also sent to David Freeman of Council of Fourth by J. Wood

FACTSHEET

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In 1966, the tenants on Roger's Plantation in Sumpter County, Alabama (1960 census pop. 21,000; 81% Black) with the assistance of civil rights lawyers requested their just portion of the Federal cotton price support, subsidy and defered acreage payment from Mr. Rogers. Rogers was forced to pay his tenants but in retribution, he ceased farming operations and leased his land to the Hammermill Paper Company.

Some of the tenants moved in with local relatives and friends, some seven families were moved by the NAACP to Tuskeegee Institute and a few of the families moved on to Chicago. Some are still living in their old houses on Roger's land but they have pine trees planted by Hammermill up to their doorsteps. There is not even enough land available for growing a home garden, the source of the mainstays of the Southern rural diet: greens and black-eyed-peas. These folks also pay two sets of rent, one to Rogers for the house and another to Hammermill for the land.

Most of the people were and still are waiting. Waiting for something. Until Mr. & Mrs. Louis Black, organizers for the Alabama Council on Human Relations and Southern Cooperative Development Program respectively, began working with the group, they were waiting without hope. The Black's organized the families into the Panola Land Buyers Association and began looking for some land the group could buy and resettle. The people now have some hope of finding land in Alabama so they will not have to move to the Northern city ghettos.

901 ACRES LAND LOCATED

The Panola Land Buyers were able to locate 901 acres of land for sale in Sumpter County. This land was owned by Mr. P. M. Norwood, a local merchant, but he was foreclosed on by the F.H.A. and other local creditors. Because of Alabama's peculiar foreclosure laws, a man has two years after formal foreclosure to redeem his property if he adds 10% to the amount owed. Mr. Norwood is angry with the local power structure for their actions against him and wishes to strike back by redeeming and selling his land to the Black families in the Panola Land Buyers Association. It is a rarity in the South for white folks to sell land to black folks but in this case Mr. Norwood is determined to carry through this sale because of his estrangement with the ruling power structure.

Mr. & Mrs. Black assisted the PLBA in securing funds from the Alabama C.H.R., SCDP and American Friends Service Committee to get an option on the 901 acres at $145 an acre or $130,000 for the total acreage. The sixty day option ran out June 30 and Mr. Norwood extended it another thirty days until July 30--just 15 days away. Less than a year remains of Mr. Norwood's two year redemption period thus there is great urgency in this situation.

LOOKING FOR FUNDS; FHA'S ROLE

The Panola Land Buyers Association has tried many sources for funds but thus far has been unable to secure more than a few weak promises. The PLBA is prepared to offer a mortgage on the 901 acres to any source of the loan funds needed to purchase this land.

Initially it was thought that each of the forty families would be able to get a $3,500 Economic Opportunity Loan from the Farmers Home Administration. These funds could have been pooled and the land purchased in this manner. FHA is legally prohibited from purchasing the land for the PLBA as a cooperative group but must make loans to individuals.

Seventeen members of the PLBA have applied for individual FHA loans. Nine have been approved and eight were rejected. The rejected were said to be poor risks because they do not have proven ability to repay loans. FHA uses this device throughout the South to block the previously landless tenants from acquiring land because of "lack of proven ability to repay." How can a tenant develop "proven ability" when he has never been given a chance to own and farm his own land. In this particular case, FHA as a party to Norwood's foreclosure is especially antagonistic to PLBA members trying to find financial aid to redeem and purchase his land.

If a source(s) could be found for the needed $130,000 in loan funds, the whole acreage could be bought in the name of the Panola Land Buyers Association and then redivided among the members with equity. Some of the members could use their already approved FHA loan funds to purchase a portion from the Association. Other members who have been denied funds by FHA because they did not have a "proven ability of repayment" would have a few years to prove themselves and might then be able to get FHA loan backing to pay out their balance to the PLBA. Still other members and other people in the county have expressed interest in buying a few acres for a house site and garden for cash, if the Association can get the land. If the PLBA can buy the acreage in its entirety, there would be greater developmental possibilities of the land in a cooperative --collective manner.

THE LAND

I have personally visited and viewed the land. The 901 acres is in two non-contiguous though closely connected tracts of 517 and 384 acres respectively. It is located in the Panola community of Sumpter County off Alabama Hgwy. 39 north and west of Gainesville about ten miles north of the intersection of Hgwy 39 and U.S. Hgwy. 11, a much traveled interstate route. Sumpter County is in southwest Alabama bordering the State of Mississippi.

The land is about 80% cleared farm and pasture land. A good part of it was in row crops, cotton and soy beans, when we were there. The remaining 20% is in assorted timbers. There are several ponds on the land. There are five houses and several barns including one with dimensions of 80'x 120', suitable for a feeder pig or calf project. There is one brick house, formerly Mr. Norwood's, overlooking a large pond which could be converted into a recreation area, resort or childrens camp for Black people.

The division of the land in two parts is not a real drawback. The two sites are no more than three miles apart on Hgwy. 39. This division could have a variety of developmental advantages from testing different co-op ownership patterns to setting aside one area as residential and the other for farming.

SWAFCA AND A TIE-IN WITH THE MOVEMENT

Sumpter County is one of ten black belt Alabama counties involved in the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative (SWAFCA). SWAFCA is an organization of small Black farmers trying to raise their meager incomes by marketing: cucumbers, okra, peas, greens, and other vegetables and buying farm supplies together. The PLBA could become a producing unit within SWAFCA perhaps even an area for crop demonstration. There is also already in existence a Southwest Alabama Self-Help Housing Association (located at Pine Hill, Wilcox County, Alabama) that gets OEO funds to give technical assistance to self-help housing groups. The PLBA would not be an isolated cooperative farming development cast adrift in a sea of racist hostility as many past ventures of this type were, but its members will be linked to a powerful and on going cooperative and civil rights movement.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AVAILABLE

If the needed loan funds are secured, the Southern Cooperative Development Program, a Ford Foundation sponsored effort, based in Lafayette, Louisiana, serving four southern states including Alabama, is prepared to lend all technical assistance necessary to make the PLBA Cooperative Program a success. In addition to the efforts of Mr. & Mrs. Black, funds are available for an organizer to be hired to work directly with the PLBA and move on the land with the members. Funds are also available to subsidize up to $2000 of a co-op farm manager's salary. Bookkeeping, accounting, training and other specific consultative services would be available through the SCDP. Charles Prejean, Director of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, based in Atlanta has offered the assistance of his organization to the PLBA.

LOAN TERMS

Since our extended option expires in 15 days on July 30, 1968, our immediate need is for $130,000 to secure purchase of this land now before we lose the chance.

As has been previously explained, the lender could expect a first mortgage guarantee on 901 acres of the finest land in southwest Alabama. As has also been mentioned, a sizable portion of the loan, perhaps as much as half could be repaid within six months from cash purchases of small acreages and FHA purchases for qualified buyers.

We would hope to pay no more than 6% interest on the money borrowed to purchase this land because of the premium and complete collateral securing it. We would prefer to pay an interest rate closer to 2% if this were possible. We would like to borrow this money or the portion of it that we do not foresee repaying in six month short term over no less than five but preferably ten years. If absolutely necessary, the SCDP would be willing to guarantee the first year's interest on this loan immediately.

To summarize, we desperately need to borrow, within the next 15 days, as a loan, $130,000, to purchase 901 acres of land to resettle forty families (200 or more persons), members of the Panola Land Buyers Association, on a cooperative farm in Sumpter County, Alabama before they lose hope and move on to the ghettos of our Northern cities.

John Zippert, Assistant Director
Southern Cooperative Development
Program
Lafayette, Louisiana 70501
Phone: 318-232-9206
July 15, 1968

File Ford Fd. 1968

via air mail

July 22, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
c/o Sheraton British Colonial Hotel
#1 Bay Street
NASSAU
Bahamas, Islands

Dear Paul:

Sorry to bother you with this, but thought you might like to think about it a little.

I have asked Vernon, John Lewis, and Emory to write you memos about the questions related to their projects.

Sincerely,

James N. Wood
Executive Assistant

JNW/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

4 copies

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

July 19, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

As promised, here is a set of questions and suggested guidelines for the forthcoming visit of Cliff Campbell and myself to Atlanta the last week of this month. To make this as clear as possible, I will organize my comments under several headings:

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Cliff and I now plan to arrive on Monday evening, July 29th. I would suggest that we start our visit with you at 10 a.m. Tuesday morning in your offices. We would like to complete our business that day; but, given the variety and depth of topics to be covered, we might all want to extend our discussions well into Wednesday. We have made our own flight reservations, and I understand your staff has been kind enough to reserve rooms for us at the Regency for the nights of July 29th and 30th. Cliff will have had a long trip from the West Coast, so it would be very helpful if someone could pick him up (we'll have to give you his arrival time later this week). I may be perambulating around Georgia on other business that Monday and perhaps even the preceding afternoon, so I'll make my own way to the hotel.

Tone and Purpose of Meeting:

This is to be a working session and I hope it will be as informal and productive as possible. Our purpose is to complete the staff work needed to make a further three-year grant to SRC. We will want to review briefly some of the general questions and concerns the review team raised during its visit, but the bulk of ~~the~~ our visit should be consumed by a detailed discussion of the SRC proposal itself, the justification and rationale for each of the projects, and a review of the budget. I would hope to be able to leave on Wednesday feeling ready to make a final grant recommendation to the Foundation's officers. It is possible,

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Neither Cliff nor I presume to be experts on the South; and my limited experience in recent months with you, Vernon Jordan, and your staff and Board is sufficient to impress me with your knowledge, experience, and competence. So we will not be examining those characteristics of SRC. Rather, our job will be to give the Foundation officers and trustees a much more precise sense of SRC's strategy and of what it will be doing with our money. Hence, we will be asking for an explicit rationale, a set of goals, more details on budget, and examples of proposed publications, conferences, program actions and the like for the various projects we will be underwriting in part. In short, this will be more detailed and more future oriented than was our January review.

General Subjects:

These are those concerns mentioned during the review team visit in January and in its subsequent report to the Foundation. The team, as you recall, had particular difficulty grasping the role and character of SRC. There was a feeling of "ad hoc-ery", a lack of an overall strategy and set of priorities for SRC's activities. The team felt that we and SRC were both having difficulty assessing what was going on in the rapidly changing South and what might be the most productive role and set of priorities for SRC. I know our proposed conference on the South never came off, but another six months have passed and Cliff and I will be anxious to hear your current views on all of these matters.

Specific Comments on Proposal:

a) With the passage of seven or more months since the proposal was written, you may well want to change some aspects of that presentation. Don't feel locked in.

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eight areas of SRC activities:

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1) Rationale, in the past and for the future
2) Details, examples, statistics on past accomplishments
3) Goals for next three years, with details, examples, and statistics wherever appropriate
4) Discussion of budget : how does Ford support dovetail with total project budget; who else is or hopefully will be supporting the project; line item breakdowns, where appropriate

f) Specific comments on projects: here I will make some scattered comments on each of the projects. These will generally fall under points one through three of the format outlined above:

1) Information and Research : We recognize the fundamental importance of this activity to SRC, but the team was concerned about what appeared to be a limited distribution of publications, and, perhaps, limited use of the other information services. It would be helpful, then, to have some statistical information regarding publication distribution, mail requests, and other ways of measuring the usefulness of this activity(and we promise not to over-rely on such statistics). In addition, what steps are contemplated to expand the audience for SRC's publications and other information services ?

2) Community Organization and Education: We are particularly concerned here to have a statement of the strategy, rationale, and future goals of this project.

3) Labor Education: As part of a statement of rationale and goals, it would be useful for us to have an indication of your assessment of the labor movement in the South and where this project fits in.

4) Specific Research and Consultation: We agree that flexibility is necessary and that we should not box you into explicit project areas such as fair employment, housing, school integration, and the like. However, besides a review of what was accomplished under these old headings in our previous grant, we want to know what special research projects are contemplated and what situations might require the use of extraordinary consultative services.

5) Business Sector: Beyond the usual rationale and goals, we would like to knwo the type of report and studies to be undertaken, who would perform them and how, and what kind of distribution would be made.

6) Voter Education Project: Perhaps because of the nature of this activity, we have the best detailed and statistically supported "fix" on it. Here we will be concerned with a budgetary breakdown and plans and goals regarding VEP's new emphasis on services to elected officials.

7) SRC Overhead: An informal breakdown of overhead would be helpful. In addition we might at this point discuss the adjustment in our grant needed for the services of Dr. Thomas T. Williams, hired at our behest by you for work with the Southern Consumers Education Foundation.

8) State Councils: What would be the criteria for dispersing this money to the state councils? Our consultants feel that these councils still need extensive technical assistance. How will that be provided by SRC's central headquarters? There is also some feeling that full independence of the State Councils could make them immune to the healthy prodding that SRC's central staff could provide to insure that the Councils do move aggressively to effect social change.

I hope all of this proves useful to you in preparing for our visit. I know a visit like this imposes a burden on your staff and that this letter will only allow you a week or so before our proposed arrival date. Let me then repeat what I said above: we will be happy to make a second visit if necessary. Indeed, if it is at all inconvenient to you, we shall be happy to reschedule our visit at some later time, say in mid or late August.

With warm regards,

Basil

Basil J. Whiting
Assistant Program Officer

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME:

FORD FOUNDATION 1968

REGARDING:

August 30-31 Meeting of Ford w/SRC and John Boone's note to P. A. relative to his project dated 7/23/68

DATE:

7/23/68

SEE:
(NAME OR SUBJECT)

PROJECT ON CRIME AND CORRECTION

Air Mail
Special

July 26, 1968

Dr. Raymond Wheeler
3724 Warrington Drive
Charlotte, North Carolina 28211

Dear Dr. Wheeler:

Enclosed are the papers Jim promised to send you.

With kind regards.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Katharine Martin
Secretary

KM

Enclosures - 5

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS W. YOUNG, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

MEMORANDUM July 29, 1968

To: Mr. Basil Whiting and
Mr. Clifford Campbell

From: Paul Anthony

This is a hasty effort to react, briefly, to several of the points raised in Basil's letter of July 19th. The primary purpose of this memorandum is to have in writing some ideas and information to which the two of you can respond in the next two days. I, too, am hopeful that by Wednesday afternoon we will have taken care of these matters satisfactorily.

Overall Strategy and Priorities.

The basic strategy of SRC is to seek racial and economic justice for all of the peoples of the region. Our strategy is to use those methods developed by the agency over a period of almost 25 years. They rest heavily on our understanding of the region and the attitudes and needs of the people. I believe, quite strongly, that the Council represents the strongest, single repository of both information and understanding relative to

matters racial of any agency, public or private, in the region. If we have a strength, particularly a unique strength, this is it.

Our priorities for the forseeable future are two:

(1) To continue and to expand our information and analytical functions with the goal of reaching the largest possible number of opinion-makers, southern and national, on conditions and suggested remedies. This, we hope, will be reflected in our several projects as well as in our identified, separate research and information functions.

(2) To assist, with those skills and methods we believe we have developed, the emerging efforts on the part of the region's minority to seek economic and political power with the realization that our problems will not be solved or greatly modified until such strength is in the hands of black Southerners. Specifically, this goal would relate to our efforts of the several projects -- the largest of which is, of course, the Voter Education Project.

As I have said to members of the Foundation before, in expressing the above goals and strategies, the Council has no illusions about being large enough or strong enough to, per se, change the region or correct its evils. At best we can look for situations that hang in balance, or emerging efforts that show promise and hope that our involvement will make that difference which is corrective and constructive.

Budget Considerations.

I would like an opportunity to discuss with you some slight revisions in the last proposed budget submitted to you. Most specifically, as you note, we must deal with the matter of eliminating $40,000

per year from the proposal. This is possible, of course, if it has to be. However, I would, at least, like an opportunity to discuss with you both the chance of holding the requested figure at $340,000 or the chance of making a reduction of less than $40,000.

Perhaps one other comment is in order in this paper about our budget. The two large sums for projects are, of course, support for state Councils on Human Relations and for the Voter Education Project. These important needs are both efforts which must fluctuate and be adjusted according to resources available. On the other hand, the $300,000 (or $340,000) for the remainder of our programs will represent at least one-third of the resources we anticipate having avilable during the next three years. As I have said before, while this support is valuable to us, I think the proportion of the support from one foundation is as high as it should be allowed to go.

Put another way, and perhaps more positively, I shall work very hard to see that a sum in the amount of at least two-thirds of our total resources come from other sources with the understanding that whatever we determine would be our needs we would not expect nor want the Ford Foundation to supply a higher proportion than that now requested.

(Several times in the past I have seen foundations make a substantial and a disproportionate contribution to this agency thereby allowing it to realize its potential. I believe the Ford Foundation did this very significantly 2½ years ago. I think continued support, with our joint scrutiny of the use of that support, will again be disproportionately significant.)

Information and Research.

I could not agree more with the review team in its conclusion that our publicatinns and information services have too limited a distribution in relation to their intrinsic value and potential impact. It is for this reason that we have budgeted a modest increase in these categories to allow us to concentrate

on increasing both circulation and services. The suggested increase is, however, modest because we would like to continue to go after quality rather than quantity.

Community Organization and Education.

Our basis rationale for this project is to maintain a liaison between the emerging self-help efforts in the South and foundations, governmental agencies, and the like who have developed a strong interest in this area. We do not propose a program, but rather an intelligent system in which we would try to know what is happening, be sensitive to what is needed, and assist concerned resources. I think, perhaps, the best understanding of this project and our hopes for its future would be a review of the relation of these interests and this project with the Ford Foundation during the past 2½ years. John Lewis, the project director, will be available while you are here should you wish to get his personal reactions to this effort. I rank the project very high, not only in terms of the services rendered, but also relative to the sensitivity SRC has developed to a true phenomena of the current social revolution.

Labor Education.

Since Emory Via, the past project director who will return on a permanent basis September 1, 1968, is currently at the University of Wisconsin, I have asked him to provide two documents for your perusal. These are included. One relates to his hopes for the future of the program, while the other is his comments on the Labor Movement in the South at the present time.

Special Research and Consultation.

I believe, to be concerned with the length of this memorandum, that we can best review what has been accomplished under these headings during our conversations.

We have, however, under the several headings, employed both field consultants and consultants for the purpose of publication. These funds have enabled us to do specific work in such areas as school integration, housing, and welfare programs. Our basic problem during the course of the current grant, as was agreed earlier with the review team, has been the rigidity of the budgeted items. Here, as in several other areas, we must essentially ask you to judge the quality of our past performance and ask you to allow us flexibility related to opportunity as well as need.

Business Sector.

As with several comments above, we feel the need to experiment seriously with a collection and dissemination of information to inform, educate, and perhaps, persuade the business and economic leadership of the region. We would like, for instance, to do continuing studies on the region's economic progress relative to that of the nation, on Negro versus white economic progress and related factors. We would like to delve further into the true unemployment situation in the region, we would also like to explore further the implications of the region's poor educational systems and further economic growth. We would like to go further into the implications of automation in our standard, low-paying industries such as furniture and the textiles. Quite frankly, I think a great deal of experimentation will have to take place in determining not only what among the above we will be able to do, but what in terms of subject, format, and distribution we will be able to have the greatest effect. We need to experiment, and if we have the opportunity, I would like, personally, to devote a substantial amount of time to this effort since I am convinced that those who hold power now are greatly in need of education, and in need of it quickly.

Include distribution plans ☐ Special Series

How fund & what formula 50% vs less - Urban vs Rural

The Voter Education Project.

Documents relative to the questions you have raised have been prepared for our own internal planning and policy-making. They are, however, available to you to the extent you wish to pursue them.

How do we set up the service centers - what colleges - offered how many? So - we to conference -

Goals next year ☐

SRC Overhead.

An audit for last year and an operating budget for the current year will be available should you wish to go into these details. They offer a substantial breakdown on our expenses. In addition to this, however, perhaps it should be noted that our overhead expenditures are truly across-the-board in support of our total operation.

As to the cost incurred in supplying the services of Dr. T. T. Williams, we were more than happy to respond to a request from Chris Edley that if we could find the money to cover this expenditure we would, in time, be reimbursed by the Foundation. This, to me, was an excellent example of desirable cooperation between a foundation and an agency. I do hope that adding this cost onto whatever grant we receive will not penalize us.

State Councils on Human Relations.

This item and the questions you v ery rightly raise needs a thorough exploration which, I believe, can best be done during our discussions.

* * * *

Enclosed are a number of documents which several persons on the staff have thoughtfully prepared in my absence. Given the time, I might be tempted to edit them and, certainly, to reduce the length of them. Under the circumstances, however, I think it would be highly desirable for you to brows them if you have an opportunity. They provide not only detailed statistics relative to some of your questions, but more importantly, confidential responses to me which I am anxious to share with you.

I think you are at a disadvantage in dealing with this request. The request and your reactions to it are not, in my opinion, in the orthodox pattern of desirable

and necessary foundation scrutiny. I have spent the greater part of my adult life with this agency, and have the high priviledge of spending a few years as its director. This is an institution to which a number of us are deeply devoted not, I hope, out of either sentiment or employment, but out of our conviction that it represents some of the best tradition, experience, and opportunity for the future. I can honestly commend the Southern Regional Council to you as my own best hope for a future decent society.

WELCOME!

4 copies

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

July 19, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
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4) Discussion of budget: how does Ford support dovetail with total project budget; who else is or hopefully will be supporting the project; line item breakdowns, where appropriate

f) Specific comments on projects: here I will make some scattered comments on each of the projects. These will generally fall under points one through three of the format outlined above:

1) Information and Research: We recognize the fundamental importance of this activity to SRC, but the team was concerned about what appeared to be a limited distribution of publications, and, perhaps, limited use of the other information services. It would be helpful, then, to have some statistical information regarding publication distribution, mail requests, and other ways of measuring the usefulness of this activity (and we promise not to over-rely on such statistics). In addition, what steps are contemplated to expand the audience for SRC's publications and other information services?

layout by category, number sent at sent

2) Community Organization and Education: We are particularly concerned here to have a statement of the strategy, rationale, and future goals of this project.

3) Labor Education: As part of a statement of rationale and goals, it would be useful for us to have an indication of your assessment of the labor movement in the South and where this project fits in.

4) Specific Research and Consultation: We agree that flexibility is necessary and that we should not box you into explicit project areas such as fair employment, housing, school integration, and the like. However, besides a review of what was accomplished under these old headings in our previous grant, we want to know what special research projects are contemplated and what situations might require the use of extraordinary consultative services.

5) Business Sector: Beyond the usual rationale and goals, we would like to know the type of report and studies to be undertaken, who would perform them and how, and what kind of distribution would be made.

6) Voter Education Project: Perhaps because of the nature of this activity, we have the best detailed and statistically supported "fix" on it. Here we will be concerned with a budgetary breakdown and plans and goals regarding VEP's new emphasis on services to elected officials.

7) SRC Overhead: An informal breakdown of overhead would be helpful. In addition we might at this point discuss the adjustment in our grant needed for the services of Dr. Thomas T. Williams, hired at our behest by you for work with the Southern Consumers Education Foundation.

8) State Councils: What would be the criteria for dispersing this money to the state councils? Our consultants feel that these councils still need extensive technical assistance. How will that be provided by SRC's central headquarters? There is also some feeling that full independence of the State Councils could make them immune to the healthy prodding that SRC's central staff could provide to insure that the Councils do move aggressively to effect social change.

Breakdown antic. income for sen. appr. Project budgets antic. 1969-1971

I hope all of this proves useful to you in preparing for our visit. I know a visit like this imposes a burden on your staff and that this letter will only allow you a week or so before our proposed arrival date. Let me then repeat what I said above: we will be happy to make a second visit if necessary. Indeed, if it is at all inconvenient to you, we shall be happy to reschedule our visit at some later time, say in mid or late August.

With warm regards,

Basil

Basil J. Whiting
Assistant Program Officer

Free for 8 Jul. 1968

MEMORANDUM July 29, 1968

To: Mr. Basil Whiting and
Mr. Clifford Campbell

From: Paul Anthony

This is a hasty effort to react, briefly, to several of the points raised in Basil's letter of July 19th. The primary purpose of this memorandum is to have in writing some ideas and information to which the two of you can respond in the next two days. I, too, am hopeful that by Wednesday afternoon we will have taken care of these matters satisfactorily.

Overall Strategy and Priorities.

The basic strategy of SRC is to seek racial and economic justice for all of the peoples of the region. Our strategy is to use those methods developed by the agency over a period of almost 25 years. They rest heavily on our understanding of the region and the attitudes and needs of the people. I believe, quite strongly, that the Council represents the strongest, single repository of both information and understanding relative to

matters racial of any agency, public or private, in the region. If we have a strength, particularly a unique strength, this is it.

Our priorities for the foreseeable future are two:

(1) To continue and to expand our information and analytical functions with the goal of reaching the largest possible number of opinion-makers, southern and national, on conditions and suggested remedies, This, we hope, will be reflected in our several projects as well as in our identified, separate research and information functions.

(2) To assist, with those skills and methods we believe we have developed, the emerging efforts on the part of the region's minority to seek economic and political power with the realization that our problems will not be solved or greatly modified until such strength is in the hands of black Southerners. Specifically, this goal would relate to our efforts of the several projects -- the largest of which is, of course, the Voter Education Project.

As I have said to members of the Foundation before, in expressing the above goals and strategies, the Council has no illusions about being large enough or strong enough to, per se, change the region or correct its evils. At best we can look for situations that hang in balance, or emerging efforts that show promise and hope that our involvement will make that difference which is corrective and constructive.

Budget Considerations.

I would like an opportunity to discuss with you some slight revisions in the last proposed budget submitted to you. Most specifically, as you note, we must deal with the matter of eliminating $40,000

per year from the proposal. This is possible, of course, if it has to be. However, I would, at least, like an opportunity to discuss with you both the change of holding the requested figure at $340,000 or the chance of making a reduction of less than $40,000.

Perhaps one other comment is in order in this paper about our budget. The two large sums for projects are, of course, support for state Councils on Human Relations and for the Voter Education Project. These important needs are both efforts which must fluctuate and be adjusted according to resources available. On the other hand, the $300,000 (or $340,000) for the remainder of our programs will represent at least one-third of the resources we anticipate having available during the next three years. As I have said before, while this support is valuable to us, I think the proportion of the support from one foundation is as high as it should be allowed to go.

Put another way, and perhaps more positively, I shall work very hard to see that a sum in the amount of at least two=thirds of our total resources come from other sources with the understanding that whatever we determine would be our needs we would not expect nor want the Ford Foundation to supply a higher proportion than that now requested.

(Several times in the past I have seen foundations make a substantial and a disproportionate contribution to this agency thereby allowing it to realize its potential. I believe the Ford Foundation did this very significantly 2½ years ago. I think continued support, with our joint scrutiny of the use of that support, will again be disproportionately significant.)

Information and Research.

I could not agree more with the review team in its conclusion that our publications and information services have too limited a distribution in relation to their intrinsic value and potential impact. It is for this reason that we have budgeted a modest increase in these categories to allow us to concentrate

on increasing both circulation and services. The suggested increase is, however, modest because we would like to continue to go after quality rather quantity.

Community Organization and Education.

Our basic rationale for this project is to maintain a liaison between the emerging self-help efforts in the South and foundations, governmental agencies, and the like who have developed a strong interest in this area. We do not propose a program, but rather an intelligent system in which we would try to know what is happening, be sensitive to what is needed, and assist concerned resources. I think, perhaps, the best understanding of this project and our hopes for its future would be a review of the relation of these interests and this project with the Ford Foundation during the past 2½ years. John Lewis, the project director, will be available while you are here should you wish to get his personal reactions to this effort. I rank the project very high, not only in terms of the services rendered, but also relative to the sensitivity SRC has developed to a true phenomena of the current social revolution.

Labor Education.

Since Emory Via, the past project director who will return on a permanent basis September 1, 1968, is currently at the University of Wisconsin, I have asked him to provide two documents for your perusal. These are attached. One relates to his hopes for the future of the program, while the other is his comments on the Labor Movement in the South at the present time.

Special Research and Consultation.

I believe, to be concerned with the length of this memorandum, that we can best review what has been accomplished under these headings during our conversations.

We have, however, under the several headings, employed both field consultants and consultants for the purpose of publication. These funds have enabled us to do specific work in such areas as school integration, housing, and welfare programs. Our basic problem during the course of the current grant, as was agreed earlier with the review team, has been the rigidity of the budgeted items. Here, as in several other areas, we must essentially ask you to judge the quality of our past performance and ask you to allow us flexibility related to opportunity as well as need.

Business Sector.

As with several comments above, we feel the need to experiment seriously with a collection and dissemination of information to inform, educate, and perhaps, persuade the business and economic leadership of the region. We would like, for instance, to do continuing studies on the region's economic progress relative to that of the nation, on Negro versus white economic progress and related factors. We would like to delve further into the true unemployment situation in the region, we would also like to explore further the implications of the region's poor educational systems and further economic growth. We would like to go further into the implications of automation in our standard, low-paying industries such as furniture and the textiles. Quite frankly, I think a great deal of experimentation will have to take place in determining not only what among the above we will be able to do, but what in terms of subject, format, and distribution we will be able to have the greatest effect. We need to experiment, and if we have the opportunity, I would like, personally, to devote a substantial amount of time to this effort since I am convinced that those who hold power now are greatly in need of education, and in need of it quickly.

The Voter Education Project.

Documents relative to the questions you have raised have been prepared for our own internal planning

and policy-making. They are, however, available to you to the extent you wish to pursue them.

SRC Overhead.

An audit for last year and an operating budget for the current year will be available should you wish to go into these details. They offer a substantial berakdown on our expenses. In addition to this, however, perhaps it should be noted that our overhead expenditures are truly across-the-board in support of our total operations.

As to the cost incurred in supplying the services of Dr. T. T. Williams, we were more than happy to respond to a request from Chris Edley that if we could find the money to cover this expenditure we would, in time, be reimbursed by the Foundation. This, to me, was an excellent example of desirable cooperation between a foundation and an agency. I do hope that adding this cost onto whatever grant we receive will not penalize us.

State Councils on Human Relations.

This item and the questions you very rightly raise needs a thorough exploration which, I believe, can best be done during our discussions.

* * * *

Enclosed are a number of documents which several persons on the staff have thoughtfully prepared in my absence. Given the time, I might be tempted to edit them and, certainly, to reduce the length of them. Under the circumstances, however, I think it would be highly desirable for you to browse them if you have an opportunity. They provide not only detailed statistics relative to some of your questions, but more importantly, confidential responses to me which I am anxious to share with you.

I think you are at a disadvantage in dealing with this request. The request and your reactions to it are not, in my opinion, in the orthodox pattern of desirable and necessary foundation scrutiny. I have spent the greater part of my adult life with this agency, and have the high priviledge of spending a few years as its director. This is an institution to which a number of us are deeply devoted not, I hope, out of either sentiment or employment, but o ut of our conviction that it represents some of the best tradition, experience, and opportunity for the future. I can honestly recommend the Southern Regional Council to you as my own best hope for a future, decent society.

WELCOME!

MEMORANDUM DRAFT

To: Basil Whiting and Clifford Campbell

From: Paul Anthony

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PAGE (s) MISSING

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Bertha Spaulding

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6/27/68

Paul:

Enclosed a few pages which may be suggestive re labor project. You will note its rough character and that it is not suitable for reproduction. It includes a few asides directed to you (f.y.i.) and not for others.

I would add to it:

1) Project is collaborative with labor movement, and yet still its friendly critic. Collaboration is with AFL-CIO Education, Civil Rights, and Research departments (also C.O.P.E.), with national unions (esp. education depts.), with regional offices, and with state AFL-CIO's.

2) Except for what the Union's do on their own, almost nothing else (than SRC) is done to reach working whites [although ~~almost~~ all we do is "integrated" except where no Negroes are in the units involved (perhaps twice in last 2 year project)]

3) We serve a bridging function even though clearly standing for equality for all.

4) We encourage programs and cooperate with programs in the State Council on Human Relations.

[I'm almost without secty. help at the moment]

Call if you need more.

Emory

Re manpower:

We touch by:

education as to needed programs and relating manpower problems to regional economic development.

anti-~~unplayment~~ discrimination in employment work.

cooperation with studies

interaction with EEOC, OFCC, Labor Department

encouraging sophisticated watchdogging of existing programs

We could do more by:

Serving as broker for information, ideas, resources (personnel such as consultants and relevant federal and other programs) to interested parties or to those who should be interested.

LABOR PROJECT

INTRODUCTION

The SRC labor project utilizes an exceedingly small staff to cover a wide range of interests that relate to unions, Southern economic and political developments, employment discrimination, and manpower policies and practices. Although it has a primary interest in reaching white workers it is mindfull of the fact that much of what it attempts to do is dependent upon effectively working with black workers. And though it works larely with and through unions, it is not so limited and intends to reach a much broader audience.

The SRC labor project initiates and conducts its own programs, but also relies heavily on cooperative activities with unions and other agencies. Further, it seeks to stimulate activities which other agencies will carry out on their own by providing ideas, program suggestions, and complete program kits. Indeed, it might be argued that the most valuable work of the project is in performing a brokers function of matching ideas, needs, program resources, private and public organizations, seed money(or suggesting other sources), and consultative services to cause useful programs to be undertaken.

TYPES OF ACTIVITIES

Labor Education -- The labor project conducts education programs either on its own initiative or in cooperation with a union organization; it responds to requests from unions to participate in their educational programs; it encourages universities to engage in labor education projects. The format varies from one-week (or more) residential insitutes, to a series of classes, to weekend and one day conferences. *

* Examples: 3 weekends with Steelworkers; 1 ILGWU regional meeting; ILGWU Staff Conference; 2 Southern Labor Schools (Regional Leaders); 2 Tri-State Labor Schools; Ga AFL-CIO Legislative Conference; Va. AFL-CIO Ed. Program; 2 Rubber Workers Summer institutes (one week); 2 Ark. AFL-CIO weekend and 3 Ala. AFL-CIO weekend institutes (Both Ark & Ala organized by SRC)

The subject matter of an educational program varies with the needs and interests of the particular group. The subjects include: the changing South (economic, political, social developments), civil rights issues, protest movements, political coalitions, what the law requires, wellfare problems and realities, manpower policies, guaranteed income, and race relations (including: science and race, the nature of prejudice, group behavior). The labor education programs are directed primarily to local union leaders and union staff.

Special conferences--smaller conferences held as intensive seminars for union leaders and selected experts (usually lawyers, civil rights leaders, academics, but also including government officials and employers) to discuss specific troublemome problems. Possible future conferences will deal with 1) seniority issues and solutions, 2) job classifications systems, and 3) the task of the union civil rights committee.

Materials--the labor project seeks to produce and to secure and distribute materials in its areas of interest and which are suitable for its clientele group. A major focus will be to locate or develop those materials which will have an impact on working whites. Materials will vary from those on the elementary facts of race and prejudice, to social and economic problems, to those dealing with worker rights (e.g. workmen's compensation, unemployment compensation, minimum wage, garnishment). Materials will be developed by ad hoc consulting-writers in cooperation with the director. The minimum wage kit is a past example used to encourage cooperative action as well as to inform.

In 2 yrs. distributed over 20,000 pieces
e.g.
Know your Rights
More Money for You
Wages & Regions from N.S.
Freedom Budget
American Federationist issue on Civ RR
Textile Testimony
Materials on Whatlest Jackson Murder
Teaching methods, Taxes
Appointment
Bibliographies

Employment Discrimination--one function of the project is to educate minority and majority workers regarding the forms of discrimination,

workers needs and rights, and current legal requirements.

The project is especially interested in assisting in the initiation of programs aimed at overcoming discrimination on a local, state, or sub-regional basis. Such programs may be with SRC's active participation, with its cooperation, or at its urging for others to conduct. The project has a special interest in programs with which it can cooperate (regardless at whose original initiative) and in which it can be of special assistance in the "broker function" described above. Programs may vary from upgrading the watchdog role of private agencies vis a vis management, unions, employment agencies, training programs, and public enforcement efforts to collaboration between private and public agencies in tackling discriminatory practices.

The project will cooperate with research studies on employment practices (some of these are underway, or just beginning -- such as a new round by Ray Marshall with Ford assistance, I believe, and involving V. Henderson for the Atlanta area and likely to involve SRC, its agents or recommendees in other areas). There will be some special interest by the project in working with unions and others on the problems of employment as related to Model Cities programs.

The on-going Textile Employment Advancement for Minorities program in S.C. is one experimental prototype (showing agency cooperation, internal watchdogging, assistance in coordination and prodding, and field work); the Legal Defense Fund wants cooperation in its new program aimed a the paper industry; the groundwork on apprenticeship in Atlanta was the direct forerunner of the joint Urban League - union program with governmental support.

Consultation--Pervading the whole of the labor project's activity is a kind of consulting role. Most often it is quite informal,on the spot or by phone, as a problems arises. Sometimes it is quite formal, by invitation to handle a specific matter; and at times it is more like mediation than consultation. It frequently merges with the "broker function." The migrant labor effort in Florida is one example; cooperating with the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department in the Augusta Painter's union hassel with local civil rights groups is another. Both of these were "formal." The informal is diverse and unrecorded. It's important.

1) With Unions re problems
2) With Unions re Civ. Rts Groups
3) With Civ Rts. Groups re Unions
4) With govt. Agencies
5) With individual leaders

Other activities -- There are some areas which I have toyed with briefly and feel may be productive for the labor project or other SRC programs. For instance it is possible that the time is ripe for making approaches to the industrial relations fraternity, either through the Industrial Relations Research Association or other channels. IRRA includes management, labor, public and academic folks. They would like more activity in the South and are not adverse to the current interest in issues touched by race being used to stimulate programs. I believe further (watch it!) that SRC can find a way to relate the growing national interest by manangement in racial matters to the South. I suggest something short of a "business project" at this time. I have had preliminary discussions with Ray Marshall on this score and think he and I should pursue these ideas with you further. (P.A. you will recall that Marshall has been used on a regular basis by Ford; I would not be surprised if he becomes their chief ad hoc consultant on the South.)

WHAT IS NEEDED.

Ideally, more money especially for ad hoc work (materials, consulting, trouble shooting, etc.), an able full time assistant, an excellent secretary with ability to keep project director organized, a good wife, a good SRC director.

What we can get by on: what SRC has coming, since it includes an excellent wife and SRC director, plus me, plus sufficient ad hoc assistance.

Paul:

This for your quick reading in prepartaion for Ford. You don't need it all, but maybe some of it will serve to refresh. I am sorry for lenght and its rambly quality, but there was no time except to sit down and bang it out in this rough form. I hope it helps. Sorry to have missed you again, but trust that the vacation was fully beneficial.

Emory

7/27/68

Some General Comment on the Southern Labor Movement

The proportion of workers in unions in the South is significantly smaller than for the non-South. However, during most of the ~~time~~ time since the onset of World War II the South has been in a period of accelerated ~~industrialization~~ and diversified industrialization. In a few industires ~~the~~ the degree of unioniaztion compares favorably or exceeds that of the non-South(Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union exceeds, and Steel, Paper, Mineworkers, Communications and others are about equal in South and elsewhere)

Unions have grown proportionately faster in the South than for the rest of the nation, but the growth has generally not been spectacular. Some states and industries have fared well ~~others~~ while others within the region have shown some declines. In general it is to be ~~expected~~ expected that unions will continue to grow in the South and faster than elsewhere. However, one measure of relative union strength ~~will continue~~ may well indicate little improvement or decline. That measure is of the proportion of non-agricultuaral workers who are unionized. It is doubtful, with the high rate of shift from agricultural to non agriculture that unionizing efforts will stay abreast of the numbers. Nevertheless, the following generalized factors will contribute to Southern union growth: a) the problems arising routinely out of worker management relations, 2) the expansion of companies into the region which are unionized elswhere, and 3) the desire of unions to expand membership both for labor market control for bargaining purposes and because of lagging growth elsewhere.

Unions in the South are by no means limited to the large urban areas. Although the largest numbers of members will be found in the big cities, because of the large numbers of non-union employees (commercial, e.g.) it ~~some~~ frequently happens that a smaller city or town might have a higher proportion of its workforce unionized.

We should not forget that unions in the South are part of a national labor movement and that they are usually subject to those forces which influence the national economy. This elementary lesson is still being learned by many union members, including a number of leaders, but it is conducive (for them) to a new way of looking at the region and its problems.

The racial patterns in unions still vary greatly from all white or all black and exclusionist to full integration in union and shop. The patterns are undergoing change because, in large measure, of the pressures arising from government action and economic realities. The speed of change, its character, and the quality of the acceptance of it by whites and Negroes can be affected by the acts of private groups and through interpretive educational activities. It is a great tragedy that so few efforts are made to talk sensibly to white workers about their changing society and the fact that racial harmony(based on full justice) can be not just an acceptable goal but a desirable one. Where such attempts have been made through unions(frequently with SRC assistance) they have had a large measure of success. Sensible talk usually brings a constructive response to either self-interst or moral arguments.

Undergirding much of the Council's interest in unions is the simple recognition that the working people of the South, perhaps especially whites or integrated groups, are unreachable in any organized group setting except through unions. Although unions reach a small proportion of the whole they do deal with an important segment regarding job status, income, and security. They are also people who need to make some adaptive reposnses to national standards where it becomes important to union existance. The standards may come from the national union, from the law, or be derived from economic realities of their industry. To be sure, many union members and leaders

do not automatically perceive the relation between themselves and national standards, but their commitment to collective bargaining, their need for national support and action, and to a degree their engagement with elemental fairness can lead to new understanding of how their local situation ties in with regional problems and the nation.

The regional labor leadership is of course mixed in ability and commitment to decency. The leaders of the State AFL-CIO bodies compare quite favorably to those elsewhere in the nation. Indeed, some of the most able and dedicated state body officials are located in the South. The more able of these leaders understand the relation between Southern progress -- economic, social, and political -- and the unions' role in helping overcome injustice. They, therefore, make good allies and an excellent channel through which to work. Most of them realize that a broader base of sympathetic leadership has to be developed and that their own resources for doing this are quite limited. The regional directiors of national unions are also varied in quality. Their tendency, naturally, is to respond more to collective bargaining and organizing goals and to be less concerned about political and social matters.

SRC plays an important role in not just stimulating thought and presenting ideas but in actually putting the "good guys" in touch with each other. Further, we have facilitated the interaction between union leaders (down to the local level) and other groups interested in Southern reform. This has been especially true in bringing union and civil rights leaders together, sometimes formally, but more often informally.

Two specific items of some possible interest. Unions with rare exceptions are interested in social welfare legislation when it applies to their members. For example, there is wide support for workmens' compensation and unemployment

compensation programs. They will support other legislation which might be described as welfare legislation for those who work, or in many cases welfare for the middle class(at least the working middle class). Two rather interesting processes are under way. One is how do unions get enough support to improve existing programs. Increasingly they are reponsive to ideas of coalition even when this may mean broadening a programs coverage. We can use the same arguments that have justified these "middle class" welfare schemes(individual need, social stability, and economic stability) to encourage the consideration of the kind of welfare approaches that will reach the poor, the unemployed, or those employed in the uncovered(by social legislation) occupations. Such considerations can extend to simple fairness in the operation of current welfare programs to the consideration of widespread reform and matters such as guaranteed income as an efficient way to break family and community entrapment in poverty cycles.

The second matter of some interest is that nationally and within the region, one area of union growth is in public employment. Where unions are built on an integrated basis ~~it tends to improve the~~ it is likely to have an impact on the quality of public services. Furthermore, it may well help reduce some official opposition to unions which has been a factor in slowing their growth in the region. In any case some special attention paid to public employee unions would seem desirable because of the interpaly of these factors with the whole.

SRC is in a unique position to be a friendly collaborator with unions in helping them develop their own best lights. It can also serve as constructive critic and even as goad. Pressures for positive change arise from civil rights groups and unions getting to know each other. Private groups can with our help(e.g. State CHR) learn more about working with unions, employment problems(which in turn can be a very effective ~~kind of~~ pressure ~~to put~~ on some unions; "we" are currently cooperating with a pilot program for the hard core unemployed, related to Natioanl Alliance of Businessmenn

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SOME GENERAL COMMENT ON THE SOUTHERN LABOR MOVEMENT

The proportion of workers in unions in the South is significantly smaller than for the Non-South. However, during most of the time since the onset of World War II the South has been in a period of accelerated and diversified industrialization. In a few industries the degree of unionization compares favorably or exceeds that of the non-South (Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union exceeds, and Steel, Paper, Mineworkers, Communications and others are about equal in South and elsewhere.)

Unions have grown proportionately faster in the South than for the rest of the nation, but the growth has generally not been spectacular. Some states and industries have fared well while others within the region have shown some declines. In general, it is to be expected that unions will continue to grow in the South and faster than elsewhere. However, one measure of relative union strength may well indicate little improvement or decline. That measure is of the proportion of non-agricultural workers who are unionized. It is doubtful, with the high rate of shift from agricultural to non-agriculture that unionizing efforts will stay abreast of the numbers. Nevertheless, the following generalized factors will contribute to southern union growth: (a) the problems arising routinely

out of worker management relations, (2) the expansion of companies into the region which are unionized elsewhere, and (3) the desire of unions to expand membership both for labor market control for bargaining purposes and because of lagging growth elsewhere.

Unions in the South are by no means limited to the large urban areas. Although the largest numbers of members will be found in the big cities, because of the large numbers of non-union employees (commercial, e.g.) it frequently happens that a smaller city or town might have a higher proportion of its workforce uninnized.

We should not forget that unions in the South are part of a national labor movement and that they are usually subject to those forces which influence the national economy. This elementary lesson is still being learned by many union members, including a number of leaders, but it is conducive (for them) to a new way of looking at the region and its problems.

The racial patterns in unions still vary greatly from all white or all black and exclusionist to full integration in union and shop. The patterns are undergoing change because, in large measure, of the pressures arising from government action and economic realities. The speed of change, its character, and the quality of the acceptance of

it by whites and Negroes can be affected by the acts of private groups and through interpretive educational activities. It is a great tragedy that so few efforts are made to talk sensibly to white workers about their changing society and the fact that racial harmony (based on full justice) can be not just an acceptable goal but a desirable one. Where such attempts have been made through unions (frequently with SRC assistance) they have had a large measure of success. Sensible talk usually brings a constructive response to either self-interest or moral arguments.

Undergirding much of the Council's interest in unions is the simple recognition that the working people of the South, perhaps especially whites or integrated groups, are unreachable in any organized group setting except through unions. Although unions reach a small proportion of the whole they do deal with an important segment regarding job status, income, and security. They are also people who need to make some adaptive responses to national standards where it becomes important to union existance. The standards may come from the national union, from the law, or be derived from economic realities of their industry. To be sure, many union members and leaders

do not automatically perceive the relation between themselves and national standards, but their commitment to collective bargaining, their need for national support and action, and to a degree their engagement with elemental fairness can lead to new understanding of how their local situation ties in with regional problems and the nation.

The regional labor leadership is of course mixed in ability and commitment to decency. The leaders of the State AFL-CIO bodies compare quite favorably to those elsewhere in the nation. Indeed, some of the most able and dedicated state body officials are located in the South. The more able of these leaders understand the relation between Southern progress -- economic, social, and political -- and the unions' role in helping overcome injustice. They, therefore, make good allies and an excellent channel through which to work. Most of them realize that a broader base of sympathetic leadership has to be developed and that their own resources for doing this are quite limited. The regional directors of national unions are also varied in quality. Their tendency, naturally, is to respond more to collective bargaining and organizing goals and to be less concerned about political and social matters.

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LABOR PROJECT

INTRODUCTION

The SRC labor project utilizes an exceedingly small staff to cover a wide range of interests that relate to unions, Southern economic and political developments, employment discrimination, and manpower policies and practices. Although it has a primary interest in reaching white workers it is mindful of the fact that much of what it attempts to do is dependent upon effectively working with black workers. And though it works largely with and through unions, it is not so limited and intends to reach a much broader audience.

The SRC labor project initiates and conducts its own programs, but also relies heavily on cooperative activities with unions and other agencies. Further, it seeks to stimulate activities which other agencies will carry out on their own by providing ideas, program suggestions, and complete program kits. Indeed, it might be argued that the most valuable work of the project is in performing a broker's function of matching ideas, needs, program resources, private and public organizations, seed money (or suggesting other sources), and consultative services to cause useful programs to be undertaken.

TYPES OF ACTIVITIES

Labor Education. -- The labor project conducts education programs either on its own initiative or in cooperation with a union organization; it responds to requests from unions to participate in their educational programs; it encourages universities to engage in labor education projects. The format varies from one-week (or more) residential institutes, to a series of classes, to weekend and one-day conferences.*

The subject matter of an educational program varies with the needs and interests of the particular group. The subjects include: the changing South (economic, political, social developments), civil rights issues, protest movements, political coalitions, what the law requires, welfare problems and realities, manpower

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*Examples: 3 weekends with Steelworkers; 1 regional meeting; ILGWU staff conference; 2 Southern Labor Schools (regional leaders); 2 Tri-State Labor Schools; Georgia AFL-CIO Legislative Conference; Virginia AFL-CIO Education Program; 2 Rubberworkers' Summer Institutes (one week); 2 Arkansas AFL-CIO weekend and 3 Alabama AFL-CIO weekend institutes (both Arkansas and Alabama organized by the Southern Regional Council).

policies, guaranteed income, and race relations (including: science and race, the nature of prejudice, group behavior). The labor education programs are directed primarily to local union leaders and union staff.

Special conferences -- smaller conferences held as intensive seminars for union leaders and selected experts (usually lawyers, civil rights leaders, academics, but also including government officials and employers) to discuss specific troublesome problems. Possible future conferences will deal with (1) seniority issues and solutions, (2) job classifications systems, and (3) the task of the union civil rights committee.

Materials. -- The labor project seeks to produce and to secure and distribute materials in its areas of interest and which are suitable for its clientele group. A major focus will be to locate or develop those materials which will have an impact on working whites. Materials will vary from those on the elementary facts of race and prejudice, to social and economic problems, to those dealing with worker rights (e.g., workmen's compensation, unemployment compensation, minimum wage, garnishment). Materials

will be developed by ad hoc consulting-writers in cooperation with the director. The minimum wage kit is a past example used to encourage cooperative action as well as to inform.

In two years distributed over 20,000 pieces of the following materials:

1. Know Your Rights
2. More Money For You
3. Wages and Regions (from New South)
4. Freedom Budget
5. American Federationist (issues on civil rights)
6. Textile Testimony
7. Teaching Materials:
   a. Taxes
   b. Apportionment
   c. Bibliographies

Employment Discrimination. -- One function of the project is to educate minority and majority workers regarding the forms of discrimination, workers' needs and rights, and current legal requirements.

The project is especially interested in assisting in the initiation of programs aimed at overcoming discrimination

on a local, state, or sub-regional basis. Such programs may be with SRC's active participation, with its cooperation, or at its urging for others to conduct. The project has a special interest in programs with which it can cooperate (regardless at whose original initiative) and in which it can be of special assistance in the "broker function" described above. Programs may vary from upgrading the watchdog role of private agencies vis a vis management, unions, employment agencies, training programs, and public enforcement efforts to collaboration between private and public agencies in tackling discriminatory practices.

The project will cooperate with research studies on employment practices (some of these are underway, or just beginning -- such as a new round by Ray Marshall with Ford assistance, I believe, and involving Vivian Henderson for the Atlanta area and likely to involve SRC, its agents or recommendees in other areas). There will be some special interest by the project in working with unions and others on the problems of employment as related to Model Cities programs.

The on-going Textile Employment Advancement for Minorities program in South Carolina is one experimental

prototype (showing agency cooperation, internal watchdogging, assistance in coordination and prodding, and field work); the Legal Defense Fund wants cooperation in its new program aimed at the paper industry; the groundwork on apprenticeship in Atlanta was the direct forerunner of the joint Urban League - union program with governmental support.

Consultation. -- Pervading the whole of the labor project's activity is a kind of consulting role. Most often it is quite informal, on-the-spot or by phone, as a problem arises. Sometimes it is quite formal, by invitation to handle a specific matter; and at times it is more like mediation than consultation. It frequently merges with the "broker function." The migrant labor effort in Florida is one example; cooperating with the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department in the Augusta Painters' Union hassel with local civil rights groups is another. Both of these were "formal." The informal is diverse and unrecorded. It's important.

Other Activities. -- These are some areas which I have toyed with briefly and feel may be productive for the labor project or other SRC programs. For instance, it is possible that the time is ripe for making approaches

to the industrial relations fraternity, either through the Industrial Relations Research Association or other channels. IRRA includes management, labor, public and academic folks. They would like more activity in the South and are not adverse to the current interest in issues touched by race being used to stimulate programs. I believe further (watch it!) that SRC can find a way to relate the growing national interest by management in racial matters to the South. I suggest something short of a "business project" at this time. I have had preliminary discussions with Ray Marshall on this score and think he and I should pursue these ideas with you further. (P.A. you will recall that Marshall has been used on a regular basis by Ford; I would not be surprised if he becomes their chief ad hoc consultant on the South.)

This is supplemental information submitted to Ford following Paul's Conference with Basil Whiting + Cliff Campbell - July 30 + 31, 1968

file - Ford Foundation 1968

file copy only

MEMORANDUM August 8, 1968

To: Mr. Basil Whiting
Mr. Clifford Campbell

From: Paul Anthony

Enclosed is my attempt to respond to the request from your visit of last week. If anything has been omitted, please let me know.

I will be happy to come to New York as follow-up to this. Indeed, I am eager to do so if any questions remain unanswered.

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REVISED BUDGET, SRC PROPOSAL -- AUGUST 1968

Project	1969	1970	1971	Total: Three Years
Information and Research				
Project printing	$ 50,000	$ 50,000	$ 50,000	
Managing editor, publications	15,000	15,000	15,000	
Total:	$ 65,000	$ 65,000	$ 65,000	$195,000
Programs for the Business Sector				
Consultants	$ 15,000	$ 15,000	$ 15,000	
Printing and distribution	20,000	25,000	25,000	
Total:	$ 35,000	$ 40,000	$ 40,000	$115,000
Liaison with Community Organization Programs				
Salaries	$ 19,250	$ 19,250	$ 19,250	
Travel, director and consultants	6,000	6,000	6,000	
Consultant fees	6,000	6,000	6,000	
Contingency fund	20,000	15,000	10,000	
Total:	$ 51,250	$ 46,250	$ 41,250	$138,750

Project	1969	1970	1971	Total: Three Years
Labor Education Project				
Salaries	$ 24,750	$ 24,750	$ 24,750	
Travel	3,000	3,000	3,000	
Seminar costs	10,000	10,000	5,000	
Total:	$ 37,750	$ 37,750	$ 32,750	$108,250
Special Research and Consultative Services				
Services ALL	$ 56,000	$ 56,000	$ 56,000	$168,000
Voter Education Project				
(Towards an annual budget of approximately $400,000)	$180,000	$210,000	$180,000	$570,000
State Councils on Human Relations (for project grants)	$100,000	$ 80,000	$ 60,000	$240,000

Project		1969	1970	1971	Total: Three Years
Overhead (general Operations)	Total:	$ 90,000	$ 90,000	$ 85,000	$265,000
	Grand Totals:	$615,000	$625,000	$560,000	$1,800,000

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON FINANCES

General Operations (Administration, field department, information and research staff, rent, phone, travel, mail.)

A budget of approximately $300,000 per year is anticipated for the period 1969-1971. Projected income (in the case of foundations, not committed) is as follows:

Overhead from project grants	$ 110,000
Rockefeller Foundation	30,000
New World Foundation	30,000
Field Foundation	25,000
Rockefeller Brothers Fund	25,000
Taconic Foundation	25,000
New York Foundation	10,000
Aaron E. Norman Fund	2,500
Business and Labor	6,000
Religious Groups	6,000
Individuals	3,000
Interest income, short term investments	4,000
Sale of literature and miscellaneous	10,000
Total	$ 286,500

Projects

Information and Research:

$65,000 for printing costs and salary of an editor is requested of the Ford Foundation. The salaries of the Director of Information, Director of Research, and their staff (at present 11 persons)

and supportive costs are funded from other sources and are allocated through General Operations.

Programs for the Business Sector:

$35,000 is requested from the Ford Foundation for 1969, and $40,000 for the years 1970-1971. The $5,000 less for printing in 1969 is based on the projections that considerable, additional investigation will be needed to determine the information which can be best developed and which will be best received. (In addition to staff work, the Council has used the firm of David Apter & Associates for exploration in this area.) While we anticipate the use of consultants only, we would like to keep open the possibility that this would become a staffed project. In this case, the amount budgeted for consultants would be reduced and we would hope to raise an additional $10,000 in support of the project. Should we attempt to find these funds our first area of exploration would be the business sector.

Liaison with Community Organization Programs.

Requested of the Ford Foundation: 1969, $51,250; 1970, $46,250; 1971, $42,250. These decreasing amounts reflect reductions in the contingency fund on the rationale that increasingly public funds and resources through other agencies (i.e., the Federation of Southern Cooperatives) will be able to meet the needs envisioned for this fund. (see separate comments on this project.)

In addition, there will be serious consideration at the staff and policy levels for a second employee in this project. Should we determine to do this, the supportive cost of $18,000 would first be sought from the New York Foundation.

Labor Education Project.

$5,000 has been cut from the project for seminar costs in the third year. We hope by then increased support from labor would replace this amount.

Serious consideration will be given to adding andassistant director to this project. If this decision is made we would seek funding of $18,000 per year from the New World Foundation.

Voter Education Project.

We plan budgets of approximately $400,000 per year for this project for the period 1969-1971, with a fluctuation upward in grants for voter registration programs in 1970, an election year when requests will be heaviest. In addition to the funds requested from the Ford Foundation, we hope the following foundations will contribute as indicated:

Field Foundation	$ 100,000
Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation ..	40,000
New World Foundation	25,000
New York Foundation	10,000
Taconic Foundation	10,000

(In addition, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund may support the project.)

THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROJECT

Through this project we hope to maintain a liaison with the numerous emerging self-help and cooperative programs in the region. We hope to advise them, to offer technical assistance where it is needed and not otherwise available, to provide modest financial support, to issue occasional informational reports and to advise agencies and foundations when requested to do so. There follow specific examples of a few of the things done in the project and a few we hope to do if funding is available.

Past and Present

1. In 1966 through the publication "Cooperatives, Credit Unions and Poor People" we sounded a note of caution against this approach being considered a panacea and attempted to indicate the major problems that had to be resolved by a successful effort.

2. Through a second publication. We attempted similarly to observe the complexities of community organization in an urban slum.

3. When the idea was first discussed of a major education program in cooperatives (eventually the Southern Cooperative Development Program), we

provided travel funds for several meetings of the principals, a consultant for each of those meetings, a consultant-writer who prepared the several drafts of a proposal, and consultative services on organization after the proposal was funded.

4. We provided similar travel funds and consultative services for the Federation of Southern Cooperatives. After that organization was created we provided a full-time acting director for three months. Since then we have provided substantial assistance in fund-raising and proposal preparation. This effort has just led to a grant of more than $500,000 from OEO.

5. Last year the Freedom Quilting Bee was in considerable trouble because of the quality of workmanship and materials in their quilts. We found a specialist in sewing and handicrafts in New Orleans who was willing to help. Through funds provided by SRC she spent three months working with the group to the considerable improvement of the quilts and an effective use for scrap cloth for by-products.

6. At the request of the Vine City Foundation (a community effort in an Atlanta slum) and the National Council of the Episcopal Church, we provided a consultant to both groups for program development and prepared a proposal that has led to a grant of approximately $30,000.

7. We provided travel funds for oyster fishermen in South Carolina to go to Washington to plead for loans for new equipment.

8. During the past year we have provided consultants for program development and proposal preparation that have resulted in grants of over $200,000 in private funds and over $3,000,000 in public funds.

For the Fufure

We request for this project a contingency fund of $20,000 in 1969, $15,000 in 1970, and $10,000 in 1971. These items are budgeted on a decreasing basis because we feel the greatest need will be in the near future and if the need continue and are sound, increasingly other agencies public and private will be disposed to meet them. There follow examples of the ways in which we would hope to use these funds:

1. Specialized consultants in organization, program development, quality control, marketing and the like to newly emerging groups.

2. The use of one or more consultants who is familiar with the several government programs and agencies and who can advise groups on how to seek the support and assistance of such agencies.

3. Travel funds, as in the past, to get people together who need to know each other, share experiences and plan together. A first step might be to encourage the Southern Cooperative Development Program and the Federation of Southern Cooperatives to merge. There is a potential in their programs for wasteful duplication.

4. Travel funds for program representatives to go to such places as Washington and New York where they need occasionally to have their needs presented and evaluated.

5. Emergency grants or loans are sometimes needed. For instance, last year the Vine City Candle Factory in Atlanta had to cease operation prior to the Christmas season because there was not money to

buy supplies for candles already ordered. Frequently, as with an oil cooperative in Tennessee, several hundred to several thousand dollars would make it possible for a promising emerging effort to continue until it can get substantial federal grants or loans.

SPECIAL RESEARCH AND CONSULTATIVE SERVICES

There are a number of specialized areas in which the Council has interests, about which we wish to periodically issue information, and are frequently called on to provide consultative services. These include public programs related to race and the poor, employment, housing, education, welfare and the like. Specific examples of our involvement, which follow, are divided into information services and consultative services.

Information Services:

The Council periodically issues an analysis of the state of school desegregation, of the effectiveness of HEW policies, and of the reactions of local school administrators.

We have done one analysis of federal court decisions as they affect school desegregation and should like to be in the position to do other such analyses.

We periodically do "how-to-do-it" booklets, distributed in large quantities through other agencies, on welfare rights, procedures for dealing with the police, and directories of addresses for services sought.

We have done an analysis of successful neighborhood stabilization groups as a guide to others.

We have done two publications on public assistance programs by state in the region.

We published the report "Hungry Children," the observations of five physicians from a field trip to Mississippi. Subsequently, the doctors testified before the Senate and used photographs provided by this office.

We have done a study, "In Their Own Words," of the experiences of Negro children involved for the first time in the desegregation of Alabama schools. This has been widely used by schools of education in the region, especially in summer teacher-training programs.

Consultative Services:

Consultants have been provided to a large number of federal agencies, including the Office of Education and HEW on school guidelines, HUD on housing policies, the Bureau of the Census on procedures for the 1970 census, the Department of Commerce and Department of Agriculture on rural development, and we are frequently asked to appear before or provide information for presidential commissions and congressional committees.

Consultants on neighborhood integration or community stabilization have been aprovided to Atlanta, Charlotte, Memphis, Nashville, New Orleans, Fort Lauderdale, Miami and St. Petersburg.

We provided assistance to the director of the Georgia Department of Family and Children's Services prior to his campaign to have a food distribution program in each of Georgia's counties.

We have provided extensive staff and consultative support to the Urban Coalition, particularly in the employment area.

For the Future:

We believe the most important consideration of our request of $56,000 per year in this area is that these funds will allow us to continue to be responsive to needs both for information and consultation in the areas of most constant flux.

We anticipate opportunities particularly in the following areas:

(1) Education. - In the region, rural and urban, school integration remains one of the most important areas of social change and federal policy and local understanding

and response have not yet begun to adequately meet the needs of this situation. We need to continue a strong interest in this area.

(2) Housing. - Integrated housing and the fair distribution of living space, are difficult but greatly promising in this region. We need to encourage and assist rapidly growing efforts at integrated housing and to address ourselves further to the self-interest of population distribution.

(3) Welfare. - In the next several years there will likely be substantial changes in our national welfare policies and some changes in administration of welfare funds on the state and local levels. Here again we need to provide the most accurate information available on the inadequacy, indeed failure, of present programs and to argue for the need for new programs.

(4) Government. - Whatever the new administration, a large number of federal agencies will literally be scrambling to develop new programs and to determine the distribution of funds for programs in our areas of concern. We need to be able to provide the assistance of our staff toward that end

and to have a small number of consultants who are available to supplement the staff available. While less important, the same need will exist with several of the state governments in the region.

SRC-STATE COUNCILS RELATIONSHIP

Our initial request to the Foundation was for a grant of $200,000 per year toward a total sum of $400,000 per year which SRC would attempt to provide to the councils. The rationale for this was our estimate that $65,000 per year was needed by each council if it was to be an effective operation and that $25,000 was a maximum amount a council could raise separately.

While we still feel the sums are desirable the exploration we have given this matter in the past 6 months has caused us to substantially alter our thinking about how these amounts should be raised and distributed. We feel a continuing dependency on SRC by the state councils is unhealthy and that effective and truly independent operations will emerge only when state councils assume a major responsiblity for their own funding.

Toward this end we propose the following:

(1) A three-year request to the Foundation for decreasing grants: namely, $100,000; $80,000; and $60,000.

(2) Total support in 1969 from SRC in the amount of $150,000 with proportionately decreasing

amounts thereafter. Hopefully, the Field and Taconic Foundations would provide the additional $50,000 for 1969.

(3) The criterion of distributing these funds was outlined in our original request. Councils will be judged "viable" or "non-viable." "Viable" councils -- those with adequate staff, significant program, an involved policy group, and independent fund fund-raising capability -- will be invited to submit proposals for projects. These proposals will be acted on subject to their merit and the funds available. It is our hope that considerable staff work among SRC staff and the state councils staffs will take place before applications are submitted.

Where a state council is judged to be "non-viable," SRC will provide such staff support as is possible, but this staff work will be completely under SRC supervision.

(4) Toward the end of determining "viability" and having other suggestions we have created a committee of 6 persons, three state council directors and three members of the SRC Executive Committee. In addition, the Chairman of the Executive Committee and the Executive Director of SRC serve as ex-officio members. This structure is a genuine attempt to have the state council directors share in the decision-making process in matters directly affecting them. It is also an attempt to impress upon the directors the reality of agency programming, policy-making and fund-raising.

(5) Our major fund-raising assistance to the several state councils, other than that outlined above, would become more akin to the assistance we provide other independent agencies. We would konsult on program and project development, in appropriate places where such funds might be sought, and advise potential donors if and when asked.

(6) There will continue to be an SRC Director of Field Activities, whose primary responsibility will be to coordinate our relationships with the state councils and to provide staff services to them. The extent of our staff services is yet a matter of policy and budgetary considerations and is not reflected in our request to the Ford Foundation. We do plan to seek funds elsewhere for additional field services. More importantly, I hope our staff -- as now constituted -- can provide more direct assistance. Toward that end we plan to have a meeting in the winter where state council directors and the SRC staff can explore this possibility.

THE STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Alabama Council:

For a Deep-South state, an effective operation with a strong board and a tradition of capable staff. Will probably raise $15,000 from within the state in 1968 and has a grant of $40,000 from the Field Foundation. Program is aimed primarily at help to Negroes in rural areas.

Arkansas Council:

Traditionally an effective operation with good staff and strong board interest. Heavily involved in programs in voter registration, welfare rights and rural development, with continued work through interracial local councils. Has access to governor's office and support from the Rockefeller Brothers.

Florida Council:

Traditionally a strong board with good staff, currently has excellent executive director. Large but weak network of local councils. Major program is in cities on lower east coast, and with Cubans in Miami and with mid-state work with migrants and others in rural areas. Difficulty

in fund-raising, no foundation support, anticipated funds raised within the state this year: $15,000.

Georgia Council:

Traditionally a strong staff operation with weak board and sound financing, mostly from out of state. Currently has a vigorous Negro director who is rapidly directing the program toward all-black program and interests. Has strong financial backing during 1968 from Field Foundation.

Louisiana Council:

Traditionally and currently very weak in board and staff; certainly is not viable nor likely to be in near future. Very weak finances, will raise less than $5,000 this year in state. No foundation support.

Mississippi Council:

Very strong staff leadership, weak but growing board. Sound outside financial support with weak support from within the state. Continues to be an integrated operation with particular interest in the rural poor and in state government policies.

North Carolina Council:

Vigorous staff leadership, an increasingly weaker board. No outside financial support and less than $10,000 from within the state this year. Programs vary widely depending on interests of director.

South Carolina Council:

Traditionally an influence in the state with a new and very capable director and a strengthened board. Continues to operate on a thoroughly integrated basis with sound financial support outside the state and growing support from within the state. Greatest interests in rural areas, school desegregation, and state government policy and programs.

Tennessee Council:

Very vigorous executive director with weak board and strong financial support from the Field Foundation. Limited local financial support but growing. Special program interests in rural areas and development of anti-poverty programs in state. Promising plans for staff people stationed in four regions in the state.

Virginia:

Traditionally the strongest council in the region until two years ago. No national foundation support and support within the state will be under $15,000. Because of this financial situation the board and staff have done a thorough review of the organization, the state, and the future role they will attempt to play. Accordingly, they plan to eliminate the office and all staff except the director, who will work out of his home and concentrate on working with emerging black programs, especially in the rural areas and in voter registration.

PROGRAMS FOR THE BUSINESS SECTOR

We hope in this program to do a greater amount of work in research and information pertaining to economics and to design materials which will be accepted and used by the business and economic leadership of the region.

In 1967 we commissioned the firm of David Apter & Associates to survey the business leadership of the region to determine what their needs and interests were. From this survey and from additional staff work the ideas here presented were developed.

Businessmen are extremely interested in matters pertaining to race and economic development and if the information is sound and well presented there is no doubt in our minds that it will be accepted. In addition to seeing that the information is sound we plan considerable care in format and distribution. On occasion, as we have in the past, we shall explore the possibilities of joint publication with such groups as the International City Managers' Association and the U. S. Conference of Mayors. We think similar cooperation will be forthcoming from the National Association of Manufactureres. And, occasionally, we shall ask these and similar groups to distribute our materials for us, calling it to the attention of their constituents.

There follow specific examples of the kinds of materials we feel are needed.

(1) Profiles of successful business-sponsored programs in employment and related areas. There are several instances of successful low-income housing ventures sponsored by business. We should like to examine them further and if they are sound and promising publish the results as a guide to others. The Congaree Steel Mill in Congaree, South Carolina seems to have done an excellent job of hiring Negroes from that rural area. If, on investigation, this proves the case, we should like to document it. Humble Oil has an ambitious job training program for youth in the Houston ghetto. We should like to publish the methods and results.

(2) A number of small southern communities are over-extending themselves in revised tax structures, bond issues and like methods to lure questionable industry. We should like to issue a documented caution about such practices.

(3) The region still does not realize that it can continue to prosper only if it trains and makes use of all of its manpower. We should like to document this further.

(4) The South has had an impressive percentage gain in per capita income but the actual dollar gap between the region and nation is growing. We should like to explore the implications of this and call it to the attention of regional leadership.

(5) The conomic leadership generally does not yet fully realize the relationship of a sound public and higher education system to their own well being. This is especially indicated by the lack of support for a stronger public school system and the minimum giving to institutions of higher education. We should like to provide information which will change this situation.

(6) We should like to prepare materials to be used in training programs of junior executives. Burlington Industries, for instance, has a very ambitious program of this nature and has indicated it would welcome consultants from us and materials on the region relative to race and to economics and relative to the racial factors involved in the communities where these junior executives will be working.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON SELF-HELP PROGRAMS in the SOUTHERN REGION, AUGUST 1968

Since October 1965, the Southern Regional Council has followed and offered some assistance to the development of self-help programs and community organization projects in the region. While not exclusive, our interests have centered largely on the self-help efforts related to economics, usually on a cooperative basis and usually located in rural and small town areas. In early 1966 we knew of and worked with some fifteen of these efforts. In August 1968 we know of more than fifty and have some association with most of them. These include farm marketing and farm machinery cooperatives, handicraft co-ops, sewing co-ops, credit unions, buying clubs, self-help housing organizations, bakeries, candy-making businesses, gas and oil retailers and wholesalers, grocery stores and fish processing associations. A wide variety of other ventures are in the planning or discussion stages.

Two recently created organizations are attempting to create the capacity to offer a continuing education program structured around economically oriented issues, to offer technical and managerial assistance, and to make capital available. These are the Southern Cooperative Development

program, directed by The Reverend Albert McKnight, and the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, directed by Mr. Charles Prejean. The Development program is headquartered in Lafayette, Louisiana, with interests in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Southwest Tennessee. It operates on a two-year grant from the Ford Foundation. The Federation, located in Atlanta, is interested in the Southeast and has small grants from several foundations with an approved grant of approximately $500,000 from OEO.

Several examples suggest what has been happening. The Grand Marie Vegetable Cooperative, in Sunset, Louisiana, has packed and marketed sweet potatoes grown by some three hundred members (predominantly Negro), adding an average three hundred dollars to each member's gross annual income of $1,500. The co-op has introduced a fall crop of greens and an early spring crop of cabbages, peppers and okra, making farming almost a year-round income-producing operation. For its members, the co-op has created new political pressures and has helped members gain services due them from the Farmers Home Administration and the Cooperative Extension Service.

Grand Marie started out owing the FHA $68,000, borrowed to buy processing and storage sheds and machinery. It has remained in debt. Poor accounting procedures, an uppaid bill of $7,000 and severely limited operating capital have hampered the co-op's growth.

The Poor People's Corporation in Mississippi has been in operation longer than most of the cooperatives. It consists of twelve worker-owner cooperatives. Their 110 Negro employees (90% of whom are women) produce handicraft items, toys and other items. The goods have been marketed through Liberty House, a co-op owned by the smaller groups, which sells mainly through a national mail-order catalogue. More than one hundred wholesale accounts have been established and a growning network of non-profit retail stores have provided an expanding but still inadequate market.

The workers average about $20 a week, about twice the amount a domestic servant or part-time farm hand makes in rural Mississippi. Jesse Morris, executive director of PPC, says, "There is no reason why Liberty House could not handle 200 producer co-ops providing jobs for 2,500 people." This goal has been blocked primarily by the lack of operating capital.

The Freedom Quilting Bee in Wilcox, County, Alabama attempts to supplement income of members rather than provide full-time employment. Approximately 120 members sew quilts, aprons and potholders in their homes. The items are sold to the co-op, which has a full-time, foundation-supported manager who acts as marketing agent. An experimental group of twenty-five members has been working to determine whether full-time guidance and better materials would appreciably increase their income.

The Mid-South Consumers' Oil Cooperative in Whiteville, Tennessee serves a three-county area. One of the "punishments" whites in that area meted out to Negroes for desegregation efforts was the refusal to sell gasoline to men and women who registered to vote. Negroes hauled gasoline in fifty gallon drums from Memphis for almost a year and then decided to form a cooperative. Two years and much hard work later, Mid-South was chartered. It has received a $42,000 loan from FHA and has raised $4,700 from the sale of stock. In the first year the co-op served 160 farmers, delivering gas to them. The co-op also sells to the general public from pumps at the bulk plant.

Several observations can be made about these efforts:

(1) While economic interests are at the core of the typical cooperative, they are seen in broader perspective by those who organize and direct them. They are seen as a means toward economic gain but more importantly as a total structure for gaining individual and community betterment and social change.

(2) While the typical effort has provided some improvement in the economic well-being of its members, none is an unqualified success and all are in need of considerable economic and technical assistance.

(3) The observation above is equally applicable to the two newly created organizations formed to serve this new movement.

(4) Most important of all, the self-help and cooperative efforts can have great social significance -- particularly for at least one generation -- but this will be realized only if one basic problem is resolved. That is

the union of those in the process and those with resources and skills to help them. Those in the process are rushing ahead heedless of overall planning and potential pitfalls. Those with resources and skills find it difficult to get sound programs coordinated and to have technical assistance accepted. Unless this problem is resolved, many resources and skills will be wasted and the hopes of thousands of people who genuinely want to help themselves will be destroyed. It is hoped that we at SRC can address ourselves significantly to this need.

PLANS FOR IMPROVING DISTRIBUTION OF MATERIALS

Currently, the Council distributes it materials through a mailing list consisting of 15 categories. These are:

1. Board
2. Foundations, Contributors, and Related
3. News Media
4. Intergroup
5. Labor
6. Research
7. Libraries
8. Blue Ribbon
9. School Superintendents and Education Associations
10. Chambers of Commerce and Bank Presidents
11. Student Newspapers and Student Council Presidents
12. Government
13. Internationals

PS. Publications Service

VEP. Used for monthly Newsletter with 1, 2, PS and sometimes other categories

Approximately 5,000 to 10,000 copies of each publication are printed; New South varies from 5,000 to 8,000 copies depending on plans of distribution for a particular issue.

We agree that the publications warrant a wider distribution and, given the resources, plan to increase circulation in a highly selective manner in the following areas by order of priority:

(1) Media. - There are a growing number of moderate to liberal reporters, editorial

writers, and television newsmen who could profitably use our material. We can identify these persons and would like to have them receive all publications. The same is true of the writing and research staffs of national news magazines and the television networks.

(2) State Governments. -- There are a growing number of receptive "second echelon" employees in state governments in the region who could and would use our materials to advantage. We have largely ignored this growing potential, and it should be corrected.

(3) College and University Professors. -- Increasingly, college and university professors in the region are becoming more involved in social action and in publicly funded social action programs. Our material should get to more of them.

(4) New South. -- All of the above would apply to New South as well. In addition we have a three-year goal of having subscriptions

and sales increase to equal the printing and distribution costs of the quarterly. As an experiment, the last issue of New South was offered for sale at the Atlanta Airport newsstand. 250 copies were sold and more could have been. The current issue is on sale at 5 airports and we will expand this if the experiment continues successful.

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

I. The idea of service centers for Negro office-holders grew out of the situation involving the newly elected Negro officials in Mississippi. There was a particularly difficult situation in Claiborne County, where Mrs. Geneva Collins was elected to the office of Chancery Clerk. Upon taking office, Mrs. Collins found that the entire white staff of her predecessor had resigned. Moreover, the predecessor and his staff did not cooperate in instructing Mrs. Collins about the operation of this rather important and complex office.

Having attended a VEP seminar for Mississippi office-holders which was held in Jackson last December, Mrs. Collins called upon the Voter Education Project for assistance. VEP felt that there would be no point in registering Negroes to vote and encouraging them to vote and encouraging them to hold office if they were to be placed in an untenable position upon taking office. Therefore, the Voter Education Project decided to employ competent assistants to go to Claiborne County and work with Mrs. Collins in her office. It then occurred to the Voter Education Project that some sort of close-at-hand assistance should be kept ready for

other Negro officeholders who might experience difficulties upon taking office.

Since Mississippi was the state bringing this matter to our attention, our thoughts turned to some college in Mississippi at which trained people would be available to help Negro officeholders. We settled upon Tougaloo. Meanwhile, we also had been working closely with Clark College in Atlanta and Southern University in Baton Rouge. We decided that these would be the logical locations for similar service in Georgia and Louisiana, respectively. We later decided upon Talladega College as a site for such service in Alabama.

At present these are the four colleges with which we have discussed service centers for Negro officeholders. We estimate the cost of operating these four sites at per year. This would include salaries and/or consulting fees, plus travel and administrative costs. The colleges will make in-kind contributions. This will take the form of office space, telephone service, clerical assistance and other facilities normally made available to the members of faculty and staff on the campuses.

In the case of Tougaloo, the Voter Education Project has employed Mrs. Tanya Banks, a 1968 graduate of Howard University Law School, and Mrs. Banks already has begun work. Her employment was made possible partly by a small foundation grant from a source with a particular interest in Tougaloo. At the other campuses our tentative plan is to employ and partially pay the salary of men and women already on the faculty and staff. In most cases these will be faculty members from the social science field. And, it is particularly likely we will seek faculty members with a background in political science or law, or both.

The main function of these service centers will be that of providing trouble-shooting assistance for officeholders. They will be available when a difficult situation arises, such as that which occurred when Mrs. Collins took office. But beyond that, these service centers will provide extensive research advice and, where possible, technical advice. They will provide, in effect, a broad-based consultant service. This may involve, in some cases, answering legal questions. It may involve researching the law concerning a particular office or situation. It may involve drafting bills and ordinances.

It may involve telling candidates where certain materials and assistance are available. It may involve putting the officeholders in touch with the appropriate experts for answering a particular question or solving a particular problem. It may involve assistance in proposal-writing and in making contact with appropriate state and federal agencies.

Further, it is expected that these service centers will hold workshops and seminars for Negro officeholders. And, they may assist officeholders in selecting interns and student employees.

It may be asked why the above-named four states have been selected. For one thing, these are the Deep South states with the largest number of Negro officeholders who are most likely to experience difficulty upon taking office. Moreover, statewide voter projects prepared to provide a somewhat similar service are established in Arkansas, North Carolina and South Carolina. However, other service centers may be set up at other colleges as conditions warrant doing so.

II. In December of 1968, the Voter Education Project proposes to hold a conference of all elected Negro officeholders in the South. At present, there are more than 260 elected Negro officeholders in the eleven southern states. By December this number probably will be somewhere in the range of 270 to 280, and perhaps more. All elected Negro officeholders in the South will be invited to attend this meeting.

It is hoped that this conference will accomplish several things. Most of these officeholders have been elected since 1964. By now they have acquired enough experience in office to clearly define their problems as officeholders, to analyze these problems and to reflect upon solutions. The Voter Education Project feels that it would be valuable to bring these officeholders together to share their experiences, to share reflections,and, to discuss means of meeting common problems.

At the same time, some instructional sessions are planned as a part of the conference. The officeholders will be divided into groups -- for example, all city councilmen, all county commissioners, all justices of the peace, etc. -- for workshops and seminars. Such seminars have been held

for the newly elected Mississippi and Louisiana office-holders and this would be an occasion for providing similar seminars on a regional basis. As was done in Mississippi and Louisiana, competent resource people would be brought in to lecture and lead discussions. We may also use socio-drama and role-playing as part of the workshops involving various offices. Instruction in parliamentary procedure also is planned.

Another purpose of the meeting would be to bring these officeholders together face-to-face so that they could meet each other, get to know each other, and know where possible sources of advice and information-swapping can be found. Without such meetings there is little or no occasion for a city councilman in Crowley, Louisiana to know that there is also a Negro city councilman in Grand Coteau, Louisiana. Without such meetings there is even less opportunity for these two officials to sit down together and discuss mutual problems. We believe that it is important for Negro officeholders to know where other Negro officeholders are located and to know what sort of advice and information can be sought from fellow office-holders.

Finally, it is felt that such a conference would be the occasion for announcing to these officeholders, and discussing with them, the availability of the college service centers already discussed under I. above.

III. In the first Voter Education Project, and to a lesser extent in the current Voter Education Project, almost any registration activity for Negroes in the South could be expected to produce results, provided there was someone in the community willing to conduct such activity and providing that the law and the climate in the community made such activities possible. This was because very few Negroes were registered in the South when the first Voter Education Project began its work.

Now, however, with three-fifths of the Negroes in the South registered, more selectivity in making project grants is in order. Thus, the Voter Education Project has decided upon a formula to use beginning in 1969 for funding registration projects. Grants would be limited to those counties having less than one-half of the Negro voting age population registered. We have this yardstick particularly in mind for rural counties.

We propose to continue funding programs in such urban centers as Miami, Atlanta, New Orleans, Memphis, Houston, Columbia, Durham, Nashville, Richmond, etc. We propose, however, to require that these urban communities put up matching funds except in those cases where less than half of the Negro voting age population is registered. Our reasoning is that these communities have private resources which can and should be made available to finance registration activity. By and large, there is sufficient wealth in these urban areas to apply toward registration activities. We propose to require that a dollar-for-dollar matching fund be raised prior to the application for VEP funds.

We do not intend, however, to apply the formula rigidly. As in the past, such things as the political climate pointing toward a registration campaign will be taken into consideration. And we may wish, for example, to fund a program in Bessemer, Alabama, which is in the urban Birmingham area, without applying the matching requirements for urban areas. We are aware, also, that accurate registration figures by race are not available by county in four states (Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee and Virginia) and are becoming increasing hard to get in such

Deep South states as Mississippi, Alabama, and Geoggia. Finally, the formula would not be applied where total reregistration is required by state and local law, as has been required recently in the entire state of South Carolina and in many counties in North Carolina. We know further that total reregistration is required annually in Texas. The general purpose of the formula is to limit grants to areas of the greatest need and to require the localities that are able to do so to provide local funds.

IV. At present Negro registratinn in the South is 3,072,000. This is 61.2 per cent of the Negro voting age population and 16.6 per cent of the total registration in the region. All three of these figures have been rising quite rapidly during the existence of the current Voter Education Project and the previous Voter Education Project. Nevertheless, for good reasons, Negro registration in the South continues to lageconsiderably behind white registration. White registration in the region is 76.9 per cent of the white voting age population. This is a white-Negro gap of more than 15 per cent.

The goal of the Voter Education Project should be, and is, to bring Negro registration exactly in line with white registration in the South. This will involve considerable additional effort, but the goal is not unrealistic.

Since 1969 is not an election year throughout the region, it cannot be expected that registration will increase as fast as it has during 1968. However, if registration gains can be maintained despite such barriers as Texas' annual registration law, we can look for registration increases of perhaps 50,000 to 100,000 in 1969. Larger increases would be expected in the election year that follows.

As registration goes up, so does the number of Negro officeholders, delegates, party committeemen, etc. We can look for the number of elected Negro officials in the South to go past 300 in 1969. Some of the services to be rendered for these officeholders already have been mentioned. We expect to maintain and perhaps increase the number of statewide Voter Education Projects, which provide a number of direct services to Negro officeholders. These services are very similar to those proposed at the college centers -- namely, advice about relevant state and federal programs,

workshops, and leadership training programs, legal and proposal-writing advice, research advice and the like. Similar services are provided by the Voter Education Project headquarters staff in Atlanta. This involves such things as securing materials and even in one case involved names and addresses of furniture manufactureres for a city councilman in Mississippi

August 28, 1968

Mr. Christopher F. Edley
Program Officer in Charge
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Chris:

This is to respond to the request from Dr. Orum at Emory University which you sent down last week. Vernon returns tomorrow after a month of having been a MARC Fellow with Ken Clark in your town. I will share this with him on his return.

I have not been able to learn a great deal about Dr. Orum, although as his resume' indicates this is not his first interest in this subject. I do know that he is this week a member of the Julian Bond Delegation in Chicago. That, to me, speaks well for him.

I think a study such as Dr. Orum proposes is very much needed. I feel perhaps even more strongly than most of my colleagues that potentially we are undergoing a tremendous change politically in this region. I think, for instance, that in places such as Georgia and Mississippi there are the strong beginnings of a national Democratic party. For some time to come it will likely be

the minority party but there still remains the potential of the minority becoming the majority (and again I think that potential may be realized sooner than do most of my colleagues). With the exception of Arkansas I believe most of the South - after the George Wallace routine - will become ultra-conservative Republican. If this develops, particularly in Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia and Florida, it will have a heavy undertone of uptowning racial bias as opposed to the blatant bias of Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana.

If any of this is right we do need, of course, to know as much about it as possible. And the national implications are even greater than those for the region.

My only concern would be that it would require $135,000 to analyze what is happening. The cost of academic research is certainly beyond my knowledge and, of course, our type of research and information is based on much more modest expenditures, but this matter I have to leave to you and your staff.

Should Dr. Orum undertake this research, I hope you will assure him that all of us here, and particularly our resources in the Voter Education Project, will be at his disposal.

Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
GOVERNMENT AND LAW

August 21, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a copy of a proposal received by us on Competitive State Party Politics in the South. I would appreciate it if you and Vernon could give us your independent judgment of it on a confidential basis. I hope that perhaps you know something about the people who are involved.

I assume that you will let me have your reaction as soon as possible and that you will forward the proposal to Vernon (wherever he is!).

As one burdened with paperwork, I am extremely reluctant to ask you to scan this, but I assure you that your opinion will be very helpful to us.

Sincerely yours,

Chris

Christopher F. Edley
Program Officer in Charge

CFE/fb

RESEARCH PROPOSAL

COMPETITIVE STATE PARTY POLITICS IN THE SOUTH

Anthony M. Orum
Emory University
Department of Sociology
and Anthropology
Atlanta, Georgia 30322

TITLE: Competitive State Party Politics in the South

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Anthony M. Orum

SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER: 392 - 38 - 0565

INSTITUTION: Emory University
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Atlanta, Georgia 30322

Telephone: 377-2411

ALTERNATE STARTING DATES: November, 1968
January, 1969
March, 1969

TIME PERIOD FOR GRANT: 2 years

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: _____
Anthony M. Orum

CHAIRMAN, DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY: _____
John T. Doby

DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL OF
ARTS AND SCIENCES: _____
Charles T. Lester

Competitive State Party Politics in the South

ABSTRACT

The broad goal of this research is to assess the present stability of the two-party political system at the state level in the South as well as the forces responsible for the strength of this system. The research entails several related objectives: the identification of trends in voting patterns, changes in partisan loyalties, and the strength of party organizations; the broad social and economic factors associated with the growth of two-party politics in the South; the impact of political issues upon the two-party system and voters' preferences; the forces responsible for individuals' changes in partisan loyalties; and analysis of these various issues, separately for Negroes and whites. Senatorial and gubernatorial campaigns of 1968 in Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina and South Carolina are proposed as the chief loci for intensive investigation of these patterns. The proposed research will be based on information pertaining to states, counties and individual voters.

I. Introduction.

In recent times, the unique political homogeneity of the South has begun to fade. While observers differ on the exact date of its demise — some claim the Dixiecrat revolt of 1948, others contend Hoover's Republican sweep twenty years earlier — most agree that the hegemony of the Democratic party in the states of the Old Confederacy has eroded. The Democratic one-party system in the South probably has suffered its most severe blows since the victory of Eisenhower in 1952. In that year, Eisenhower won 48 per cent of the South's vote, a plurality, and carried the states of Texas, Florida, Tennessee and Virginia. Subsequently, in 1956, he carried these same four states as well as Louisiana. In 1960, Nixon virtually repeated this performance, winning 46 per cent of the popular vote and electoral votes in the states of Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia. And, in the most recent presidential campaign, 90 per cent of Goldwater's 52 electoral votes came from the South. On the local level of Southern politics, it also appears that the relative strength of the Democratic party is diminishing, albeit at a much more gradual pace.

The purpose of the research proposed here is to assess the current state of the two-party political system in the South, as well as the forces responsible for the strength of this system. The research will focus especially on the patterns of partisan alliances in contests for state polit-

ical offices and on the viability of the Republican and Democratic party organizations within states. Alignments at the state level of politics are more likely than those in presidential politics to be forged by the appeal of issues and policies rather than personalities and, therefore, are probably more meaningful to the ultimate durability of the two-party system in Southern states. The research outlined here is designed to utilize the senatorial and gubernatorial races occurring this fall in several Southern states as the loci for an intensive study of two-party state politics in the South.

II. Research Objectives

This research has several related objectives. The first, and most basic, is to identify the trends and the present state of the two-party system in the South. It is necessary to discover whether the present patterns of Republican involvement in contests for state offices represent a significant change from previous patterns. An associated concern is to establish the current and past dimensions of the electoral strength of Republican and Democratic candidates for state elective offices. If these patterns show that the Republican party is becoming more significant in Southern state politics, two other problems also require study: namely, the extent and kind of change in voters' partisan loyalties, and the changing "balance of power" between the Repub-

lican and Democratic party organizations in Southern states.

The second major objective is to show whether certain concurrent social and economic changes in the South are related to the growth of Republicanism. The three major kinds of changes that have occurred in the South during the past several decades are industrial expansion, urbanization and selective types of migration. Such trends presumably are responsible to some extent for new alignments in Southern politics. The growth of the industrial sector, it is argued, is important because it has created a professional and business class whose economic interests are compatible with Republican economic policies. Urbanization is significant because it has produced the loci of both the new industrial growth and the crystallization of Republican strength in the South. And migration patterns, which are related both to urbanization and industrial expansion, are supposedly important because they represent the addition of many people who are loyal Republicans from the North and the depletion of many native Southerners who maintain allegiance to the Democratic party. Each of these trends, it is claimed, is associated with the growth of Republicanism in the South, but whether these trends are sufficient to explain most or all of the Republican strength remains to be seen.

A third major objective of this research is to show the influence of political factors and issues on the two-party politics of the South. Several matters are important in this

respect. Firstly, it is necessary to study the rather controversial matter of how party alignments at the national level have influenced partisan affiliations at the state level. Among voters, one must inquire into whether partisan voting in presidential campaigns affects voting in state election contests. It is equally important to determine the extent to which the national party organizations directly help or hinder the development of state politics. Secondly, it is necessary to assess whether the political traditions in Southern states have facilitated the development of two-party politics — chiefly, whether previous factionalism within the Democratic party has aided the transformation to the two-party systems. Thirdly, it is important to account for the impact of salient political issues like racial and economic ones on two-party politics. For instance, has there been a shift of "economic conservatives" from the Democratic banner to the Republican banner on the state level that might parallel the shift which has occurred in presidential politics in the South? Likewise, it is a matter of special concern to demonstrate whether racial attitudes have influenced partisan preferences, especially in view of the historical significance of this issue in Southern politics.

A fourth major objective of this research is to determine the influence of psychological and situational factors upon competitive party politics in the South. Normally about three-quarters of the voters adhere to the

partisan loyalties of their parents. If change in actual voting behavior or partisan loyalties does occur, it usually can be traced to certain psychological attributes of the voter or to certain political and non-political conflicts in the voter's immediate family and work settings. Hence, in order to account for possible changes in partisan loyalties among Southerners, it is advisable to examine the impact of these psychological and situational variables.

A fifth objective is to separately examine the political attitudes and behavior of Negroes and whites. Inasmuch as Negroes are becoming increasingly involved in Southern politics, it is important to assess the extent of Negro and white political differences in state politics and, especially, how these differences might contribute to the strength of the two-party system.

There are several respects in which the research proposed here can add to our knowledge and understanding of two-party politics. First, it will enable us to assess the present strength of Republicanism in the South at the state level. It will become particularly evident in the next section that our knowledge of these matters is very limited. Second, the questions outlined above may provide information that will enable social scientists to better understand how changes in partisan identifications and loyalties occur. And third, this research will also enable us to comprehend the kinds of forces responsible for competitive party politics in general.

Certainly, in this regard, the Southern part of the United States is as useful a laboratory for such research as any other area, inasmuch as this region has been so politically homogenous.

III. Review of Related Research

The two most definitive examinations of recent Southern political history are Key's Southern Politics and Heard's A Two-Party South? The first book, published in 1949, is mainly concerned with determining the state of politics in the South in the period up to and including the 1940's, and deals in detail with political alignments and figures in Southern states. Although Key concerns himself with the weaknesses and strengths of the one-party system, he tends to disregard the strength and possibilities for growth of the Republican party. The second book, published three years later, was written by Key's assistant and based on the same information. It deals specifically with the strength of the Republican party in the South. The Republican party, according to Heard, increased its strength among Southerners during the 1930's and 1940's, especially in presidential campaigns. This growth, he claims, was due partly to the urban-rural and economic transformations occurring in the South, and partly to the dissatisfaction of conservative Democrats with the liberal policies of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. Heard believes that most of the disaffected Southern

Democrats would eventually drift to the Republican banner. He also asserts that while many Democratic congressmen might in the future overtly or covertly support Republican presidential candidates, they would not quickly desert their influential and lucrative posts within the state Democratic organizations.

More recent studies bear out some of Heard's predictions. The empirical investigations of Strong, in particular, furnish the basis for much of the recent discussion and controversy about the extent of Republican strength in the South. Strong claims that presidential Republicanism and, to a lesser degree, local Republicanism have increased enormously in the South since 1952. With the aid of aggregate statistics, Strong attempts to demonstrate that Eisenhower achieved major gains in the South over his predecessors. These gains were first made in 1952 and increased later in the 1956 election. Strong argues, too, that the Eisenhower victories were not simply the product of a vote for "the man" inasmuch as in 1960 Nixon almost duplicated Eisenhower's feat. The bases of Republican strength in the South, according to Strong, are urban areas and upper-income voters. In light of this latter evidence, Strong suggests that economic interests probably would dominate future political alignments and patterns in Southern politics.

Several other studies attempt to analyze the changes in partisan allegiances in the South. Prothro *et al.*, for

example, examine information from Florida voters interviewed shortly after the 1956 presidential election. The authors are particularly concerned with differences between Democrats who voted for Eisenhower and those who voted for Stevenson. They show that the so-called "Eisencrats," differed from the "Stevencrats," insofar as they were more likely to belong to higher socio-economic strata, to be migrants, and to be undecided about their future presidential preference. On the basis of their evidence, the authors claim that partisan divisions were apt to increase in the South and, furthermore, that economic interests were becoming an important basis of partisan division in the Southern electorate.

An even more recent study by Matthews and Prothro also investigates partisan changes among Southern voters. The authors' results indicate primarily that changes in partisan identification, from Republican to Democrat and vice-versa, tend to be rare, even over an entire lifetime. However, an examination of change from identifying with a party to Independent or apolitical reveals that the Democratic party suffers a net loss. Among whites, those who have made this type of change were likely to have as favorable an image of the Republican party as those who identified themselves as Republicans. Negro changers of this type, on the other hand, were likely to have a very favorable image of the Democratic party. The authors also discover that those groups which are increasing their proportionate strength in the South,

for example urban dwellers or better educated, had more favorable images of the Republican party than those groups on the decline, such as rural dwellers. But this observation was only true for whites. Among the Negroes, those people who possess similar social characteristics were more apt to have favorable images of the Democrats. The authors conclude that, on balance, Republicanism will grow slowly in the South unless critical social, economic or political changes occur to increase the rate.

Converse's study of Southern partisan patterns is probably the most comprehensive of all the recent examinations. Converse maintains that Republican strength in the South has not been increasing nearly as rapidly as Strong believes. He argues that we must confine our observations of Republican strength only to reported party identification rather than voting data, and that, in these terms, Republican strength in the South has increased at only a gradual rate during the past one and one-half decades. Converse, like the other investigators, observes the increasing significance of economic interests in the South. There are also, according to Converse, three possible sources of change in party identification in the South: partisan conversion; population replacement, i.e., younger people holding different identifications than older ones; and migration. Both partisan conversion and partisan identification differences associated with age were shown to be of little significance. Migration,

in contrast, is important because it has resulted in a depletion in the South of Democratic loyalists and an addition of Republican identifiers. Finally, Converse is able to demonstrate that economic issues and racial issues were responsible for most of the changes in party identification in the South between 1956 and 1960.

There are serious limitations to the current validity of most of the above research. The two most thorough pieces of research on state two-party politics in the South, those by Key and Heard, are limited in their present applicability to Southern politics because their observations and conclusions are based on information which is more than twenty years old. During this period, the growth of Republicanism in the South seems to have occurred more rapidly than either investigator anticipated. The more recent research about the growth of Southern Republicanism, on the other hand, has only dealt with presidential Republicanism. In contrast to the throough and comprehensive research undertaken by Key and Heard, these latter analyses do not consider issues, like the general growth of the two parties in state politics in the South and the variation that might exist in two-party politics among Southern states.

Indications that a possible transformation, in fact, may be taking place at the level of state two-party politics in the South come from a recent study conducted by this investigator and several colleagues. In the 1966 gubernatorial election in Georgia, the Republican candidate received more

of the popular vote than the Democratic candidate, a feat unachieved in Georgia politics since Reconstruction. There were very clear signs, moreover, that even on this level of Southern politics certain interests and issues were becoming significant at the expense of old partisan loyalties. For example, two-party division within the electorate seemed to be a result of an increased salience of both economic interests and racial issues. Those persons who supported the Republican candidate were mainly from upper socio-economic groups and were liberal on racial matters, whereas those who voted for the Democratic candidate were largely from lower socio-economic groups and were conservative on racial issues. The clearest indication from this study that economic interests have a significant effect on Southern state two-party politics is the fact that class status was a better predictor of voting than party preference. The obvious implication of results such as these is that political alignments in Georgia and other Southern states might now be undergoing many of the social and economic upheavals previously forecast only for presidential two-party politics in the South.

IV. Research Design and Methods

The principal loci for the collection and analysis of data for this research will be Southern states and counties. Several kinds of information about the aggregate characteristics and characteristics of individual residents of these

areas will be assembled.

One body of information will be gathered for all eleven Southern states. These data are relevant primarily to the first and second major objectives of this research. They pertain to general social and economic characteristics and to the results of gubernatorial and senatorial elections. In particular, they allow us to determine the past and present extent of two-party voting for state offices in the South. They also can be used to assess the total and net impact of such forces as urbanization and migration on two-party voting. The material about the social and economic features of Southern states and counties will be obtained from census reports. Records of gubernatorial and senatorial voting in the South from 1920 through 1949 already have been compiled by Heard and Strong, and will be compiled by us on subsequent elections from information in state files and other records.

In order to obtain data especially suited to the third and fourth objectives of this research — determining the influence of political, psychological, and situational factors — it is necessary to conduct intensive studies of recent senatorial and gubernatorial contests in the South. Of the eight Southern states that will hold elections this fall (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina and Texas), a representative sample of four was selected, consisting of Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina

and South Carolina. There were several reasons for choosing these particular states. Firstly, inasmuch as two broad sub-areas of the South, the "deep" and the peripheral, tend to represent the major sources of variation within the region, two states were chosen from each sub-area. The states that represent the Deep South are Georgia and South Carolina, while those that represent the peripheral South are Arkansas and North Carolina. Secondly, the elections in each of these states, in contrast with those in one of the other four states (Louisiana), feature both Democratic and Republican candidates and, therefore, enable us to study the sources and motivations underlying two-party alliances in the South. And finally, Arkansas and North Carolina were chosen because they are each having both senatorial and gubernatorial contests and are the only states having two contests. The studies conducted in these states will provide more information about two-party state politics in the South than those in other states.

The information that is required about these 1968 elections is of two different sorts. The first kind is about party organizations in Southern states and is particularly relevant to the third research objective, that is, the impact of party organizations in Southern state politics. Specifically, these data will assess the size and strength of party organizations, using measures such as the size of the professional staff, the number of full- and part-time employees, the amount of capital, the extent of campaign publicity and

the economic support for individual candidates. Such information will be used to determine the relative strength of the two-party organizations within each state, the extent of dependence of state parties on national party organizations and vice-versa, and the influence of state party organizations on the outcome of elections for state offices. In order to acquire information about these matters, it will be necessary to interview party officials, in addition to examining party files.

The second kind of information about the 1968 elections is related to the fourth research objective, and consists of interviews with representative groups of people in all four sample states some time after the fall elections. These data will permit an assessment to be made of the underlying motivations and sources of voters' decisions and partisan identifications. Specifically, these data will enable us to determine the factors responsible for changes in party identification or preference as well as the impact of racial issues, partisan loyalties and economic interests on voting.

The interviews in each state will be conducted by means of questionnaires. The basic strategy for the design of the questionnaire is to solicit information that is not available from such sources as voting records. Although the questionnaire will contain the standard items on demographic and background variables, it will be designed especially to obtain data about past and present voting behavior, partisan

identification, and images of parties. In addition, the questionnaires will include items about attitudes toward race relations, economic matters, other domestic issues, foreign affairs, and social change. Questions pertaining to psychological attributes, and to the political preferences and identifications of relatives and colleagues also will be included.

The interviewing, itself, will be sub-contracted through the National Opinion Research Center associated with the University of Chicago. The basic criteria for the samples require them to be chosen on a probability basis and to be representative of the voting age population in each state. Since only about two-thirds of the people of voting age actually vote, 400 interviews will be conducted in each state. A sample of this size is necessary in order to do multivariate analysis of the factors associated with voting, partisan identifications and party images.

V. Facilities

The samples of individuals will be selected and interviewed by members of the National Opinion Research Center, Chicago, Illinois. Analysis of all data will be done by the principal investigator and research assistants with the aid of computer facilities located at the Emory University Computer Center, Atlanta, Georgia.

Selected Bibliography

Converse, Philip. "On the Possibility of Major Political Realignment in the South," in Angus Campbell et al., Elections and the Political Order. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966. Pp. 212-242.

Grantham, Dewey W., Jr. "The South and the Reconstruction of American Politics," Journal of American History, LIII, No. 2, (September, 1966), Pp. 227-246.

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Key, V. O., Jr. Southern Politics: in State and Nation. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949.

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Matthews, Donald R. and Prothro, James W. "The Concept of Party Image and Its Importance for the Southern Electorate," in M. Kent Jennings and L. Harmon Zeigler (editors), The Electoral Process, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966. Pp. 139-174.

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Prothro, James W., et al. "Two-Party Voting in the South: Class vs. Party Identification," The American Political Science Review, LII, No. 1, (March, 1958), Pp. 131-139.

Sindler, Allan P. "The South in Political Transition," in John C. McKinney and Edgar T. Thompson (editors), The South in Continuity and Change. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1965. Pp. 299-321.

Bibliography (Cont'd)

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Strong, Donald S. The 1952 Presidential Election in the South. University, Ala.: Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1955.

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Steamer, Robert J. "Southern Disaffection with the National Democratic Party," in Allan P. Sindler (editor), Change in the Contemporary South. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1963. Pp. 150-173.

FIRST YEAR BUDGET

Personnel		
Principal Investigator [a]		$ 7,400
One-half-time (9 mos.)	$ 5,100	
Full-time (summer)	2,300	
Research Assistants (3)		9,000
One-half-time		
Computer Programmer		500
Secretary/Admin. Assistant		6,000
Full-time		
Fringe Benefits		954
Travel [b]		
Plane fares (6 round-trip fares, @ $150)		900
Room and board (180 days, @ $25)		4,500
Interviewing		
1,600 interviews (@ $30)		48,000
Includes transportation , coding, etc.		
Supplies		
Paper, pencils, etc.		1,000
Includes costs of reports		
Typewriter (1) [c]		350
IBM Selectric		
Desk Calculators (2) [d]		1,800
Monroe		
Data Processing		
Computer charges		1,125
Computer: RCA Spectra 7055		
Cost per hr.: $225		
Number of hours: 5		
Miscellaneous		
Card punching, etc.		500
TOTAL DIRECT COSTS		$ 82,129
INDIRECT COSTS (20%)		16,426
TOTAL REQUEST		$ 98,555

SECOND YEAR BUDGET

Personnel		
Principal Investigator [e]		$ 9,780
Two-third time (9 mos.)	$ 7,335	
Full-time (summer)	2,445	
Research Assistants (3) One-half time		9,000
Computer Programmer		500
Secretary/Admin. Assistant Full-time		6,000
Fringe Benefits		1,189
Travel[f]		500
Supplies		
Paper, pencils, etc. Includes costs of reports		500
Data Processing		
Computer charges		2,250
Computer: RCA Spectra 7055		
Cost per hr.: $225		
Number of hours: 10		
Miscellaneous		
Card punching, etc.		500
TOTAL DIRECT COSTS		$30,219
INDIRECT COSTS (20%)		6,044
TOTAL REQUEST		$36,263

TOTAL FOR TWO-YEAR PERIOD $ 134,818

Notes:

a: The principal investigator's nine month salary for 1968-69 is $10,200.

b: The travel expenses specified for the first year represent the costs of transportation and board and room in the four states in which party officials will be interviewed. The principal investigator and one research assistant will travel to each of three states—Arkansas, North Carolina and South Carolina— in order to interview party officials. The interviewing in the fourth state, Georgia, will not require major transportation costs inasmuch as the center of research operations will be located at Emory University in Atlanta.

c: The secretary/administrative assistant will require one typewriter.

d: The purchase of two desk calculators is necessary for some of the work of the principal investigator and research assistants.

e: The principal investigator's nine month salary for 1969-70, including an anticipated raise, will be about $11,000.

f: The travel expenses specified for the second year comprise unexpected transportation costs.

RESUMÉ

NAME: Anthony M. Orum

MARITAL STATUS: Married- no children

ADDRESS: 977 Clifton Road,NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30307

PHONE: 404-373-4189

BIRTH DATE: November 20, 1939

BIRTHPLACE: Milwaukee, Wisconsin

B.A. - June 1962, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio

M.A. - March 1965, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois

Ph.D. - June 1967, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois

HONORS:

Passed with Honors, Preliminary Examination for Ph.D., May 1964; University Tuition Fellowship, 1963-64; Samuel A. Stouffer Research Training Fellowship, 1963-64; Center for Social Organization Studies Fellow, 1963-64; National Institute of Mental Health Survey Research Fellowship, 1964-65 and 1965-66.

EMPLOYMENT:

Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia 30322 — Instructor, 1966-67; Assistant Professor, 1967 to present; Director of Undergraduate Studies, 1968 to present.

CONSULTANT:

Office of Economic Opportunity Evaluation Project (administered by Emory University), Summer 1967. Report entitled "Central Organization of Economic Opportunity Atlanta — A Special Interpretation," August 1967.

Statewide Vocational Rehabilitation Planning Project of Georgia, Task Force on Inter-agency Coordination and Cooperation. Report entitled "Conclusions and Recommendations on Inter-agency Coordination and Cooperation," December 1967.

REPORTS AND PUBLICATIONS:

"A Re-appraisal of the Social and Political Participation of Negroes," paper delivered at the Midwest Sociological Association meetings, Minneapolis, Minnesota, April, 1965.

"A Re-appraisal of the Social and Political Participation of Negroes," revised version in American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 72, No. 1, July, 1966. To be reprinted in Ephraim Mizruchi and Paul Meadows, Reader in Urban Sociology, Addison-Wesley Press, (forthcoming).

REPORTS AND PUBLICATIONS (Cont'd):

Review of The Negro and Apprenticeship by F. Ray Marshall and Vernon M. Briggs, Jr. (The Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), American Sociological Review, June, 1968.

"The Class and Status Bases of Negro Student Protest," by Anthony M. Orum and Amy W. Orum. Social Science Quarterly, Special Issue: "Blacks in America," December, 1968.

"The 1966 Georgia Gubernatorial Election: Emerging Class and Partisan Politics Among White Voters in a Southern Urban Electorate," by Anthony M. Orum and Edward W. McCranie. Submitted for publication to the Journal of Politics. To be presented at the Southern Sociological Society meetings, New Orleans, Louisiana, April, 1969.

"Structural Sources of Negro Student Protest" (in preparation).

"Student Elites and Student Protest" (in preparation).

September 23, 1968

Miss Sally J. Oleon
Program Officer
Division of Education and Research
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York, 10017

Dear Miss Oleon:

Thank you for sharing with us the announcement of the Doctoral Fellowships for Black Students. We are taking the occasion to circulate this announcement to a rather large number of interested persons.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF
EDUCATION AND RESEARCH
SPECIAL PROJECTS

September 18, 1968

Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We are pleased to announce a program of Doctoral Fellowships for Black Students. These Fellowships will provide financial aid for full-time study for selected black American men and women from their entry into graduate school until they receive their Ph.D., provided their record of accomplishment warrants continuing aid at the end of each successive year.

The enclosed announcements are for your information and for circulation you think appropriate. Our immediate concern is to inform college seniors and recent graduates that Fellowships will be available for 1969-70 and to encourage those who are eligible to apply for them. However, applicants must act quickly to meet deadlines.

Should you need additional information or announcements, we will be pleased to furnish them.

Sincerely yours,

Sally J. Oleon

Sally J. Oleon
Program Officer

Enclosures

file Ford Fd. 1968

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

October 9, 1968

Mr. Paul B. Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Re: Grant 66-3

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In accordance with the Grant Quarterly Payment Request submitted, we enclose our check for $81,000 payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

This remittance represents the final payment on our grant of $972,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. for studies and technical assistance related to human relations programs in the South over a three-year period. The terms of this grant were set forth in Mr. McDaniel's letter to you dated October 5, 1965.

We would appreciate your signing the copy of this letter and returning it in the enclosed envelope.

Very truly yours,

Norman W. MacLeod
Assistant to Treasurer

Enclosures

#81,000
10-11-68
K.M.

October 24, 1968

Mr. Ralph Bohrson
Program Officer
Public Education
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Bohrson:

Yesterday afternoon I attempted to call you and learned that you had just left for London. If you are still in need of suggestions for a replacement for Dottie Hassfeld there follows two suggestions. I have met the first one, Mr. Stanley, very briefly and have not met Miss Darnell. However, those who recommended them to me are ususally very good in assessing people.

Mr. William Stanley. -- Mr. Stanley is principle of the Whiteford Avenue Elementary School here in Atlanta. He is approximately 40 years old and was one of the first Negroes selected by the Atlanta Board of Education

when it began an effort to secure more and younger school principals. He has a BA from Clark College, his Master's from Atlanta University, and has spent two summers at Columbia working on his Ph.D. degree. A tentative arrangement has been made for him to take a year's leave of absence to continue his work at at Columbia.

Miss Emma Darnell. -- Miss Darnell is currently employed in the regional office of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission here in Atlanta. She is in her mid-thirties. She took her BA at Fisk University, her Master's at Columbia in Psychology. She has a law degree from Howard University. Miss Darnell has taught at Tuskegee Institute, Southern University, Morris Brown College, and at Atlanta University.

If I can be of any further assistance to you in this matter, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Ford Fd. 3 yr grant
for 1969-1970-1971
(Mr. Dressner

REGARDING

DATE

Nov. 11, 1968

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT

File for posting in Money book

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF
EDUCATION AND RESEARCH
PUBLIC EDUCATION

November 13, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Mr. Bohrson has asked me to thank you for your October 24 letter following up on your telephone conversation with Mr. Bohrson and suggestions for our Leadership Development Program Atlanta office.

Mr. Bohrson has had an unusually heavy work load recently. However, as soon as things ease up a bit, I am sure he will be back to you with a progress report on his search for a replacement in that office.

Sincerely,

Sheila Watson

(Mrs.) Sheila V. Watson
Secretary to Mr. Bohrson

November 18, 1968

Mr. Basil Whiting
The Ford Foundation
320 E. 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Basil:

Thank you for the copy of the budget. Much more importantly, thank you sincerely for all of your assistance with our grant.

I am delighted to know you will be able to attend the meeting in December.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Ford Fd.
1968

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

November 13, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Attached you will find a somewhat marked up copy of your revised budget of August, 1968, submitted along with the last batch of information we asked you for. I am also including a copy of the slightly rearranged budget which went to our Officers and will be the basis for the official grant action. The only differences I made was to add $20,000 to the first year of the VEP, and $26,500 to the first year of General Operations (overhead), put Special Research and Consultative Services under Information and Research, and interchange the Labor Education and Community Organization Programs.

Hope this was what you were looking for. See you in December at the VEP Conference.

Best Wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Basil J. Whiting
Program Officer

~~REVISED BUDGET, SRC PROPOSAL -- AUGUST 1968~~

BUDGET

Project		1969	1970	1971	Total: Three Years
Information and Research					
Project printing		$ 50,000	$ 50,000	$ 50,000	
Managing editor, publications	56,000	15,000	56,000 15,000	56,000 15,000	
	Total:	$ ~~65,000~~ 121,000	$ ~~65,000~~ 121,000	$ ~~65,000~~ 121,000	~~$195,000~~ 363,000
Programs for the Business Sector					
Consultants		$ 15,000	$ 15,000	$ 15,000	
Printing and distribution		20,000	25,000	25,000	
	Total:	$ 35,000	$ 40,000	$ 40,000	$115,000
Liaison with Community Organization Programs					
Salaries		$ 19,250	$ 19,250	$ 19,250	
Travel, director and consultants		6,000	6,000	6,000	
Consultant fees		6,000	6,000	6,000	
Contingency fund		20,000	15,000	10,000	
	Total:	$ 51,250	$ 46,250	$ 41,250	$138,750

21 Research consultative services

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Project		1969	1970	1971	Total: Three Years
3 Labor Education Project					
Salaries		$ 24,750	$ 24,750	$ 24,750	
Travel		3,000	3,000	3,000	
Seminar costs		10,000	10,000	5,000	
	Total:	$ 37,750	$ 37,750	$ 32,750	$108,250
~~Special Research and Consultative Services~~					
~~Services~~					
~~ALL~~	~~Total:~~	~~$ 56,000~~	~~$ 56,000~~	~~$ 56,000~~	~~$168,000~~
5 Voter Education Project					
~~(Towards an annual budget of approximately $400,000)~~	Total:	200,000 ~~$180,000~~	$210,000	$180,000	$590,000
6 State Councils on Human Relations (for project grants)	Total:	$100,000	$ 80,000	$ 60,000	$240,000

Add 26,500 for reimbursement

-2-

Project		1969	1970	1971	Total: Three Years
General Operations (Overhead) ~~Overhead (general Operations)~~	Total:	116 500 ~~$ 90,000~~	$ 90,000	$ 85,000	291 500 ~~$265,000~~
	Grand Totals:	661 500 ~~$615,000~~	$625,000	$560,000	1,846,500 ~~$1,800,000~~

BUDGET

roject		1969	1970	1971	Total: Three Years
ormation and Research					
Project printing		$ 50,000	$50,000	$50,000	
Managing editor, publications		15,000	15,000	15,000	
Special Research and consultative services		56,000	56,000	56,000	
	Total:	121,000	121,000	121,000	$363,000
grams for the Business Sector					
Consultants		15,000	15,000	15,000	
Printing and distribution		20,000	25,000	25,000	
	Total:	$ 35,000	$40,000	$40,000	$115,000
or Education Project					
Salaries		24,750	24,750	24,750	
Travel		3,000	3,000	3,000	
Seminar costs		10,000	10,000	5,000	
	Total:	$ 37,750	$37,750	$32,750	$108,250
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Travel, director and consultants		6,000	6,000	6,000	
Consultant fees		6,000	6,000	6,000	
Contingency fund		20,000	15,000	10,000	
	Total:	$ 51,250	$46,250	$41,250	$138,750

BUDGET (continued)

Project		1969	1970	1971	Total: Three Years
Voter Education Project	Total:	$200,000	$210,000	$180,000	$590.000
State Councils on Human Relations (for Project grants)	Total:	$100,000	$ 80,000	60,000	$240,000
General Operations (Overhead)	Total:	$116,500	$ 90,000	$ 85,000	$291,500
	Grant Totals:	$661,500	$625,000	$560,000	$1,846,500

~~REVISED BUDGET, SRC PROPOSAL -- AUGUST 1968~~

BUDGET

Project		1969	1970	1971	Total: Three Years
Information and Research					
Project printing		$ 50,000	$ 50,000	$ 50,000	
Managing editor, publications	56,000	15,000	56,000 15,000	56,000 15,000	
	Total:	$ ~~65,000~~ 121,000	$ ~~65,000~~ 121,000	$ ~~65,000~~ 121,000	~~$195,000~~ 363,000
Programs for the Business Sector					
Consultants		$ 15,000	$ 15,000	$ 15,000	
Printing and distribution		20,000	25,000	25,000	
	Total:	$ 35,000	$ 40,000	$ 40,000	$115,000
Liaison with Community Organization Programs					
Salaries		$ 19,250	$ 19,250	$ 19,250	
Travel, director and consultants		6,000	6,000	6,000	
Consultant fees		6,000	6,000	6,000	
Contingency fund		20,000	15,000	10,000	
	Total:	$ 51,250	$ 46,250	$ 41,250	$138,750

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Project		1969	1970	1971	Total: Three Years
3 Labor Education Project					
Salaries		$ 24,750	$ 24,750	$ 24,750	
Travel		3,000	3,000	3,000	
Seminar costs		10,000	10,000	5,000	
	Total:	$ 37,750	$ 37,750	$ 32,750	$108,250
~~Special Research and Consultative Services~~					
~~Services~~					
~~ALL~~	~~Total:~~	~~$ 56,000~~	~~$ 56,000~~	~~$ 56,000~~	~~$168,000~~
Voter Education Project					
~~(Towards an annual budget of approximately $400,000)~~	Total:	200,000 ~~$180,000~~	$210,000	$180,000	$590,000
6 State Councils on Human Relations (for project grants)	Total:	$100,000	$ 80,000	$ 60,000	$240,000

Add 26,500 for reimburse

-2-

Project		1969	1970	1971	Total: Three Years
General Operations (Overhead) ~~Overhead (general Operations)~~	Total:	116 500 ~~$ 90,000~~	$ 90,000	$ 85,000	291 500 ~~$265,000~~
	Grand Totals:	661 500 ~~$615,000~~	$625,000	$560,000	1,846,500 ~~$1,800,000~~

BUDGET

roject		1969	1970	1971	Total: Three Years
ormation and Research					
Project printing		$ 50,000	$50,000	$50,000	
Managing editor, publications		15,000	15,000	15,000	
Special Research and consultative services		56,000	56,000	56,000	
	Total:	121,000	121,000	121,000	$363,000
ograms for the Business Sector					
Consultants		15,000	15,000	15,000	
Printing and distribution		20,000	25,000	25,000	
	Total:	$ 35,000	$40,000	$40,000	$115,000
or Education Project					
Salaries		24,750	24,750	24,750	
Travel		3,000	3,000	3,000	
Seminar costs		10,000	10,000	5,000	
	Total:	$ 37,750	$37,750	$32,750	$108,250
ison with Community Organization ograms					
Salaries		19,250	19,250	19,250	
Travel, director and consultants		6,000	6,000	6,000	
Consultant fees		6,000	6,000	6,000	
Contingency fund		20,000	15,000	10,000	
	Total:	$ 51,250	$46,250	$41,250	$138,750

BUDGET (continued)

Project		1969	1970	1971	Total: Three Years
Voter Education Project	Total:	$200,000	$210,000	$180,000	$590.000
State Councils on Human Relations (for Project grants)	Total:	$100,000	$ 80,000	60,000	$240,000
General Operations (Overhead)	Total:	$116,500	$ 90,000	$ 85,000	$291,500
	Grant Totals:	$661,500	$625,000	$560,000	$1,846,500

Part in Money book
Ford Grant for
years 1969-1970-
1971

~~Accs~~

November 19, 1968

Mr. Howard R. Dressner
Secretary
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Dressner:

Thank you for the most welcomed news of the Foundation's three-year grant to the Southern Regional Council. Happily, our Board was having its annual meeting and, needless to say, the news was enthusiastically received.

We are now planning our rate of expenditures for the first five quarters and will forward the payment request to you shortly.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

HOWARD R. DRESSNER
SECRETARY

November 11, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

690-0065
Grant Number

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am pleased to inform you that The Ford Foundation has approved a grant of $1,846,500 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. over a three-year period beginning January 1, 1969 for general and project support to enhance the equality of social, political, and economic opportunity for minority groups throughout the South. This grant is being made in response to the proposal submitted with your memorandum of August 8, 1968 to Mr. Basil Whiting of the Foundation staff and to the proposal submitted with Mr. Vernon E. Jordan Jr.'s letter of October 3, 1968 to Mr. Mitchell Sviridoff, also of the Foundation staff, and as modified by this letter.

It is expected that the grant funds will be used substantially in accordance with the attached approved budget which is the basis for this grant, and that no major deviations will be made therefrom without approval by the Foundation.

The attached statement, which specifies further terms and provisions applicable to this grant, should be read carefully. If you wish additional information, please communicate with us. In all correspondence concerning this grant, reference should be made to the grant number above.

On behalf of the Foundation, may I extend every good wish for the success of this endeavor.

Sincerely,

Howard R. Dressner

Attachments

cc: Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

November 11, 1968

690-0065
Grant Number

APPROVED BUDGET

	1969	1970	1971	Total
Information and Research	$121,000	$121,000	$121,000	$363,000
Programs for the Business Sector	35,000	40,000	40,000	115,000
Labor Education Project	37,750	37,750	32,750	108,250
Liaison with Community Organization Programs	51,250	46,250	41,250	138,750
Voter Education Project	200,000	210,000	180,000	590,000
State Councils on Human Relations (for Project grants)	100,000	80,000	60,000	240,000
General Operations (Overhead)	116,500	90,000	85,000	291,500
TOTALS	$661,500	$625,000	$560,000	$1,846,500

THE FORD FOUNDATION, 320 EAST 43rd STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

TERMS OF GRANT

AND OTHER PROVISIONS

Grantee:

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Date: November 11, 1968

Amount: $1,846,500

Period: Three years beginning January 1, 1969

1. Payment of Grant Funds. Payment of this grant will be made in quarterly installments. Please specify a schedule of payments on the attached Grant Quarterly Payment Request form. Payment will be initiated following receipt by the Foundation of two completed copies of the Payment Request form directed to the Secretary.

2. Public Announcements. The Foundation will refer to this grant in a press release that will be sent to you in advance. If you wish to release additional information following the Foundation's public announcement, you may do so without prior clearance from the Foundation. However, should you wish to make an earlier announcement, please consult with the Foundation's Office of Reports.

   The grant will also be listed in the Foundation's next annual report.

   The Foundation would appreciate receiving copies of press releases as well as photographs, film scripts, or any published material about the grant or the work it has made possible.

3. Reports to the Foundation. A written report should be furnished to the Secretary of the Foundation upon completion of the program for which the grant has been made. If the period of the grant exceeds one year, interim reports should be furnished annually, in addition to the final report. These reports should contain

a signed financial accounting by categories of expenditure and a narrative account of what was accomplished by the expenditure of funds and reference to any publications resulting from the grant.

Payment Requests submitted after the first year of the grant, for a grant of more than one year, will be processed only if adequate narrative and financial reports have been received by the Foundation.

4. Expenditure of Grant Funds. Under the laws of the United States Government applicable to the Foundation, all grants, including this one, must be expended solely for "educational, scientific, or charitable" purposes. The grant is for the purposes stated in the accompanying letter of grant notification and may be modified only with the Foundation's approval.

5. Return of Grant Funds. Grant funds will be returned to the Foundation

   if the grantee is a United States organization and loses its tax-exempt status under United States federal laws; or

   if the grantee is a foreign organization and loses its tax-exempt status under comparable laws of the nation in which its charter was issued; or

   if these funds are not expended or committed for the purposes of the grant and within the period stated.

6. Commitment. This grant is made with the understanding that the Foundation has no obligation to provide other or additional support for the grantee, unless otherwise stated in the accompanying letter of grant notification.

THE FORD FOUNDATION, 320 EAST 43rd STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

GRANT QUARTERLY PAYMENT REQUEST FORM

Instruction Sheet

Annual Reporting Date

The annual reporting date is the closing date of the period that will be covered in the annual narrative and financial reports. It is not to be regarded as the date on which these reports are actually submitted.

If this is a new grant, select an annual reporting date which best fits the accounting and fiscal practices of your organization.

Amounts

All amounts entered should be in U.S. dollars.

Line a.

If this is a new grant, no entry is required.

If this is a continuing grant, enter the cumulative total of grant payments received through the last annual reporting date and enter this total on the line provided.

Line b.

If this is a new grant, no entry is required.

If this is a continuing grant, enter the cumulative total of expenditures under this grant as of the last annual reporting date.

Line c.

If this is a new grant, no entry is required.

If this is a continuing grant, deduct Line b. from Line a. and enter the balance on hand, if any, as of the last annual reporting date. If a deficit existed as of the last annual reporting date, please enter figure in brackets.

Line d.

If this is a new grant, enter estimate of funds required to fulfill grant purposes through one quarter beyond the annual reporting date you select.

If this is a continuing grant, enter estimate of funds required to fulfill grant purposes for five quarters following the last annual reporting date.

Line e.

If this is a continuing grant, subtract entry, if any, in Line c. from entry in Line d. and enter resulting figure. (If there is a deficit add entry in Line c. to entry in Line d. and enter the resulting figure.)

Table of Payments Required

Quarter Ending: Enter last day of quarter following last annual reporting date. If this is a new grant, enter the last day of the fiscal quarter in which payments are to commence.

Balance on Hand: On Line 1, enter the amount from Line c, if any. If a balance also exists at the close of the first quarter, enter the amount of the balance in the appropriate column of the second quarter.

Estimated Expenditures: Enter estimated expenditures of grant funds by quarters. Quarterly payments need not be equal in amount but should reflect budgeted requirements under this grant. Payments requested should not exceed quarterly requirements; payments should not be requested until the Balance on Hand is insufficient to meet the quarter's Estimated Expenditures.

Payments from the Ford Foundation

Amount: If this is a new grant, enter the amount of each quarterly payment required from the Ford Foundation through one quarter beyond the annual reporting date you select.

If this is a continuing grant, enter the amount of any quarterly payment received from the Ford Foundation since the last annual reporting date; then enter the amount of each quarterly payment required for the remaining quarters to fulfill grant purposes.

Date Requested: If this is a new grant, enter the beginning date of each quarter.

If this is a continuing grant, enter date payment was received and/or beginning date of each quarter. If this is a continuing grant and you are arrears in submitting financial and narrative reports through the last annual reporting date, further payments will be delayed until adequate reports have been received.

Payments will be made automatically by the Ford Foundation within fifteen days after the Requested Dates specified.

Sign and date the form and return the original and one copy to the Secretary of the Ford Foundation; retain one copy for your files. When the last scheduled payment is made, the Office of the Treasurer will forward a Grant Quarterly Payment Request form for your use in scheduling subsequent payments.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

December 2, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Re: Grant No. 690-0065

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Mr. Dressner has asked me to thank you for your letter of November 21 enclosing the Grant Quarterly Payment Request form for the above-captioned Ford Foundation grant to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. The payment request will be forwarded to our Treasurer for processing,

Sincerely,

W. H. Nims

William H. Nims
Assistant Secretary

News from the Ford Foundation

320 East 43 Street, New York, N.Y. 10017
Office of Reports 573-5000

PLEASE OBSERVE RELEASE DATE

FOR RELEASE TUESDAY AFTERNOON, JANUARY 14, 1969

For further information: Richard Magat (212) 573-4830
Robert Tolles (212) 573-4810

NEW YORK, Jan. 14 -- A $1.8 million three-year grant to the Southern Regional Council to assist the social, civic, and economic advancement of minorities in the South was announced today by the Ford Foundation.

The council, an organization of 100 Southern moderate leaders representing various racial, religious, professional, and business groups, will use a substantial part of the grant to increase registration of Negro voters and to assist the growing number of Negro office-holders in the South.

The Foundation also announced:

-- grants of $300,000 and $350,000 to expand urban studies at two Southern universities, Miami and Vanderbilt. (Details on page 3)

-- a $141,000 grant to the American Paper Institute for a demonstration program at the Rome and Macon plants of the Georgia Kraft Company to upgrade 135 low-level, mostly Negro, employees. (Details on page 3)

(MORE)

-- a $150,000 grant to the University of Texas for technical assistance and matching project support to foundations in the Southwest that are interested in supporting community projects. (Details on page 4)

-- $70,000 to the Southern Consumers Education Foundation in continued assistance for the development of Southern cooperatives. (Details on page 4)

Since 1961, the Southern Regional Council has spent over $1.2 million to support local programs that have registered some 1.5 million Negro voters. These efforts have helped increase Southern Negro registration to over three million, or 61 per cent of Negro voting age population. Over the next three years, the council will concentrate on registering Negroes in localities where less than half the Negro voting age population is on the rolls and on assisting the 280 elected Negro officials in the South, almost all of whom were first elected since 1964.

The council will hire special consultants to provide technical and other assistance to these officials, many of whom are unexperienced and ill-educated, and will also support special "service centers" at four Southern Negro colleges that will provide training, staff and research assistance, and technical advice to office-holders in Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, and Alabama.

Among other council activities that will be supported with the grant are information and research, including the publication of the journal, The New South; a labor education project that through courses and seminars disseminates information on race and prejudice, social and economic problems, and workers' rights; a leadership program that seeks to engage Southern industrialists and other leaders in economic and social development, particularly as it relates to Negro workers and entrepreneurs; and assistance to State Councils on Human Relations that sponsor interracial activities.

(MORE)

The grants to the University of Miami and Vanderbilt University represent the Foundation's first support of urban studies in the South. Southern cities are experiencing rates of population growth well above the national average and are facing social, economic, and political problems generated by rapid urban change.

At Miami, the recently established Center for Urban Studies will use its grant to conduct research and experimentation on local political institutions as they affect ghetto residents; to investigate the role of minority entrepreneurs in the metropolitan area and provide advisory services to them; to support a Law School program in which students provide legal services to poor Negroes and Cubans; and to conduct research on air and water pollution and management of land use.

Vanderbilt will focus research on the development of city-suburb-county political consolidations which have been pioneered in the Southeast. Through its Urban and Regional Development Center, it will also conduct a series of studies of how metropolitan fragmentation and integration affect law enforcement, administration of antipoverty programs, air and water pollution control, and management of metropolitan tax systems.

The grant to the American Paper Institute will provide training in basic literacy and mathematics, basic physics, and test orientation, as well as intensive motivational and counseling services to employees of the Georgia Kraft Company who because of their poor education are frozen in low-paying, entry-level jobs.

Although the Southern paper industry is fully unionized and pays relatively high wages, Negro employment in paper mills has traditionally been limited to low and semi-skilled positions, generally in wood gathering and

(MORE)

wood-lot operations. On completion of their thirty-six-week training program, employees will be eligible for higher-paying jobs. The program, which the American Paper Institute will monitor, evaluate, and publicize to the paper industry, is expected to increase the productivity of the workers, open entry-level jobs for the unemployed, further integrate the company's higher-skilled work force, as well as serve as a demonstration to the entire industry. Conducting the training program for Georgia Kraft will be the United States Research and Development Corporation.

The Hogg Foundation of the University of Texas, assisted by an earlier Foundation grant, for the past five years has been providing technical assistance and matching project support to Southwestern foundations interested in supporting community projects. Most of the projects are concerned with problems of the inner city and youth and with Negro and Mexican-American cultural inadequacies. It is estimated that Texas has nearly 6,000 foundations and trusts with approximately one billion dollars in assets. The grant will be used to continue the assistance program for the next two years.

With an earlier Foundation grant of $578,000, the Southern Consumers Education Foundation has made seventeen loans to assist Southern co-ops in diversification, stock building, emergency operational problems, and expansion. Loans have been made to a woman's co-op in Alabama that makes quilts, to a sweet-potato co-op, and for the purchase of 901 acres in Alabama on which to settle forty sharecropper families. The new grant will replenish the loan fund and provide for expanded technical assistance.

Following is a complete list of grants announced today by the Foundation:

American Paper Institute -- $141,000 grant, for a training program to upgrade low-level employees of two Southern paper mills.

(MORE)

Athens Technological Organization -- $300,000 grant, for continued support of the Athens Center of Ekistics. Led by Greek planner Constantinos Doxiadis, the center conducts research on long-term trends in urban development, on the characteristics of group behavior and its relation to land use, and on the development of a master plan for the city of Athens. The center has become a principal European institution for the teaching of planning and related subjects and currently supports ten fellows mainly from developing countries.

Bedford-Stuyvesant D&S Corporation -- $900,000 grant, for administrative support in connection with its comprehensive restoration of the Bedford-Stuyvesant slum area in New York City. The corporation is planning the social, physical, and economic development of the area through a series of projects involving the private business community and neighborhood residents. It has spearheaded the creation of a $65 million mortgage pool for housing improvements, hired unemployed youths to paint and repair the exterior of more than 300 houses, and induced several firms, including IBM, to open or expand plants in the area. The grant will pay half the corporation's administrative expenses for 1969 while it seeks support from other sources.

Columbia University Urban Center -- $500,000 grant, for program development. The grant supplements some $4.5 million already given by the Foundation for support of university programs in urban and minority affairs. The funds, to be deposited in the Freedom National Bank in Harlem, will support community projects in such areas as education, health, cultural enrichment, housing, recreation, employment, and economic development.

Los Angeles Technical Services Corporation -- $35,000 grant, for planning a vocational training center. The Los Angeles City Council recently authorized the lease to the Watts Community Action Committee of former alcoholic rehabilitation center and directed that plans be made for the continued use of the site as a major training center for the disadvantaged. The corporation will provide technical advice in the areas of education and manpower training in planning for use of the center.

University of Miami -- $300,000 grant, for research and action programs on urban problems.

Mobilization for Youth -- $200,000 loan guarantee, for operating expenses in connection with educational, social service, and employment projects on New York City's Lower East Side. The organization currently operates on a $4 million budget provided by nineteen Federal and city grants, and the guarantee will enable it meet expenses pending receipt of these funds. Among its activities are the operation of neighborhood service centers, a work program for school dropouts, and rehabilitation of slum tenements.

National Affairs, Inc. -- $75,000 grant, for support of the publication, The Public Interest, and conferences on social problems. Founded three years ago, The Public Interest has become a forum for intellectuals and policymakers interested in social problems. The grant will assist the magazine to increase its circulation.

(MORE)

National Association for Community Development -- $125,000 grant, for continued operation of the association's services to local, state, and other agencies engaged in community development. During the three years since its incorporation, the association has become the focal point in the private sector for the antipoverty effort. It seeks to develop local competence in administering community action programs, to assist state government personnel in supporting community efforts, and to serve as a central source of information between Federal agencies and state and local communities.

National Council of Negro Women -- $330,000 grant, for promotion of home ownership by poor families. The council will train specialists and provide guidance for poor families in "Turnkey III" projects in twelve communities. These are public housing projects sponsored by the Department of Housing and Urban Development in which occupants eventually purchase their residences through private savings, credit, and incentive subsidies. Council staff and volunteers are working with local families in the first such housing project in Gulfport, Miss.

New Jersey Department of Community Affairs -- $551,735 grant, for urban development and job training programs. Funds will be used for support of the Center for Urban and Environmental Research at Princeton University, which has been aiding community groups participating in antipoverty programs; to test the feasibility of a State Urban Development Corporation; to create a reserve fund for the support of small-scale demonstration projects; to hire urban development experts; and to assist job training programs for the unemployed and under-employed, particularly in Newark. The department has been playing a leading role in New Jersey's efforts to solve its urban problems.

New York Institute for Human Development -- $80,000 grant, for administrative support of storefront centers in poverty areas in the New York metropolitan area. The institute, which has received financial support from the New York Catholic Archdiocese and from Federal, state, and private agencies, is seeking to develop community leadership in slum areas. Various diocesan programs, including adult education and legal and social services, are operated from the centers.

Scholarship, Education, and Defense Fund for Racial Equality -- $150,000 grant, for scholarships for student leaders in the civil rights movement. Since 1963, the fund, which was originally a part of CORE, has provided scholarships to 155 black and white students who have demonstrated leadership and commitment in the civil rights movement. Awards are granted on the basis of personal qualities of the candidates, absence of other financial resources, acceptance by an accredited institution, and academic promise.

Southern Consumers Education Foundation -- $70,000 grant, to assist the development of Southern cooperatives.

Southern Regional Council -- $1,846,500 grant, to assist the social, political, and economic advancement of minorities in the South.

(MORE)

University of Texas -- $150,000 grant, for consultation and matching project for local foundations in the Southwest.

The Urban Coalition -- $300,000 grant, for general support. The grant supplements $400,000 previously given for general support, on the basis of one Foundation dollar for each two dollars raised from other sources.

Vanderbilt University -- $350,000 grant, for research and action programs on urban problems.

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News from the Ford Foundation

320 East 43 Street, New York, N.Y. 10017
Office of Reports 573-5000

PLEASE OBSERVE RELEASE DATE

FOR RELEASE THURSDAY AFTERNOON, JULY 10, 1969

For further information: Richard Magat (212) 573-4830
Whitman Bassow (212) 573-4825

NEW YORK, July 10 -- The Ford Foundation today announced a $250,000 grant to be used by the United States Jaycees for "Operation Opportunity," a nationwide volunteer effort to deal with the problems of disadvantaged Americans.

At the same time, the Foundation announced continued support of three organizations that are attempting to promote racial harmony and increased opportunities for blacks in urban areas. The organizations are the Urban Coalition, New Detroit, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. (Details on pages 2, 3, and 4) A fourth grant was made to the Committee of Southern Churchmen, a group of sixty clergymen and laymen in the South who are seeking to induce racially just behavior by preaching and practicing basic Christian ethics. (Details on page 4)

The Foundation also made grants for two projects aimed at providing understanding of the origins and workings of intergroup hostilities, particularly between blacks and Jews. (Details on page 4)

The grant to the United States Jaycees Foundation will be used by the Jaycees to involve its members in programs to improve the lives of the poor,

(MORE)

especially of minority groups, in rural and urban settings. Funds will support the training of local and national staff and thousands of volunteers to direct projects in education, housing, employment, job training, and recreation. Manuals and handbooks describing how projects can be carried out will also be published.

"Operation Opportunity" has already enlisted over 5,000 Jaycee chapters in various cities in such activities as sponsorship of housing projects, job fairs, and organized campaigns for housing code enforcement. The Jaycees have also published an "Operation Opportunity" manual and distributed 70,000 copies to local chapters and project leaders.

Secretary of Housing and Urban Development George Romney has described "Operation Opportunity" as "most encouraging to those of us who have advocated private solutions to public problems."

The United States Jaycees was founded in 1920 as a small St. Louis social and cultural society. Since then, it has expanded into a national organization concerned with civic improvement and with developing the competitive and leadership qualities of its members. Currently, the Jaycees have a male membership of more than 300,000 between the ages 21 and 35 organized into 6,400 chapters throughout the United States. National headquarters are located in Tulsa, Okla.

The Urban Coalition received a $2.25 million grant for support of efforts to find solutions for the most pressing urban community problems and to recruit, train, and find jobs for the urban poor. Through a national headquarters in Washington and forty-five coalitions in major U.S. cities, the organization is developing programs in housing, education, health, and economic development aimed at raising the quality of life in urban centers. Organized about nineteen months ago in the wake of the 1967 riots, the

(MORE)

coalition has mobilized businessmen, industrialists, educators, government officials, minority representatives, and other members of the community for a common attack on problems of the American city. In the last year, the Foundation has made grants totaling $1,277,000 to the coalition, which is headed by John W. Gardner, former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

New Detroit, the tax-exempt arm of the New Detroit Committee, was granted $1,442,500 for projects in housing, education, economic development, community services, and cultural affairs in the Detroit area. Among them are:

-- a program to build low- and moderate-income housing with a target of 3,871 new and 728 rehabilitated units by the end of 1970.

-- support for minority group business development through the Inner City Business Improvement Forum which has been planning three shopping centers, a plastic molding plant, a new bank, and other enterprises.

-- a study of management and practices in the Detroit Police Department.

-- a counseling service for 8,000 youngsters in ten inner city high schools which has already resulted in a dramatic increase in the number of students going to college.

The New Detroit Committee was formed in the aftermath of the disastrous 1967 riots, which resulted in forty-three deaths and more than $40 million in property damage. The committee -- composed of leaders in business, labor, education, government, and black organizations -- was established to mobilize the city's resources in an attack on the conditions that caused the riots. Previous Foundation grants to the committee have totaled $657,500.

(MORE)

A grant of $300,000 will continue for the third year the Foundation's support to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.) for its expansion of national staff. Most of the effort of this staff is concentrated on programs in nine cities aimed at improving economic and educational opportunities for blacks. Housing, youth activities, and labor relations will be emphasized, and efforts to create a national Negro construction firm with initial assets of over $1 million will be accelerated.

The N.A.A.C.P. -- with over half a million members -- is one of the leading race relations and civil rights organizations in the United States. The Foundation's grants to the N.A.A.C.P. over the last two years have totalled $678,000.

The Committee of Southern Churchmen was granted $158,000. Funds will support publication of Katallagete ("Be Reconciled"), a quarterly journal, talks by committee members to church, community, and campus groups, and mediation of local racial disputes.

Rev. Will D. Campbell, of Nashville, Tenn., committee director, and his colleagues have established an informal pastorate throughout the South directed at alienated poor and lower middle-class whites. They are attempting to reduce hostility between blacks and whites. Rev. Campbell has achieved a unique position that enables him to deal both with members of the Ku Klux Klan and with black militants.

A grant of $109,000 to Sarah Lawrence College will enable Louis Harris and Associates to survey the state of tension between blacks and Jews, the feelings of non-Jewish whites about the black drive for social equality and the social and governmental responses to that drive. The results of the survey

(MORE)

will be discussed at a conference on prejudice called by New York religious leaders Cardinal Terrence Cooke, Episcopal Bishop Horace Donegan, and Rabbi Louis Finkelstein, chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, at the beginning of September.

A grant of $108,775 to the Center for the Study of Public Policy will finance a three-year study of the hopes, fears, frustrations, and hostilities of white working-class and middle-class families in Boston. The project, to be directed by Richard Sennett, assistant professor of sociology and urban studies at Yale University, will cover 100 families with annual incomes between $4,000 and $8,000. Twenty of these will be drawn from a racially mixed district, twenty from a culturally mixed student/working class area, and twenty each from Irish, Italian, and Jewish districts. The aim of the survey is to provide materials and recommendations for urban planners. Professor Sennett also plans to publish a book about the findings.

Following is a complete list of actions announced today by the Foundation:

Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation -- $100,000 grant, to establish a working capital fund for locally owned businesses. These funds will be used for loans or as guarantees for loans obtained from banks and other lending institutions.

Bishop's Fund, Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania -- $193,900 grant, for continued support of the Young Great Society, an organization serving the black community in Philadelphia. The society has contracted for the renewal of seven housing units in the ghetto area, opened a medical center staffed by volunteer doctors, established six branch offices and is negotiating with Polaroid Corporation for a plant expected to employ four hundred persons. The grant will enable the Young Greats to strengthen administrative staff, add to its housing and planning services, and meet ongoing overhead costs.

Center for the Study of Public Policy -- $108,775 grant, for a study of working class and lower middle class family attitudes in Boston.

Committee of Southern Churchmen -- $158,000 grant, to support sixty clergymen and laymen in their efforts to achieve racial harmony and understanding in the South.

(MORE)

Green Power Foundation -- $43,000 grant, for management and technical assistance to industrial enterprises established by the foundation in the Watts area of Los Angeles. These enterprises -- created to encourage blacks to enter the mainstream of the American economy -- already include a plant that will manufacture micro-miniaturized electronic circuits, a furniture delivery service, a plant that produces self-service luggage cart systems for airports.

Inner-City Business Improvement Forum -- $150,000 grant, to carry out a broad economic development program in Detroit's inner city. The forum -- which is supported by grants from the Economic Development Corporation of Greater Detroit and is a vehicle for Federal loans and guarantees -- will use the funds to train entrepreneurs and business managers, aid firms in securing needed financial support, identify business opportunities, and launch a local bank.

-- $500,000 loan, to be used for economic development of Detroit's inner city. The forum -- composed of business, church, educational, black, and community leaders -- will use part of the loan to obtain matching loans from the Small Business Administration and part as guarantees for loans from banks. Funds will be used for reconstruction of ghetto areas ravaged in the 1967 riots, to develop enterprises by, for, and in, the black community, and encourage black entrepreneurs, managers, and employees to break out of ghetto operations into non-segregated employment. Among the ventures are: establishment of a new bank, a plastics manufacturing firm, a wholesale grocery, and a number of retail and service establishments.

Mississippi Research and Development Center -- $700,000 grant, for extension and expansion of a demonstration training and economic development program in the Mississippi Delta. The center -- a state agency which receives Federal financial support -- assists communities in mapping action programs aimed at optimum land use, provides management and technical assistance to existing business and industry, seeks to develop new industry, provides job training and other services aimed at bringing displaced black sharecroppers into the mainstream of the economy. The grant provides partial support for continuation of the center's programs.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People -- $300,000 grant, for continued support of its programs to improve opportunities for Negroes and to protect and expand their civil rights.

National Child Labor Committee -- $63,030 grant, for study and evaluation of Federal programs for the education of children of migrant workers. On the move with their families, in and out of different schools, these children fall quickly behind in school work and never catch up. Federal programs for their education have introduced some changes especially in Texas and California, but have not been evaluated on a national scale. The committee, through its National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children, will undertake a study of the Federal program and make recommendations for national policies and long-range planning.

(MORE)

New Detroit -- $1,442,500 grant, for support of educational, cultural, and business development projects in the Detroit area.

New York Urban Coalition -- $300,000 grant, in partial support for a job development program for the hard-core unemployed. Under the supervision of Coalition Jobs, twenty to thirty industry teams will be organized to solicit jobs, devise training and upgrading programs, and open opportunities hitherto closed to certain segments of the city's population.

Rutgers University -- $65,400 grant, for a program of management advice and technical assistance to minority businessmen in Newark, Camden, and Paterson, New Jersey. Faculty members of the Graduate School of Business will offer courses (series of ten lectures) twice yearly in the three cities, supplemented by technical assistance to new and existing enterprises. The school will work closely with the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity and the Small Business Administration which has been making a large number of loans to minority entrepreneurs in Newark.

Sarah Lawrence College -- $109,000 grant, for a study by Louis Harris and Associates of tensions between blacks and Jews in New York City.

Southern Regional Council -- $33,100 grant, for the Mississippi Business and Legal Project (M.B.L.P.) to provide business and legal assistance to black entrepreneurs and elected officials. Organized by a group of black graduate students in law and business administration, the M.B.L.P. will undertake such projects as studying the feasibility of a shopping center, obtaining a loan from the Small Business Administration, legal and economic assistance to woodcrafters who want to go into the furniture business, legislative research for black elected officials, and compilation of a technical assistance information library. The summer project will be based at Tougaloo College in Tougaloo, Miss.

United States Jaycees Foundation -- $250,000 grant, for action programs carried out by members of the United States Jaycees to aid the disadvantaged and improve conditions in urban centers.

Urban Coalition -- $2,250,000 grant, for general support of efforts to improve the quality of life in American cities and to expand economic opportunities for members of minority groups.

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file Ford Fd

Education

Draft

Dear Mr. Heald:

This is to place before the Foundation a proposal for support of special programs of the Southern Regional Council.

I.

These projected programs are described in this letter in only a general way. We thought that a submission in this brief yet definitive form would facilitate your initial consideration. We would expect to prepare more detailed descriptions as they may be required.

Enclosed with this letter are certain documents of reference regarding the Council. They are:

a. Treasury letter of tax-exemption

b. Audit, 1964

c. Budget, 1965

d. Annual Report, 1964

e. Southern Regional Council, 1944-1964

f. Membership roster

Enclosure "f" is of particular note. The ability of the Council to carry out the programs set forth below is made possible by the resources of leadership, judgment, and experience embraced in its membership.

Because it has been our established practice to budget only modest amounts beyond expectable income, the budget (enclosure"c") does not reflect the scope of the programs proposed here.

II.

The civil rights drive of recent years has dominated the domestic politics of this nation. It has also transformed the politics of the South and deeply affected that of the rest of the nation. It has reached the point where it has produced a clear decision by the federal government to support its aims.

To legislate or decree civil rights is, however, only to decide to undertake the huge and complex national purpose of effectively equalizing opportunities and of integrating disadvantaged people into the institutional life of this country. Neither moral nor political decisions, necessary as they are, will accomplish this. They will be realized only when those decisions are supported by a structure of public policies. In this democracy, public policies -- i.e., policies that shape and determine public life -- are only in part devised by government.

The civil rights campaign has resulted from the interaction of men and historical changes. An event, for example, such as Selma and all that eventuated from it would not have occurred without the people who led it, but neither could it have been possible without the telephone, the airplane, and the television cameras and viewers. In another sense, it could not have occurred without the broad social, economic, and demographic re-alignments that today make this country responsive to civil rights and have made anachronistic the social system of the Black Belt.

Further progress toward equalizing opportunity and toward making disadvantaged people a fully productive part of the nation will likewise come from interacting men and trends. To overlook the need for policies would be, however, a profound mistake. In a period when one system of social, economic, and political relationships is being or has been discarded, and another not yet securely fashioned, policy is crucial.

The consequences of all the forces, both impersonal and voluntary, which have produced the civil rights gains are immense and many of them constitute already pressing problems for our society.

The migration of rural peoples to the cities, South, North, and West, and the subsequent enormity of educational, welfare, and manpower problems; the progressive decline in the white population of our central cities, and its implications for political rivalry with suburbia, for the tax base of the cities, and for the cities' traditional role as the guardian of arts and letters; the enfranchisement of millions of new, unschooled, and unsophisticated voters; the tragic irony that Negro Americans are finally escaping from planned and deliberate discrimination at a time when the abrupt escalation of job and educational standards makes their entry into the mainstream of American life extraordinarily difficult.— these are some of the realities shaping the character of contemporary America.

Other issues could be enumerated, but such is not necessary, for these are well-understood concerns of the Ford Foundation.

A leading premise of this proposal is that there is a realistic possibility in the South of meeting ~~some~~ many of these problems before they rigidify, and of directing social change into paths beneficial and satisfying to the whole community.

We do not, of course, suggest that the programs proposed here can be of more than contributory value, though we believe that will be great.

We believe that, because the purpose of this proposal is to strengthen the existing institutions and community organizations of the region and to effect larger and freer participation within them.

III.

We propose to do this in a number of ways, utilizing methods in which over the years our staff has acquired skill and recognition. These include research and publication, the use of specialized consultants, the convening of conferences and seminars, and the administration of small grants to other organizations. ~~As will be seen further on, we propose to develop also a method new to our operations, and that is the awarding of scholarships.~~

Administration will draw not only on the Council's staff and research facilities, but will draw active support from

which we propose be also further strengthened through

our affiliated Councils on Human Relations. There is a C.H.R. in every southern state except Texas, and each is staffed except that of Louisiana; a strong and well-staffed local C.H.R. is in Houston. Altogether, these bodies have a membership of some 10,000, professional staff of 21, and an annual budget of approximately $300,000.

A special committee of Council members (see enclosure "f") will be appointed by the President to supervise planning and administration. ~~The committee will include representatives of education, law, press, business, and labor.~~

IV.

Areas which we propose initially to work in include the following:

1. City planning, especially as it involves the location of public facilities, is an absolutely crucial field. We shall seek to further an awareness of issues and demands, on the part of planners, municipal administrators, federal housing agencies, and the public.

2. Southern state and local governments are just entering an era of public policy-making in behalf of equal opportunity. Policy studies, consultation, and reviews are needed. Given the general ineffectiveness of northern and western FEPC's, etc., the need is especially clear.

3. Special programs, including if necessary the use of subsidies, are in order to improve coverage and interpretation of Negro news by the press, through bringing well-qualified Negroes onto the news and editorial staffs of both "white" and "Negro" papers.

4. Educational programs for the new voters, especially the Negro voters of the Black Belt, will be an increasingly appreciated necessity. Civics materials can be prepared, but the actual instruction should come through selected local Negro groups, with small grants as needed for expenses.

5. The federal government is embarked on vast and untried programs under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Economic Opportunity Act, and others in force or prospective. Periodic seminars for federal field efficials, consultation, and outside evaluation of their problems, policies, and practices are indicated.

6. Labor unions are key to the success of equal employment efforts by both private employers and government administrators. Studies by economists (e.g., Donald Dewey, Gary Becker)

have held that employee resistance is the greatest single barrier to non-discriminatory hiring. Human relations education within the southern labor movement is a need of such urgency that we have been promised the full support and assistance of AFL-CIO leadership in carrying it out.

7. The spirit of the civil rights movement has stirred American campuses and has also stimulated college students to protest their disapproval and grievances of other things. We regard this student ferment as a valuable resource. It should be helped to achieve clarity, understanding, and constructive expression. We would seek these ends through conferences, seminars, assistance in planning constructive community services, and small grants to support them.

8. There are youthful veterans of the civil rights movement who, having demonstrated their leadership qualities, are a resource this country cannot afford to overlook. Some of them need to find avenues of re-entry into the normal social processes; interneships with organizations such as the councils on human relations and official human relations committees would facilitate this. Many others of them have interrupted their education. They should be returned to the campuses as the best means of assuring that their future

JB campus

leadership will not only be available but constructive. In most cases, they are not likely choices of normal scholarship programs. The educators in Council membership represent an ideal panel to select and counsel these persons for scholarships.

V.

The programs indicated in the section above constitute so many means toward strengthening the capability of existing institutions both to absorb integration and to give leadership of enduring benefit to southern society. Other programs consistent with this same purpose would be added as appropriate.

We think the value of such programs depends in considerable degree on how quickly and how sizeably they can be organized and carried out. We ask, therefore, that the Foundation consider a grant of $1,000,000 for a two-year period and that at the end of this time the program be evaluated thoroughly and its continued usefulness determined. We shall, of course, report to you frequently and in such manner as you may wish. A detailed budget is attached.

We are keenly aware of the responsibility which the members, officers, and staff of the Southern Regional Council assume in advancing these plans and in undertaking to carry them out. We shall be most grateful for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Student Activities LD

Structure: Six southern states have student human relations groups which are loosely affiliated with the state councils on human relations. We suggest that a MAJOR portion of the money be used to strengthen the programs of these groups and to develop new programs and student groups in the remaining southern states. We emphasize that funds will be used to support projects and programs and will not be used to support organizations.

Administration:

1. An area coordinator employed by SRC
2. State coordinators - to be paid from the fund with duties of developing and carrying out programs in the state. It is suggested that he not be an employee of the state council but the coordinator of student activities in the state, especially activities of the student groups affiliated with the state council. The coordinator would hopefully work out of the state council office but would be independent, working for the SRC youth project.
3. Local Campus coordinators - in some cases local campus coordinators would be provided under a scholarship program which is explained fully under the section dealing with program.
4. Financing of projects - Local campus groups would apply for grants direct from the SRC regional office. The grants would then be administered through the state coordinator. Grants would be made to any local campus group which puts forth a worthwhile program plan. Grants would not be made to organizations which in turn organize students, i.e., NSA, SSOC, SNCC, SDS, as this would place us very much in the position of a foundation rather than a program administrator and developer. However, Organizations such as SSOC and SNCC could organize a student group on a campus which would then in turn develop a project requiring finances for programing expenses. This student group would then make application to SRC for a project grant. Very clearly then, funds would not be used to support organizations but the projects they initiate.

Student Activities Cont.

Program :

Student efforts during the past few years have influenced and created much of the social change that has taken place. The sit-ins, freedom rides and other direct action techniques were done largely by student groups. These efforts have brought change. The situation is a different one today than four, three, or even two years ago. People working in civil rights have had to change tactics and develop new techniques to adjust to the new climate.

Student groups, of all the civil rights organizations, have adapted the most readily. The following list of student sponsored projects shows the breadth of program students have attempted, and even more important, the newness of ideas behind the programs:

1. Tutorials
2. Adult night classes
3. Playground clearance and supervision
4. Cooking classes for young mothers
5. Student recruitment for local high schools and state colleges.
6. Distribution of films on civil rights, poverty, minority groups.
7. Study hall supervision
8. Field trips
9. Involvement in urging for a state compulsory education law.
10. Rent surveys
11. Liberal forums ranging from academic freedom to civil rights.
12. Essay contests for college and high school studnets
13. Panel discussion groups to visit churches and civic groups.
14. Bus tours of their citY's slum areas.
15. Newsletters, pamphlets, posters.
16. Fact finding surveys in connection with the poverty program.
17. Organization of campus political parties on the Freedom Party platform.
18. Urging for the repeal of state capital punishment laws.

Program cont.

19. Weekend exchange groups at college campuses.

20. Pre-integration summer school programs.

21. Voter registration and education programs.

22. Drama involving bi-racial student groups.

23. Demands for campus government by law.

24. Use of radio, television to inform campus students on pertinent issues.

25. Surveys of social and fraternal clubs on campus to locate discriminatory practices.

26. Work with foreign students.

This is but a partial list; students are on the move, and new ideas are not wanting. But the financing of larger programs to include more students is wanting. Student projects must be exciting, challenging, and maybe somewhat idealistic. This demands planning, the expanding of present program, and creativeness. And it demands money to fund the programs.

Other Program ideas:

1. Area-wide seminars - to be held annually or semi-annually and to be used mainly to discuss methods of improving projects and trading ideas.

2. Vacation Projects - ranging from Thanksgiving and Christmas two week projects to those of summer length. These projects would receive advance planning and coordination from the regional office.

3. A scholarship fund - This could be separate from the general program funding operation and would provide scholarships to worthy high school and college students. A special emphasis perhaps on the civil rights worker wishing to return to school could also be given, in some cases on a work-study basis could be worked out where the recipient would serve as the local campus coordinator of activities.

4. Service fellowships - could be made available for recent college graduates enabling them to take jobs ordinarially paying such low salaries as to discourage the job seeker; rural school teaching, urban slum working. Or a direct grant of, say $5000/yr. freeing an individual to explore new methods in community development.

Program cont.

5. Half-way houses - with students running them. Such houses could offer housing scholarships& be used for tutorials ect. ~~///////////~~

File - Ford Foundation - 1965 (Request for Aid)

THE STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS:

To our considerable frustrations, it has always been difficult to adequately describe the concept and programs of the state councils on human relations. A part of this is due to the fact that these councils are people. The programs, even the value, of these groups run the gamut of people's skills, interests, and weaknesses. A part, too, has perhaps been the candor with which one must describe the councils. They are weak and strong, effective and ineffective, poorly directed and brilliantly directed.

Several of these groups have a history as old as the interracial movement in the South. The Commisssion on Interracial Cooperation was formed in Atlanta in 1919 with the primary purpose of having the region's people meet together. Much of this was done under state structures of various names. (In North Carolina, the State Legislature recognized the North Carolina Commission on Interracial Cooperation and designated by law that the governor should always serve as honorary chairman. While few governors have acknowledged this, that law has not been repealed.) All of these structures and their membership were merged into the Southern Regional Council in 1944.

In the early '50's, SRC's leadership saw a need to encourage and strengthen these local groups. In part, this was done in anticipation of the Supreme Court's school decision of May, 1954, and the awareness that if the region

was to achieve true integration, it must be done community by community with the involvement of the people in those communities. To their everlasting credit, the council leadership determined that state councils should be autonomous rather than "branch offices" of SRC. Thus the affairs of the groups were placed in the hands of persons within the state concerned.

The process of establishing and staffing state councils was begun in 1953 and completed the following year. A grant was secured from the Fund for the Republic to pay all salaries and expenses of twelve groups until November, 1957, by which time all were to have attracted sufficient support from within each state to be self-supporting.

This was a sound plan with one great flaw; it did not anticipate the reaction to the Supreme Court's decision and the complete rejection of the region's people to anything interracial. Indeed, by 1956, meetings and programs which had been commonplace a decade earlier, became extremely difficult if not impossible. Thus the three years when support was to have been developed were spent rather in an effort to survive. In Mississippi and Louisiana, even surviving was impossible. In November, 1957, membership in the State Council was less than 4,000, about what it had been when the groups were organized. No state council was in a position to survive without continued SRC support.

In 1957, the Fund for the Republic, made a terminal grant of $200,000 to be spent at a rate of $50,000 a year

and SRC's grant-in-aid program was begun. Subsequently, the Field and Tacomic Foundations have each given $25,000 a year for this purpose and SRC has added about $5,000 a year from other sources. These funds, although inadequate, have enabled the State Councils to survive, grow, and seek other resources. The Mississippi Council has been re-established and the Louisiana Council, although unstaffed, has strong lay leadership.

At this time, the councils have a membership of approximately 11,000 and expenditures in excess of $300,000, of which about one-third is raised from within the region. We feel the programs of these groups are sound and effective. The time is now such, finally, when in most places in the South local interracial groups can be encouraged and can find an important place for themselves.

File Ford Fd. -1965

VIRGINIA COUNCIL -- Traditionally one of the strongest councils. There are over 30 local councils with especially productive ones in northern Virginia, Charlottesville and Richmond; an active board of directors. In December, 1964, VCHR lost its strong director, Heslip Lee, and has been in difficulty since then. The present director, a good man but inexperienced, needs considerable training, and may not be adequate for the job.

The board of VCHR and the SRC staff (if asked) needs to do considerable work to get this council back to its former excellence. This organization, even in its present circumstances, continues to have merit and deserves continued SRC support in the grant of $4,000 - $5,000. Substantial new support is not warranted until these problems referred to are resolved.

Several possibilities should be considered. In order of priority they are:

(1) The VCHR is in serious financial difficulty. An additional grant of $2 - 4,000 would give some stability and time to work on the present situation.

(2) A grant of $2 - 4,000 to assist the student work of VCHR which is both good and promising.

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL -- For 10 years from 1954 until his death, this council had one director, the Rev. Harry Jones.

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During this period, the NCCHR was a valuable addition to the North Carolina scene. It did have one major flaw. It operated as an agency in which the staff did the work to the exclusion of a state-wide active membership.

Last spring, the board (which is an excellent one) began a determined search to choose a new director. They selected Mrs. Helen Adams, a native of Alabama, then Director of Development at Roosevelt University. For the past year, she has done an outstanding job and the NCCHR has made real progress. Membership has grown and become involved. Local councils have organized. The council successfully operated three Head Start programs this summer in difficult areas of the state. The North Carolina Intercollegiate Council encouraged and supported by Governor Sanford, was accepted as the youth affiliate when its future was in serious doubt. (This group, still affiliated with NCCHR, has changed its name to Youth Educational Services, has been given quarters by the University of North Carolina, has its own staff and has raised approximately $20,000 to support its program.) Regrettably, Mrs. Adams resigned in September, because she found the physical demands of the job too great and she realized, correctly, the development skills of an established university could not be adapted readily to a struggling agency.

The board is now looking for a new director and hopes to find a Negro to fill that position. We think this is an excellent idea.

Two instances of assistance are desirable:

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(1) A general grant of $4,000 to assure an adequate director's salary and travel.

(2) A grant of $8,000 to hire a junior staff person. ($6,000 salary, $2,000 related expenses.)

THE SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL -- Since 1954 the director of this group has been Mrs. Alice Spearman. Mrs. Spearman, a grand and realistic lady, is hard to describe. As a young woman from one of the "Old" families of S. C., she managed to do everything from working as a newspaper in New York City to arriving independently in Shanghai, at the time of the riots of 1920's. In time Mrs. Spearman returned to her home, married well, and continued her own brand of reform in her native state.

(In some instances the South tolerates its own and this in large measure is why the S. C. Council continued to develop in the late 50's when other Councils in the Deep South either were driven out of existence or barely survived.)

THE SCCHR has a unique distinction among state councils; the majority of its membership is Negro (over 60%) and in that membership is most of the Negro leadership of the state.

While a dominant theme, emphasis in this council is not essentially in race relations. It is rather in "basic issues," voter registration, leadership development, etc.

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(To a significant degree the opinions of the membership of a state council reflect the opinions and goals of the agency. This S. C. situation offers some interesting observations on the thinking and objectives of the Negro citizens of South Carolina.)

The S. C. Council is an excellent example of a need to adequately compensate the staff and allow for travel and training outside the state. A grant of $8 - 10,000 would accomplish this.

THE GEORGIA COUNCIL -- This group under the Talmadge, Griffin and Vandiver state administrations had one of the most difficult atmospheres in which to develop. (When Dr. Guy Wells became director in 1954, the Georgia Board of Regents took away his title of President Emeritus of Georgia State College for Women and attempted to block his retirement benefits.)

Only in the past several years has this group been able to operate effectively and it is now a significant entity on the Georgia scene.

The present director is Mrs. Frances Pauley, former President of the Georgia League of Women Voters. Under her leadership, the Council is especially effective in developing local Councils in small towns, in its work in small town and rural areas, in its ability to communicate and interpret during

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crisis situations and the extent to which the media gives attention to this Council's analysis and observations.

Mrs. Pauley has been very successful in raising funds outside the state for the work of the Georgia Council. While this is admirable, such fund raising is very personal in nature and results in the condition where the Georgia Council raises less funds within its state than any staffed Council excepting Mississippi.

The Georgia Council, too, needs funds to increase staff salaries and allow for staff enrichment. (The associate director and the newly-employed Rural Advancement Project staffer -- both excellent men -- each are paid $6,000 per year.)

A grant of $8,000 would allow for this. This grant, however, should be on a matching basis of funds raised in the state.

THE FLORIDA COUNCIL -- Southern and national opinion about the state of Florida have hampered the growth of the Florida Council. With the exception of SRC support, this Council has never been able to attract outside support. The image of the liberal parts of the state have obscured the fact that much of central and northern Florida (including St. Augustine, are very much Deep South in character.

This group has survived only because its membership (one of the largest and most involved of the state Councils) has contributed funds well in excess of the average. Even so,

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this group has lived precariously since 1954.

Given the nature of this situation, most needed is additional staff support to the membership and the local councils. This will encourage continued membership growth and financial support. Equally important, it will involve new local membership in program. A grant of $8 - 10,000 would allow the Florida Council to add another staff person and would provide most of the supporting costs.

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL -- For a number of years the Alabama Council made its greatest contribution by merely surviving. And, that was a significant contribution.

The first director, The Rev. Robert Hughes, a young Methodist minister, began operation in Montgomery. When no one would any longer rent office space to them, the Council office was moved to Birmingham. Subsequently, Mr. Hughes was jailed during a libel suit against the New York Times. He left shortly thereafter for Africa where he is now a missionary.

The second director, the Rev. Norman Jimerson, was placed in a similar situation. He and his family suffered every pressure and indignity imaginable. After three years, for the health of this man and his family, it was necessary to see that they left the state. Mr. Jimerson is now on the faculty at Kalamazoo College.

Last year, after spending the summer with SRC, the Rev. Ed Stanfield, a young Presbyterian minister, accepted this post

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on our provision that the office be moved to Huntsville. Due in part to the changing situation in Alabama (which though improved remains appalling) and in part to Mr. Stanfield's direction, the Alabama Council is now, by Deep South standards, flourishing. During the past 12 months membership has tripled to more than 1,200, more funds have been raised within the state that with any other state Council, and there is a positive, influential program.

While space does not here permit an adequate explanation, this is the only state Council where we would recommend an unrestricted grant of $8 - 10,000. While we would hope these funds would be used for additional staff, we would be happy for the Alabama Council leadership to do as it saw fit with these resources.

THE MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL -- In 1957 the Mississippi Council was driven out of existence. In 1962 a group of citizens in that state began reorganizing that Council. By January, 1965, sufficient funds had been found to hire Kenneth Dean as director of the Mississippi Council.

Mr. Dean has done an excellent job and the Mississippi Council has made a contribution to that state. (One cannot underestimate the difficulties under which staff and members operate in this kind of situation.)

At no time in the foreseeble future can we expect

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the Mississippi Council to become self-sufficient. For this reason, we have used an entirely different standard of judging the Mississippi Council. Normally, sound administration, membership growth and involvement, the general base of state-wide strength, is, we feel, essential to the concept of a state Council on Human Relations.

Ken Dean is not an administrator. He is a doer. His empathy and his ability to address himself to immediate situations are remarkable. In short, that which would be a liability in a more normal situation is in this instance, in our opinion, an asset.

We hope the SRC staff can work closely with the Mississippi Council and we feel optimistic about the opportunities in that state.

We recommend here a grant of approximately $16,000 to provide for an additional staff person and an expanded program of work with college students.

THE LOUISIANA COUNCIL -- As in Mississippi, the Louisiana Council was forced out of existence in 1957. Louisiana is more Deep South, black belt than has been generally acknowledged. Even the city of New Orleans has a dismal record by comparison with any other major city in the region.

The remains of the Louisiana Council have been largely

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the Community Relations Council of New Orleans. We have offered that group occasional staff and financial support though we have been regularly frustrated by the typically New Orleans-like dilettante nature of this group.

During 1963-64 we have encouraged a state-wide group of lay people in their effort to reorganize the Louisiana Council. (Our financial support during 1965 will be approximately $2,000.) This is a good group, their results are encouraging, and we feel there is a sound base on which to build a staffed Council. This will, however, require a great deal of time.

A grant of $10,000 would enable the re-establishment of a Louisiana Council.

THE TEXAS COUNCIL -- The only remains of a Texas Council on Human Relations is the Houston Council. This is a vigorous, effective, self-supporting group. Of expenditures of approximately $50,000 during 1965, the only support outside greater Houston was an SRC grant of $1,800.

Unlike the other state Councils, the Texas Council was defeated largely because of geography and apathy. The state is huge for a small operation and it has been notorious in its disinterest in human relations concerns.

In time, SRC would like to explore the possibilities of re-establishing a Texas Council. We are now prepared to recommend expenditures toward this end.

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TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS -- The Tennessee Council has a modest history of stability and good results. We feel our investment in this Council has borne good and regular but not spectacular results.

Until the past year this Council tended to emphasize staff services at the expense of membership involvement. We hope this is now changing.

While this Council is by no means a partisan organization, Tennessee is a remarkably political state. The leadership of this Council has been unusually enmeshed in politics. The current president, an outstanding lady, Mrs. Martha Ragland, is a former Democrat National Committeewoman. The immediate past president was campaign director for the now Senator Ross Bass. In the spring of 1965 fully one-third of the board was involved in either running for office or directing the campaigns of those who were. To compound the situation, the present TCHR director, a Methodist minister from Dallas, Texas, was nearly elected congressman from that district two years ago.

There are other dimensions to the TCHR. But this involvement should be noted both because it indicates pertinence in the life of the state and because it signals a factor which must not become dominant.

This Council needs an associate director who should be Negro. A grant of $10 - 12,000 would make this possible.

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ARKANSAS COUNCIL -- Among the state Councils the Arkansas Council, like South Carolina, has shown remarkable stability. This is a strange, small state and in our opinion ACHR has had a good influence over the past decade.

The director since 1954 is an elderly Methodist minister, the Rev. Nathaniel Griswold. The Associate Director is Mr. Ozell Sutton, former manager of the farm of Winthrop Rockefeller. In our opinion Mr. Sutton is one of the most influential civil rights leaders of Arkansas and we hope ACHR will select him as their director on Mr. Griswold's retirement.

Arkansas is a considerable distance from everything. In involving the ACHR staff this has been a considerable budgetary frustration to us and to them. A grant of $6,000 to supplement staff salaries and to allow for out-of-state travel would help considerably.

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STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS: FUNDS RAISED

	1965*	1964
ALABAMA (Jan.-Sept.)	$ 26,000	$ 19,439
ARKANSAS (Jan.-Sept.)	25,000	25,618
FLORIDA (Jan.-June)	17,000	17,930
GEORGIA (Jan.-July)	40,000	54,723
LOUISIANA	2,000	
MISSISSIPPI (Jan.-Aug. 26)	18,000	2,200
NORTH CAROLINA (Jan.-July)	20,000	27,015
SOUTH CAROLINA (Dec.-Aug.)	50,000	41,303
TENNESSEE (Jan.-Sept.)	20,000	17,399
VIRGINIA* (Development Project - Jan.-March; General Fund, April-Sept.)	35,000	52,002
HOUSTON (Jan., Feb., March, June and August only reports available)	40,000	40,892
TOTAL	$293,000	$ 298,521

*Estimated, on basis of financial reports through September, 1965

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STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS: MEMBERSHIP

	1965	1964	1963
ALABAMA	1,036	400	420
ARKANSAS	423	751	503
FLORIDA	2,043	1,451	718
GEORGIA	1,072	1,241	1,023
LOUISIANA	150	-----	-----
MISSISSIPPI	325	196	45
NORTH CAROLINA	743	648	514
SOUTH CAROLINA	967	1,050	945
TENNESSEE	1,041	775	676
VIRGINIA	2,500*	2,423	2,367
HOUSTON	750*	610	509
TOTAL	11,050	9,545	7,720

*Estimated

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Paul Anthony, Executive Director John H. Wheeler, President

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama
539-4277 (205)
Exec. Dir.: Edwin Stanfield
Intern: Robert Valder
Chmn.: Nat Welch

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas
FRanklin 4-4521 (501)
Exec. Dir.: Nathaniel Griswold
Assoc. Dir.: Ozell Sutton
Chmn.: Walter B. Clancy

Florida Council on Human Relations
356 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida
255-5881 (305)
Exec. Dir.: Edwyn E. Lewis, Jr.
Chmn.: Dr. H. Franklin Williams

Georgia Council on Human Relations
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
525-6468 (404)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Frances Pauley
Assoc. Dir.: Oliver Holmes
Rural Advancement Project:
Hubert Thomas
Chmn: Dr. Joe Hendricks

Louisiana Council on Human Relations
Chmn.: Dr. James R. Oliver
P. O. Box 2992
Lafayette, La. 70501

Mississippi Council on Human Relations
306 First Federal Building
Capitol at State Street
Jackson, Mississippi
948-0878, 948-0879 (601)
Exec. Dir.: Kenneth Dean
Chmn.: Rev. Duncan M. Gray, Jr.
Assoc. Dir.: Bill Silver

North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 E. Third Street, Room 301
Charlotte, North Carolina
FRanklin 6-6833 (704)
No executive director at present
Chmn.: Dr. T. Franklin Williams

South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina
ALpine 6-8808 (803)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Alice Spearman
Field Rep.: Leonidas James
Program Director: Elizabeth Ledeen
Intern: Brad Poston
Chmn.: Rev. Fred Reese

Tennessee Council on Human Relations
1106 - 19th Avenue South
Nashville, Tennessee
297-6568 (615)
Exec. Dir.: Baxton Bryant
Assoc. Dir.: Katherine Jones
Chmn.: Martha Ragland

Virginia Council on Human Relations
17 East Cary Street
Richmond 19, Virginia
648-4445 (703)
Exec. Dir.: Robert L. Combs
Chmn.: David Scull

Houston (Texas) Council on Human Relations
5403 Austin Street
Houston, Texas
JA. 6-1829 (713)
Exec. Dir.: Robert R. Alexander
Chmn.: G. E. Dodd

The Virginia Council on Human Relations came into being as a response to massive political and legislative efforts to prevent integration of the Commonwealth's public schools following the Supreme Court's decision in the Brown case in May, 1954.

Research, education, consultation, negotiation, persuasion, publicity, and the development of individual concern through personal participation in activities surmounting the traditional barriers of race - these were the methods used for a decade in seeking a just society. The organization grew from an idea in the minds of a few to a force for rational action involving many. Twenty-eight councils are affiliated with VCHR around the state; about 3,000 Virginians support the organization as members.

As the organization grew in numerical strength, so too did its purpose for being; during the first days attention was focused almost entirely on the closed schools in Prince Edward County and the port city of Norfolk, and the extraordinary repudiation by the State's political leadership of traditions given the state and nation by Jefferson when they spawned massive resistance. In 1966, the VCHR by-laws were revised to say the nonprofit organization existed to carry on in Virginia an educational program for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions; to attain through research and action programs values and practices which will result in the greatest good for all peoples; to curb tensions and their causes by promoting intergroup understanding; and, finally, to cooperate with local, state, regional and national agencies in securing these objectives.

And while we have been an important force in the march toward equality in Virginia, the council recognizes that these purposes as originally set forth and later revised have yet to be accomplished. Change has come to Virginia; and with change has come a change in the objective reality to which we must respond. These new times, in a new South, require new opportunities for biracial, collateral action which changes men's behavior, not simply their minds. The nation,and Virginia, has experienced during the past few years some cold times in our cities, and in our rural places: blood has been shed; neighborhoods occupied; people know hunger in a land of plenty, and have been uprooted. The coldness in our times results from feelings shared by each, perhaps every council member, who, after years of struggle for equality little or nothing of substance seems to have been done about social evils we no longer regard as inevitable.

We know certainly in this age of social and technological revolution that people do not have to be poorly housed, or diseased, or abused through fear, hatred, prejudice. Yet countless numbers of our fellow Virginians suffer these experiences. We know that old absolutes about certain people having certain rights and others having none are gone. We know the future is open and man has the freedom, and indeed, the responsibility to shape his own destiny. Yet, man-run organizations seem able to resist change massively, and we frequently feel powerless, unable to live responsibly. Is there an alternative to the coldness of our times that grows from the matrix of frustration and despair? In the past two years, VCHR has struggled with these feelings, uncertainities, facts, questions - just as have most organizations with the same or similar purposes.

The result of this period of streneous self-examination, of objective analysis of who we are, and what we can expect of ourselves and of our times, is - if, as executive director, I may be permitted a value judgement - an exciting alternative to this coldness of our times.

Meeting Thanksgiving weekend in Prince Edward County the VCHR Board of Directors said, in effect, we have the freedom and the responsibility to shape our own future. And to live responsibly in this troubled day means to take a stand, to act even though organizationally we cannot be entirely certain of the outcome, or guarantee its success. However, action is urgently needed if we are not to drift further into powerlessness, as an organization, or as individuals. Prudent calculations resulting in no action are options no longer available to organizations struggling to over come poverty, racism, bigotry. We can no longer limit our acts by what seems possible but, instead, we must undertake what seems impossible with daring, trust, respect. We at VCHR, certainly a small voice, have set out to demonstrate that black and white people in the American South can share, can build, can trust, can save, can be - equally.

Adopted as policy at that important meeting was the notion that small groups of members in the organization's local councils should begin to organize themselves around certain tasks within the larger activities of their local councils.

These groups would have two responsibilities:

First, they would work at the hard task of nuturing respect, openness, freedom and participation among members of the council.

They would try on a fairly regular basis to come to know one another as people, not personnel to be fitted into the larger organization's tasks. A sense of community among the group members would be encouraged

Second, toward the larger society, toward this cold time, the small group would take whatever action it deemed wise to achieve a just society, and would support people willing to stand up for justice in this day, now, whether in the group or out.

A fundamental principal around which these small groups will and must be built is genuine, lively talk - talk that helps the individual gradually discover his own opinions in a society increasingly regimented; talk that places all individuals on an equal footing. The meetings will be informal; no leader need preside. Discussions and decisions will build on preceding meetings and aim to produce feelings of belonging and common experience. The goal is avoid imposing solutions from above with resulting mechanical adherence, and develop, instead, solutions to problems within the group itself.

Here, the notion of action and discussion alternatives is introduced by the state level organization. On a regular monthly basis, the professional staff will begin to translate needs expressed by individual members into forms which might prompt either action or discussion among other council members elsewhere. Each local council will be asked to consider the monthly action alternative to a particular problem as one which either the entire council might wish to support and engage in, or that a small group might be formed to undertake.

The monthly discussion alternative would aim to provide a similar opportunity for widening individual self understanding. Since

each local council presumably might be discussing, deciding and doing something about the same alternatives with some geographical uniformity, a certain strategic power might emerge in clusters around the Commonwealth. The ultimate hope here is that the process of social change would be speeded up.

Examples of the areas being developed for action among local councils include leadership development, economic cooperation, housing, employment, cultural understanding, conflict resolution and educational/motivational conferences. More specifically, examples include Project Homeward Bound, an effort to assist returning veterans in securing homes and jobs without discrimination; similar assistance for Job Corps returnees; membership services which will reduce the costs of drugs, books, eyeglasses for VCHR members. Advocacy planning projects are being developed in cooperation with the Episcopal Diocese of Southwest Virginia, and with Planners of Equal Opportunity and with the Committee on Equal Opportunity, American Institute of Planners, for staffed projects in Southwestern Virginia counties, and with the model cities' community of Norfolk. A staffed leadership development project in Southside Virginia in cooperation with the Methodist Church of Virginia's Board of Christian Social Concerns, and the Lynch Foundation of Northern Virginia starts this month.

A historical analysis of organizations indicates that strong, lasting voluntary groups such as VCHR share three major characteristics: (1) membership is closely defined; (2) the organization is a legal entity unto itself operated by decisions made as broadly as possible by the membership; and, (3) financial resources come (as far as

possible) from within the resources of members. The VCHR Board of Directors, as this report indicates, has set out to become a strong, independent force for justice in the Commonwealth. We intend to demonstrate the truth of what Murray D. Linclon once said: "If you really want fun out of life, align yourself with some worth, but unpopular cause." We intend to warm up these cold times.

Frank T. Adams, Jr.
Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
January, 1968

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For the Year Ended December 31, 1965

	TOTAL	GENERAL FUND	SPECIAL FUND
RECEIPTS:			
Memberships and Contributions	$15,163.63	$15,163.63	$ --
Special Contributions	1,950.00		1,950.00
Southern Regional Council Grants	5,200.00	5,000.00	200.00
Contri. for Development Project	2,600.00		2,600.00
Non-budgeted Items	2,921.09	2,921.09	--
William C. Whitney Foundation	2,500.00		2,500.00
Richmond Council	100.00		100.00
Anti-Defamation League	50.00		50.00
Miscellaneous	238.00	35.00	203.02
Total Receipts	$30,722.74	$23,119.72	$7,603.02
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Salaries	$20,388.27	$12,653.29	$7,734.98
Payroll Taxes	622.65	369.45	253.20
Travel Expenses	3,042.15	2,148.23	893.92
Office Expenses	6,828.66	6,346.96	481.70
Board Meetings	9.70	9.70	--
College Council Expenses	2,791.29		2,791.29
Internship - B. D. Doctor	2,291.71		2,291.71
Miscellaneous	609.78	609.78	--
Non-budgeted Items	46.51	46.51	--
Total Disbursements	$36,630.98	$22,183.92	$14,446.80
EXCESS RECEIPTS OVER DISBURSEment	($ 5,907.98)	$ 935.80	($ 6,843.78)
CASH BALANCE, January 1, 1965	10,194.52	1,815.77	8,378.75
CASH BALANCE, December 31, 1965	$ 4,286.54	$ 2,751.57	$1,534.97

On Deposit as Follows:

$1,547.48	State-Planters Bank of Commerce and Trusts (Checking)
1,204.09	State-Planters Bank of Commerce and Trusts (Savings)
1,534.97	Consolidated Bank & Trust Company (Checking)
$4,286.54	

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For the Year Ended December 31, 1966

RECEIPTS:	TOTAL	GENERAL FUND	SPECIAL FUND
Memberships and Contributions	$13,064.24	$13,064.24	$ --
Special Contributions	3,944.00	3,944.00	--
Southern Regional Council Grants	12,850.00	4,600.00	8,250.00
Interest on Savings Account	124.98	124.98	--
Miscellaneous	185.00	--	185.00
Non-budgeted Amounts to be Refunded	218.25	218.25	--
Total Receipts	$30,386.47	$21,951.47	$8,435.00
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Salaries	$18,065.99	$14,815.99	$3,250.00
Payroll Taxes	638.41	501.91	136.50
Travel Expenses	2,765.13	1,170.56	1,594.57
Office Expenses	6,876.14	6,120.18	755.96
Board & Committee Meetings	76.96	61.72	15.24
College Council Expenses	50.00	--	50.00
Annual Membership Meeting	90.00	90.00	--
Miscellaneous	346.99	273.28	73.71
Non-budgeted Items	86.82	86.82	--
Total Disbursements	$28,996.44	$23,120.46	$5,875.98
EXCESS OF RECEIPTS OVER DISBURSEMENTS	$ 1,390.03	($ 1,168.99)	$2,559.02
CASH BALANCE, JANUARY 1, 1966	4,286.54	2,751.57	1,534.97
CASH BALANCE, DECEMBER 31, 1966	$ 5,676.57	$ 1,582.58	$4,093.99

On Deposit as Follows:

$2,329.07	State-Planters Bank of Commerce and Trusts (Savings)
253.51	State-Planters Bank of Commerce and Trusts (Checking)
3,093.99	Consolidated Bank & Trust Company (Checking)
$5,676.57	TOTAL

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For the Year Ending December 31, 1967

RECEIPTS:	TOTAL	GENERAL FUND	SPECIAL FUND
Membership and Contributions	$11,323.03	$11,323.03	$ ---
Southern Regional Council Grants	14,750.00	1,650.00	13,100.00
Special Contri. - Development	2,000.00		2,000.00
Special Contri. - Va. Conference	3,260.82	3,260.82	
Film Rental	225.15	225.15	
Refunds	628.97	628.97	
Literature and Textbook Material	10.80	10.80	
Board Meeting	25.96	25.96	
Interest on Savings	48.45	48.45	
VCHR Observer	2.50	2.50	
Non-budgeted:			
Board Meetings	220.00	220.00	
Equal Employment Luncheon	100.00	100.00	
John Marshall Banquet	675.00	675.00	
Local Council Refunds	422.50	422.50	
New South Subscriptions	30.00	30.00	
Va. Conference Refund	2.29	2.29	
Workshop/Retreat	30.00	30.00	
1968 Budget	777.00	777.00	
Total Receipts	$34,532.47	$19,432.47	$15,100.00
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Salaries	$19,640.98	$ 5,732.75	$13,908.23
Payroll Taxes	864.20	252.26	611.94
Travel Expenses	2,420.44	2,420.44	
Office Expenses	8,060.12	8,060.12	
Board & Committee Meetings	81.64	81.64	
College Council Expenses	46.90	46.90	
Campus Tour Expenses	56.70	56.70	
Fund Raising Project	3,000.00	3,000.00	
Va. Community Development Project	2,000.00		2,000.00
Group Insurance	426.45		426.45
Moving Charges	663.55		663.55
Non-budgeted Items	1,574.17	1,574.17	
Total Disbursements	$39,028.90	$21,418.73	$17,610.17
EXCESS OF RECEIPTS OVER DISBURSE.	($ 4,496.43)	($1,986.26)	$ 2,510.17
CASH BALANCE - January 1, 1967	5,676.54	1,582.58	4,093.99
CASH BALANCE - December 31, 1967	$ 1,180.14	($ 403.68)	$ 1,583.82

On Deposit as Follows:

$377.52	State-Planters Bank of Commerce and Trusts (Savings)
218.80	State-Planters Bank of Commerce and Trusts (Checking)
583.82	Consolidated Bank and Trust Company (Checking)
$1,180.14	Total

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1967 Executive Committee and Committee Chairmen

OFFICERS

Position		Local Chapter
President	Mr. M. C. Martin	Danville
First Vice-President	Mrs. Carolyn Worrall	Charlottesville
Vice-President	Mr. John A. Lapp	Harrisonburg
Vice-President	Mrs. George E. Mattus	Blacksburg
Vice_president	Mr. Henry E. Howell, Jr.	Norfolk
Secretary	Dr. Edna M. Colson	Petersburg
Treasurer	Dr. J. Rupert Picott	Richmond

Chairmen of Committees

Civil Rights Compliance	Miss Ruth L. Harvey	Danville
Education	Mr. Louis Brenner	Portsmouth
Employment & Business	Mrs. Richard M.Ballard,Jr.	Richmond
Finance	Mr. David H. Scull	Fairfax County
Local Chapter Activity and Membership	Mrs. Carolyn Worrall	Charlottesville
Nominations	Dr. C. G. Gordon Moss	Prince Edward
Personnel	The Rev. John J. McMahon	Richmond
Program Planning	Dr.Aubrey N. Brown, Jr.	Richmond
Public Relations and Resolutions	Mr. Carl E. Auvil	Fairfax County
Student Chapter and Campus Activity	The Rev. E.M. Gregory	Richmond

Executive Committee-at-Large

	Mr. Roger P. Bristol	Charlottesville
	Mrs. Wilson J. Hodgin	Alexandria
	Dr. Harry W. Roberts	Petersburg
	Mr. A. Byron Smith	Roanoke
Ex officio	Mr. Frank Adams	Exec. Director

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Term expires - 1967

Rev. A. M. Beardslee - white
Chaplain Hollins College
Hollins College, Virginia

Henry Berne - white
Binswanger Glass Co.
Richmond, Virginia

Roger P. Bristol - white
College Professor
Charlottesville, Virginia

Rev. C. M. Cofield, II - white
On leave out of the state
Lexington, Virginia

Harold O. DeWitt - Negro
Director of Employment
Colonial Williamsburg
Williamsburg, Virginia

Dr. John M. Ellison - Negro
College Professor
Richmond, Virginia

Rabbi E. A. Frank - white
Alexandria, Virginia

Mrs. Nelson Greene - white
Alexandria, Virginia

Miss Ruth L. Harvey - Negro
Attorney-at-Law
Danville, Virginia

Abraham Hecht - white
Vice-President, Wards TV
Richmond, Virginia

Mrs. Wilson J. Hodgin - white
Housewife
Alexandria, Virginia

Dr. Edward C. Kollman - white
College Professor
Hampton, Virginia

George P. Lawrence - Negro
Attorney-at-Law
Roanoke, Virginia

Edwin Lynch - white
Real Estate Executive
Burke, Virginia

Rt. Rev. W.H. Marmion - white
Bishop Episcopal Diocese
Roanoke, Virginia

Mrs. George E. Mattus - white
Educator
Blacksburg, Virginia

Rev. J. J. McMahon - white
Director Catholic Charties
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. C. G. Gordon Moss - white
College Professor
Farmville, Virginia

The Most Rev. J. J. Russell - white
Bishop of Richmond Diocese (Catholic
Richmond, Virginia

David H. Scull - white
Co-owner, Turnpike Press
Annandale, Virginia

Mrs. Samuel Z. Troy - white
Co-owner, Troy's Dept. Store
Richmond, Virginia

W. R. Walker - Negro
Real Estate
Newport News, Virginia

Mrs. Carolyn Worrall - white
Housewife
Keswick, Virginia

Dr. J. Rupert Picott - Negro
Field Representative
National Education Association
Richmond, Virginia

Board of Directors Cont'd

Term Expires - 1968

C. Douglas Adams, Jr. - white
Attorney-at-Law
Annandale, Virginia

Carl E. Auvil - white
Government Executive
Falls Church, Virginia

Mrs. R. M. Ballard, Jr. - Negro
Housewife
Richmond, Virginia

Rev. Dr. W. R. Bowie - white
Va. Theological Seminary
Alexandria, Virginia

Rev. W. C. Brooke - white
Minister
Roanoke, Virginia

Louis Brenner - white
Attorney-at-Law
Portsmouth, Virginia

Dr. A. N. Brown, Jr. - white
Publisher
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. G. W. C. Brown - Negro
College Professor
Norfolk, Virginia

Dr. Edna M. Colson - Negro
College Professor - retires
Petersburg, Virginia

Moses Riddick - Negro
School Teacher
Suffolk, Virginia

Dr. Harry W. Roberts - Negro
College Professor
Petersburg, Virginia

Mr. A. Byron Smith - Negro
Businessman
Roanoke, Virginia

Rev. B. R. Cosby - white
Minister
Lynchburg, Virginia

Mr. Monroe E. Couper - white
DuPont Executive
Waynesboro, Virginia

Rev. Samuel F. Daly - Negro
Minister
Franklin, Virginia

Mrs. Eugene Foster - white
Housewife - On leave in England
Charlottesville, Virginia

Miss Susie P. Foster - white
House Mother
Richmond, Virginia

Rev. E. M. Gregory - white
Minister
Richmond, Virginia

Rev. L. Francis Griffin - Negro
Minister
Farmville, Virginia

Mrs. John Haines - white
Housewife
Virginia Beach, Virginia

Dr. Thos H. Henderson - Negro
Pres., Va. Union University
Richmond, Virginia

John A. Lapp - white
College Professor
Harrisonburg, Virginia

Dr. J. Kenneth Morland - white
College Professor
Lynchburg, Virginia

Aaron Parsons - white
Virginia Beach, Virginia

ROUGH DRAFT - 1. Janet, File with other draft materials on State Councils Sent to Ford

Virginia Council - Traditionally one of the strongest councils. There are over 30 local councils with especially productive ones in northern Virginia, Charlottesville and Richmond; an active board of directors. In December, 1964, VCHR lost its strong director, Heslip Lee, and has been in difficulty since then. The present director, a good man but inexperienced, needs considerable training, and may not be adequate for the job.

The board of VCHR and the SRC staff (if asked) needs to do considerable work to get this council back to its former excellence. This organization, even in its present circumstances, continues to have merit and deserves continued SRC support in the grante of $4,000 - $5,000. Substantial new support is not warranted until these problems referred to are resolved.

Several possibilities should be considered. In order of prioroty, they are:

(1) The VCHR is in serious financial difficulty. An additional grant of $2 - 4,000 would give some stability and time to work on the present situation.

(2) A grant of $2 - 4,000 to assist the student work of VCHR which is both good and promising.

North Carolina Council - For 10 years from 1954 until his death, this council had one director, the Rev. Harry Jones. During this period, the NCCHR was a valuable additiion to the North Carolina scene. It did have one major flaw. It operated as an agency in which the staff did the work to the exclusion of a state-wide active membership.

Last spring, the board (which is an excellent one) began a determined search to choose a new director. They selected Mrs.

File Ford Fd - 1965 (Request for aid - State Councils)

Helen Adams, a native of Alabama, then Director of Development at Roosevelt University. For the past year, she has done an outstanding job and the NCCHR has made real progress. Membership has grown and become involved. Local councils have organized. The council successfully operated three Head Start programs this summer in difficult areas of the state. The North Carolina Intercollegiate Council encouraged and supported by Governor Sanford, was accepted as the youth affiliate when its future was in serious doubt. (This group, still affiliated with NCCHR, has changed its name to Youth Educational Services, has been given quarters by the University of North Carolina, has its own staff and has raised approximately $20,000 to support its program.) Regrettably, Mrs. Adams resigned in September, because she found the physical demands of the job too great and she realized, correctly, the development skills of an established university could not be adapted readily to a struggling agency.

The board is now looking for a new director and hopes to find a Negro to fill that position. We think this an excellent idea.

Two instances of assistance are desirable:

(1) A general grant of $4,000 to assure an adequate director's salary and travel.

(2) A grant of $8,000 to hire a junior staff person. ($6,000 salary, $2,000 related expenses)

THE S. C. COUNCIL:

Since 1964 the director of this group has been Mrs. Alice Spearman. Mrs. Spearman, a grand and realistic lady, is hard to describe. As a young woman from one of the "Old" families of S. C., she managed to do everything from working ~~on~~ as a newspaper reporter ~~reports~~ in New York City to ~~assisting~~ assisting independently in Shanghai, at the time of the riots of 19~~2~~20's In time Mrs. Spearman returned to her home, married well, and continued her own brand of reform in her native state.

(In some instances the South tolerates its own and this in large ~~massive~~ measure is why the S. C. Council continued to develop in the late 50's when other Councils in the Deep South either were driven out of existence or barely survived.)

The SCCHR has a unique distinction among state councils; the majority of its membership is Negro (over 60%) and in that membership is most of the Negro leadership of the state.

While a dominant theme, emphasis in this council is not essentially in race relations. It is rather in "basic issues," voter registration, leadership development, school services, dropouts, low income levels, rural development, etc.

(To a significant degree the opinions of the membership of a state council reflect the opinions and goals of the agency. This S. C. situation offers some interesting ~~re~~observations on the thinking and objectives of the Negro citizens of South Carolina.)

The S. C. Council is an excellent example of a need to adequately compensate the staff and allow for travel and training outside the state. A grant of $8 - 10,000 would accomplish this.

D R A F T

The Georgia Council

This group under the Talmadge, Griffin and Vandiver state administrations had one of the most difficult atmospheres in which to develop. (When Dr. Guy Wells became director in 1957, the Georgia Board of Regents took away his title of President Emeritus of Georgia State College for Women and attempted to block his retirement benefits.)

Only in the past several years has this group been able to operate effectively and it is now a significant entity on the Georgia scene.

The present director is Mrs. Frances Pauley, former President of the Georgia League of Women Voters. Under her leadership, the Council is especially effective in developing local Councils in small towns, in its work in small town and rural areas, in its ability to communicate and interpret during crisis situations and the extent to which the media gives attention to this Council's analysis and observations.

Mrs. Pauley has been very successful in raising funds outside the state for the work of the Georgia Council. While this is admirable, such fund raising is very personal in nature and results in the condition where the Georgia Council raises less funds within its state than any staffed Council excepting Mississippi.

The Georgia Council, too, needs funds to increase staff salaries and allow for staff enrichment. (The associate director and the newly-employed Rural Advancement Project staffer -- both excellent men -- each ~~are~~ is paid $6,000 per year.)

A grant of $8,000 would allow for this. This grant, however, should be on a matching basis of funds raised in the state.

Florida Council

Southern and national opinion about the state of Florida have hampered the growth of the Florida Council. Excepting SRC support, this Council has never been able to attract outside support. The image of the liberal parts of the state have obscured the fact that much of central and northern Florida (including St. Augustine), are very much Deep South in character.

This group has survived only because its membership (one of the largest and most involved of the state Councils) has contributed funds well in excess of the average. Even so, this group has lived precariously since 1954.

Given the nature of this situaiton, most needed is additional staff support to the membership and the local councils. This will encourage continued membership growth and financial support. Equally important, it will involve new local membership in program. A grant of $8-10,000 would allow the Florida Council to add another staff person and would provide most of the supporting costs.

Alabama Council

For a number of years the Alabama Council made its greatest contribution by merely surviving. And, that was a significant contribution.

The first director, The Rev. Robert Hughes, a young Methodist minister, began operation in Montgomery. When no one would any longer rent office space to them, the Council office was moved to Birmingham. Subsequently, Mr. Hughes was jailed during a libel suit against the New York Times. He left shorly thereafter for Africa where he is now a missionary.

The second director, the Rev. Norman Jimerson, was placed in a

similar situation. He and his family suffered every pressure and indignity imaginable. After three years, for the health of this man and his family, it was necessary to see that they left the state. Mr. Jimerson is now on the faculty at Kalamazoo College.

Last year, after spending the summer with SRC, the Rev. Ed Stanfield, a young Presbyterian minister, accepted this post on our provision that the office be moved to Huntsville. Due in part to the changing situation in Alabama (whcih though improved remains appalling) and in part to Mr. Stanfield's direction, the Alabama Council is now, by Deep South standards, flourishing. During the past 12 months membership has tripled to more than 1,200, more funds have been raised within the state that with any other state Council, and there is a positive, influential program.

While space does not here permit an adequate explanation, this is the only state Council where we would recommend an unrestricted grant of $8-10,000. While we would hope these funds would be used for additional staff, we would be happy for the Alabama Council leadership to do as it saw fit with these resources.

Mississippi Council

In 1957 the Mississippi Council was driven out of existence. In 1962 a group of citizens in that state began reorganizing that Council. By January, 1965 sifficient funds had been found to hire Kenneth Dean as director of the Mississippi Council.

Mr. Dean has done an excellent job and the Mississippi Council has made a contribution to that state. (One cannot underestimate the difficulties under which staff and members operate in this kind of situation.)

At no time in the forseeable future can we expect the Mississippi

Council to become self-sufficient. For this reason, we have used an entirely different standard of judging the Mississippi Council. Normally, sound administration, membership growth/ and involvement, the general base of state-wide strength is, we feel, essential to the concept of a state Council on Human Relations.

Ken Dean is not an administrator. He is a doer. His empathy and his ability to address himself to immediate situations are remarkable. In short, that which would be a liability in a more normal situation is in this instance, in our opinion, an asset.

We hope the SRC staff can work closely with the Mississippi Council and we feel optimistic about the opportunities in that state.

We recommend here a grant of approximately $16,000 to provide for an additonal staff person and an expanded program of work with college students.

Louisiana Council:

As in Mississippi, the Louisiana Council was forced out of existence in 1957. Louisiana is more Deep South, black belt than/ than has been generally acknowledged. Even the city of New Orleans has a dismal record by comparison with any other major city in the region.

The remains of the Louisiana Council have been largely the Community Relations Council of New Orleans. We have offered that group occasional staff and financial support though we have been regularly frustrated by the typically New Orleans-like dilettante/ dilettante nature of this group.

During 1963-64 we have encouraged a state-wide group of lay people in their effort to reorganize the Louisiana Council. (Our financial support during 1965 will be approximately $2,000.)

This is a good ~~group~~ group, ~~thi~~ their results are encouraging, and we feel there is a sound base on which to build a staffed Council. TEis will, however, require a great deal of time.

A grant of $10,000 would enable the re-establishment of a Louisiana Council.

Texas

The only remains of a Texas Council on Human Relations is the Houston Council. This is a vigorous, effective, self-supporting group. ~~of~~ Of expenditures of approximately $50,000 during 1965, the only support outside greater Houston was an SRC grant of $1,800.

Unlike the other state Councils, the Texas Council was defeated largely because of geography and apathy. The state is huge for a small operation and it has been notorious in its disinterest in human relations concerns.

In time, SRC would like to explore the possibilities of re-establishing a Texas Council. We are not now prepared to recommend expenditures ~~tho~~ toward this end.

Tennessee Council on Human Relations

The Tennessee Council has a modest history of stability and good results. We feel our investment in this Council has borne good and regular but not spectacular results.

Until the past year this Council tended to emphasize staff services at the expense of membership involvement. We hope this is now changing.

While this Council is by no means a partisan organization, Tennessee is a remarkably political state. The leadership of this Council has been unusually emeshed in politics. The current president,

an outstanding lady, ~~MRS~~ Mrs. Martha Ragland, is a former Dem. National Committeewoman. The immediate past president was campaign director for the now Senator Ross Bass. In the spring of 1965 fully one-third of the board was involved in either running for office or directing the campaigns of those who were. To compound the situaiton, the present TCHR director, a Methodist minister from Dallas, Texas, was nearly elected congressman from that district two years ago.

(See attached.)

Arkansas

Among the state Councils the Arkansas Council, like South Carolina, has shown remarkable stability. This is a strange, small state and in our opinion ACHR has had a good influence over the past decade.

The director since 1954 is an elderly Methodist Minister, the Rev. ~~Natio~~ Nathaniel Griswold. He has served well. The Associate Director is Mr. Ozell Sutton, former manager of the farm of Winthrop Rockefeller. In our opinion Mr. Sutton is one of the most influential civil rights leaders of Arkansas and we hope ACHR will select him as their director on Mr. Griswold's retirement.

Arkansas is a considerable distance from everything. In involving the ACHR staff this has been a considerable budgetary frustration to us and to them. A grant of $6,000 to supplement staff salaries and to allow for ~~out~~ out-of-state travel would help considerably.

There are other dimensions to the TCH&H. But this involvement should be noted both because it indicates pertinence in the life of the state & because it signals a factor which must not become dominant.

This could mean an associate director who should be Negro. A grant of $10-12,000 would make this possible.

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changing.

This council is by no means a partisan organization, Tenn. is a remarkably political state. This council has been unusually enmeshed in politics. The current president, an outstanding lady, Mrs Martha Rayford is a former Dem Nat'l Committeewoman. The immediate past pres., was campaign dir, for now Sen. Ross Bass, In the spring of 1966 fully one-third of the board was involved in either running for office or directing the campaigns of those who were. To compound the situation, the present JC HR, dir, Dr, ~~a director~~ a Methodist minister from Dallas, Texas was nearly elected congressman from that district two years ago.

VIRGINIA COUNCIL -- Traditionally one of the strongest councils. There are over 30 local councils with especially productive ones in northern Virginia, Charlottesville and Richmond; an active board of directors. In December, 1964, VCHR lost its strong director, Heslip Lee, and has been in difficulty since then. The present director, a good man but inexperienced, needs considerable training, and may not be adequate for the job.

The board of VCHR and the SRC staff (if asked) needs to do considerable work to get this council back to its former excellence. This organization, even in its present circumstances, continues to have merit and deserves continued SRC support in the grant of $4,000 - $5,000. Substantial new support is not warranted until these problems referred to are resolved.

Several possibilities should be considered. In order of priority they are:

(1) The VCHR is in serious financial difficulty. An additional grant of $2 - 4,000 would give some stability and time to work on the present situation.

(2) A grant of $2 - 4,000 to assist the student work of VCHR which is both good and promising.

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL -- For 10 years from 1954 until his death, this council had one director, the Rev. Harry Jones.

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During this period, the NCCHR was a valuable addition to the North Carolina scene. It did have one major flaw. It operated as an agency in which the staff did the work to the exclusion of a state-wide active membership.

Last spring, the board (which is an excellent one) began a determined search to choose a new director. They selected Mrs. Helen Adams, a native of Alabama, then Director of Development at Roosevelt University. For the past year, she has done an outstanding job and the NCCHR has made real progress. Membership has grown and become involved. Local councils have organized. The council successfully operated three Head Start programs this summer in difficult areas of the state. The North Carolina Intercollegiate Council encouraged and supported by Governor Sanford, was accepted as the youth affiliate when its future was in serious doubt. (This group, still affiliated with NCCHR, has changed its name to Youth Educational Services, has been given quarters by the University of North Carolina, has its own staff and has raised approximately $20,000 to support its program.) Regrettably, Mrs. Adams resigned in September, because she found the physical demands of the job too great and she realized, correctly, the development skills of an established university could not be adapted readily to a struggling agency.

The board is now looking for a new director and hopes to find a Negro to fill that position. We think this is an excellent idea.

Two instances of assistance are desirable:

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(1) A general grant of $4,000 to assure an adequate director's salary and travel.

(2) A grant of $8,000 to hire a junior staff person. ($6,000 salary, $2,000 related expenses.)

THE SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL -- Since 1954 the director of this group has been Mrs. Alice Spearman. Mrs. Spearman, a grand and realistic lady, is hard to describe. As a young woman from one of the "Old" families of S. C., she managed to do everything from working as a newspaper in New York City to arriving independently in Shanghai, at the time of the riots of 1920's. In time Mrs. Spearman returned to her home, married well, and continued her own brand of reform in her native state.

(In some instances the South tolerates its own and this in large measure is why the S. C. Council continued to develop in the late 50's when other Councils in the Deep South either were driven out of existence or barely survived.)

THE SCCHR has a unique distinction among state councils; the majority of its membership is Negro (over 60%) and in that membership is most of the Negro leadership of the state.

While a dominant theme, emphasis in this council is not essentially in race relations. It is rather in "basic issues," voter registration, leadership development, etc.

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(To a significant degree the opinions of the membership of a state council reflect the opinions and goals of the agency. This S. C. situation offers some interesting observations on the thinking and objectives of the Negro citizens of South Carolina.)

The S. C. Council is an excellent example of a need to adequately compensate the staff and allow for travel and training outside the state. A grant of $8 - 10,000 would accomplish this.

THE GEORGIA COUNCIL -- This group under the Talmadge, Griffin and Vandiver state administrations had one of the most difficult atmospheres in which to develop. (When Dr. Guy Wells became director in 1954, the Georgia Board of Regents took away his title of President Emeritus of Georgia State College for Women and attempted to block his retirement benefits.)

Only in the past several years has this group been able to operate effectively and it is now a significant entity on the Georgia scene.

The present director is Mrs. Frances Pauley, former President of the Georgia League of Women Voters. Under her leadership, the Council is especially effective in developing local Councils in small towns, in its work in small town and rural areas, in its ability to communicate and interpret during

crisis situations and the extent to which the media gives attention to this Council's analysis and observations.

Mrs. Pauley has been very successful in raising funds outside the state for the work of the Georgia Council. While this is admirable, such fund raising is very personal in nature and results in the condition where the Georgia Council raises less funds within its state than any staffed Council excepting Mississippi.

The Georgia Council, too, needs funds to increase staff salaries and allow for staff enrichment. (The associate director and the newly-employed Rural Advancement Project staffer -- both excellent men -- each are paid $6,000 per year.)

A grant of $8,000 would allow for this. This grant, however, should be on a matching basis of funds raised in the state.

THE FLORIDA COUNCIL -- Southern and national opinion about the state of Florida have hampered the growth of the Florida Council. With the exception of SRC support, this Council has never been able to attract outside support. The image of the liberal parts of the state have obscured the fact that much of central and northern Florida (including St. Augustine, are very much Deep South in character.

This group has survived only because its membership (one of the largest and most involved of the state Councils) has contributed funds well in excess of the average. Even so,

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this group has lived precariously since 1954.

Given the nature of this situation, most needed is additional staff support to the membership and the local councils. This will encourage continued membership growth and financial support. Equally important, it will involve new local membership in program. A grant of $8 - 10,000 would allow the Florida Council to add another staff person and would provide most of the supporting costs.

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL -- For a number of years the Alabama Council made its greatest contribution by merely surviving. And, that was a significant contribution.

The first director, The Rev. Robert Hughes, a young Methodist minister, began operation in Montgomery. When no one would any longer rent office space to them, the Council office was moved to Birmingham. Subsequently, Mr. Hughes was jailed during a libel suit against the New York Times. He left shortly thereafter for Africa where he is now a missionary.

The second director, the Rev. Norman Jimerson, was placed in a similar situation. He and his family suffered every pressure and indignity imaginable. After three years, for the health of this man and his family, it was necessary to see that they left the state. Mr. Jimerson is now on the faculty at Kalamazoo College.

Last year, after spending the summer with SRC, the Rev. Ed Stanfield, a young Presbyterian minister, accepted this post

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on our provision that the office be moved to Huntsville. Due in part to the changing situation in Alabama (which though improved remains appalling) and in part to Mr. Stanfield's direction, the Alabama Council is now, by Deep South standards, flourishing. During the past 12 months membership has tripled to more than 1,200, more funds have been raised within the state that with any other state Council, and there is a positive, influential program.

While space does not here permit an adequate explanation, this is the only state Council where we would recommend an unrestricted grant of $8 - 10,000. While we would hope these funds would be used for additional staff, we would be happy for the Alabama Council leadership to do as it saw fit with these resources.

THE MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL -- In 1957 the Mississippi Council was driven out of existence. In 1962 a group of citizens in that state began reorganizing that Council. By January, 1965, sufficient funds had been found to hire Kenneth Dean as director of the Mississippi Council.

Mr. Dean has done an excellent job and the Mississippi Council has made a contribution to that state. (One cannot underestimate the difficulties under which staff and members operate in this kind of situation.)

At no time in the foreseeble future can we expect

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Ken Dean is not an administrator. He is a doer. His empathy and his ability to address himself to immediate situations are remarkable. In short, that which would be a liability in a more normal situation is in this instance, in our opinion, an asset.

We hope the SRC staff can work closely with the Mississippi Council and we feel optimistic about the opportunities in that state.

We recommend here a grant of approximately $16,000 to provide for an additional staff person and an expanded program of work with college students.

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The remains of the Louisiana Council have been largely

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the Community Relations Council of New Orleans. We have offered that group occasional staff and financial support though we have been regularly frustrated by the typically New Orleans-like dilettante nature of this group.

During 1963-64 we have encouraged a state-wide group of lay people in their effort to reorganize the Louisiana Council. (Our financial support during 1965 will be approximately $2,000.) This is a good group, their results are encouraging, and we feel there is a sound base on which to build a staffed Council. This will, however, require a great deal of time.

A grant of $10,000 would enable the re-establishment of a Louisiana Council.

THE TEXAS COUNCIL -- The only remains of a Texas Council on Human Relations is the Houston Council. This is a vigorous, effective, self-supporting group. Of expenditures of approximately $50,000 during 1965, the only support outside greater Houston was an SRC grant of $1,800.

Unlike the other state Councils, the Texas Council was defeated largely because of geography and apathy. The state is huge for a small operation and it has been notorious in its disinterest in human relations concerns.

In time, SRC would like to explore the possibilities of re-establishing a Texas Council. We are now prepared to recommend expenditures toward this end.

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TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS -- The Tennessee Council has a modest history of stability and good results. We feel our investment in this Council has borne good and regular but not spectacular results.

Until the past year this Council tended to emphasize staff services at the expense of membership involvement. We hope this is now changing.

While this Council is by no means a partisan organization, Tennessee is a remarkably political state. The leadership of this Council has been unusually enmeshed in politics. The current president, an outstanding lady, Mrs. Martha Ragland, is a former Democrat National Committeewoman. The immediate past president was campaign director for the now Senator Ross Bass. In the spring of 1965 fully one-third of the board was involved in either running for office or directing the campaigns of those who were. To compound the situation, the present TCHR director, a Methodist minister from Dallas, Texas, was nearly elected congressman from that district two years ago.

There are other dimensions to the TCHR. But this involvement should be noted both because it indicates pertinence in the life of the state and because it signals a factor which must not become dominant.

This Council needs an associate director who should be Negro. A grant of $10 - 12,000 would make this possible.

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ARKANSAS COUNCIL -- Among the state Councils the Arkansas Council, like South Carolina, has shown remarkable stability. This is a strange, small state and in our opinion ACHR has had a good influence over the past decade.

The director since 1954 is an elderly Methodist minister, the Rev. Nathaniel Griswold. The Associate Director is Mr. Ozell Sutton, former manager of the farm of Winthrop Rockefeller. In our opinion Mr. Sutton is one of the most influential civil rights leaders of Arkansas and we hope ACHR will select him as their director on Mr. Griswold's retirement.

Arkansas is a considerable distance from everything. In involving the ACHR staff this has been a considerable budgetary frustration to us and to them. A grant of $6,000 to supplement staff salaries and to allow for out-of-state travel would help considerably.

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File
Foundations - "Ford"
1965

MEMORANDUM November 29, 1965

To: JS

From: MMJ

Janet,

John Ehle (formerly with Ford Foundation), according to his letter of Nov. 20, will be writing a book in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Paul would like him put on our MEDIA MAILING LIST at the following address:

1606-F Northwest Boulevard
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

thanx, mmj

November 29, 1965

Mr. John Ehle
1606-F Northwest Boulevard
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear John:

Thanks for the note. It's good to have your address.

Miss Casteloe didn't show up, but we'll be happy to see her if she does.

Russell Hanson is with us for about 6 weeks to tour the South to determine the dispostion and needs of business and whether or not we should do something in that area. A more permanent arrangement may result.

We are going about all manner of program expansion. We never had any illusions about it being easy to spend responsibly $324,000 a year. Now we are learning just how hard it is.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 11/22/65

Nov. 20, 1965
1606-F Northwest Blvd.
Winston-Salem, N.C.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul:

I've left Ford in order to get started on a new novel, so I'm here in North Carolina for a spell.

One of my ex-students has turned up, and that's the main reason for this note. She is Maggie Casteloe -- maybe she spells "maggie" without an "e". Anyway, she looks like a dizzy blonde but is a good deal other than that, and more than that. She has done fine work here for the Wachovia Bank and Trust Company, and they are distressed that she is thinking about moving to Atlanta.

She meets people well, and she writes and edits and can run her own work, so she might fit in at your office. I mention it only as one of many possibilities you probably have. She will be in Atlanta on Monday, so hastily I'm dropping you this note, in hopes that you or Pat Watters, or some other person there, will give her a little bit of time.

With best personal wishes,

Sincerely,

John

John Ehle

She was coming down to talk about another job & it was my idea that she try to see you, too

Dear Jack:

Enclosed are our annual program report & audit. ~~you will find the last~~

I very much enjoyed the opportunity to talk with you last Wed. & last Friday & of your visit to Atlanta.

With Best wishes,

Sue

SUMMARY STATEMENT FROM THE
MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

A part of the philosophy of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations is that each generation is only a thin line away from either an explosion of destrictive forces and evil or a tremendous surge of creativity and good will. Ideally speaking, the typical American community should not have a need for a Council on Human Relations. However, in a society where institutions do not teach law and order or require justice, wherein equality is not allowed and wherein the many forms of prejudice deny both groups and individuals the opportunity of full human development, an organization is needed to work for a creative atmosphere and to encourage the public good.

Given the particulars of the Mississippi situation, the Council on Human Relations for the past three years has attempted to play an educational role to an insensitive power structure and a role of encouragement to the oppressed. In that some 12 to 15 civil rights and other humanitarian organizations are working with the oppressed of our state, our main emphasis has been to realize the public good by effecting a change in the attitudes of the oppressor.

Through the presentation of programs and by scheduling news conferences, we have sought to feed certain information into the public news media. Charley Percy, presently Senator from Illinois, gave a major address on the subject of "The Role of Politics in Bettering Race Relations." The Honorable Brooks Hays, former United States Congressman from Arkansas and President of the Southern Baptist Convention, gave a second major address on "The Role of the Church in Bettering Race Relations." James W. Silver, author of

Mississippi: The Closed Society, gave a major address on "The Future of Race Relations in Mississippi." Roger Wilkins, Director of the Community Relations Service, United States Department of Justice, made a presentation on "The Emerging Minority Groups." The theme of our most recent meeting was "The Essentials of Law and Order." The featured address was by Roy K. Moore, Special Agent in Charge of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Jackson, Mississippi.

Each of the above mentioned programs was carefully prepared so as to deal with specific issues to the front in Mississippi at a given time. It is our judgement that, to an acceptable degree, each meeting was successful. We have had numerous responses from both individuals and groups, from private and government agencies. We think that Mr. Percy's appearance blocked the organization of a segregated Republican Party in our state. The meeting with Congressman Hays helped pry open the door so that a number of churchmen were able to become involved in the War on Poverty. Also, Mr. Percy's appearance on the Mississippi scene opened a number of doors in the business community for the Council on Human Relations.

This kind of activity has allowed us to become involved as a resource organization in the area of human relations for almost every educational institution and religious denomination in the state. We have served in a consultant capacity on a number of occasions and have helped organize federal programs at every major educational institution in the state.

Major reports published by the Council have dealt with School Desegregation and the Problem of Hunger. The School Desegregation report was delivered at a meeting in Jackson in the presence of

United States Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe. This report received wide circulation and was used by the United States Office of Education. The second report on Hunger was submitted to the United States Sub-Committee on Employment and Poverty, headed by the Honorable Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania. This document also received wide circulation and was influencial in bringing about further investigation by the Field Foundation, the Southern Regional Council and a number of federal agencies.

A third report on Mississippi's state supported Negro colleges is presently being prepared. Most of the research is completed, and the report should be available no later than February 15, 1968. Important news conferences held by the Council are the following:

The murder of Ben Brown at the Jackson State College riot in May of 1967. The Director of the Council witnessed this murder by Mississippi policemen. In the news conference an attempt was made to expose the causes of the riot.

The second news conference had to do with the problem of starvation in the Mississippi Delta. This was well received and finally issued in a 30 minute program on television station WLBT. This activity was instrumental in the development of a 30 minute special documentary on the Food Stamp Program in Mississippi. The documentary has been shown over station WLBT three times.

The subject of the third news conference had to do with five bombings that occurred in Jackson, Mississippi in the fall of 1967. At this conference the Director pointed out the involvement of Governor-elect John Bell Williams with the Ku Klux Klan and the Americans for the Preservation of the White Race.

While being involved in the above mentioned educational efforts, the Council has also supported a number of "grass roots" level

movements. We fought diligently for the refunding of the Child Development Group in Mississippi and are responsible for a great part of the public relations work for that organization during its successful attempt at an $8,000,000 refunding. We have worked to support the Poor Peoples Corporation and were able to secure $6,000 to help train women in sewing classes. We have given free technical assistance to a number of Community Action and Head Start agencies. The Council is the sponsoring organization for a Day Care Center in Oxford and is working with a similar program in Starkville.

A minimum but significant effort has been made by the Council to organize local Councils on Human Relations. We have been successful in organizing three such pieces of work. A 60 member council operates in the Biloxi-Gulf Coast area, a 75 member council is in the greater Jackson area and a 60 member council in the Oxford-University area. Plans are well underway for the organization of a council in the Columbus-West Point-Starkville area.

The Council has made a special effort to create working relations with a number of state agencies. We have been successful with the Mississippi State Highway Patrol, the Office of the State Treasurer, the State Department of Welfare and the State Sovereignty Commission. We have also been successful in developing a creative piece of work with the University of Mississippi Medical Center and the State Employment Security Commission. On December 11, 1966 we were able to schedule a meeting between the Director of the State Sovereignty Commission and Roy Wilkins, National Director of the NAACP. We have also set up meetings with a number of state officials and federal agencies and private foundations. We are presently involved in

a program with the State Department of Education and the University of Mississippi. We have also had considerable discussion of major issues related to the development of human resources with the State Department of Research and Development.

The Council has also spent a significant part of its resources and time in working with federal agencies who are developing new programs in the state. The Office of Economic Opportunity, the Labor Department, Health, Education and Welfare, and the United States Department of Agriculture are such agencies.

Another meaningful piece of work sponsored by the Council has been an involvement with the college students across the state. Under the expanded grant-in-aid program, an Assistant Director has been hired to head up this work. The main effort has been to encourage and support an atmosphere of free discussion on the college campuses and to give individual support to students who are grappling with the major social problems of our day. In connection with this, the Council gave a number of small scholarships to college students. Also, a part of this work is the growing involvement of the Council in research projects at a number of colleges.

This statement has highlighted only the major involvements of the Council on Human Relations. The day-to-day problems which we handle are too numerous to mention, and some of our greater involvements are a bit too complex to discuss at length in this summary. In conclusion, it should again be pointed out that the primary effort of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations is to perform a service for the public good through an honest relationship to the white controlled power structure of the state, who, more often than not, are responsible for the social inadequacies in Mississippi.

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

MAJOR PROBLEMS

The major problems in Mississippi which the Council on Human Relations is working with are:

1. the lack of an atmosphere in the state which is conducive to free expression by an individual or an organization.

2. a primitive concept of justice and law and order that prevails both at the state and local levels in our government.

3. the collection of economic power in the hands of a small group so that there is no honest effort in the direction of industrial development.

4. the lack of the traditional two-party approach to political organization.

5. the inequality of educational institutions that exists between the rural and the urban areas.

6. too little involvement of poor people in poverty, welfare and related programs.

7. public ignorance concerning the plight of the elderly people in Mississippi.

8. the lack of a spirited effort on the part of the educational institutions of higher learning in the creation of a more numerous membership in the traditional professions.

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

FINANCIAL REPORT - 1967

ON HAND JANUARY 1, 1967		$ 1,989.23
CASH RECEIPTS:		
Southern Regional Grant and Special Projects	$17,000.00	
Field Foundation Grant and Special Projects	19,260.00	
Houston Council Food Program	1,806.16	
Contribution for Poor Family	200.00	
Student Project - AFL-CIO	300.00	
Contributions and Memberships	1,517.00	
The New World Foundation Grant for pamphlet on Hunger	1,200.00	
Total Receipts		43,272.39
CASH DISBURSEMENTS:		
Rent	$ 1,607.07	
Salaries:		
Director	7,685.86	
Assistant Director	3,133.24	
Secretarial	3,773.81	
Student Aide	762.26	
IRS Quarterly Tax	3,594.94	
Telephone	2,214.59	
Travel	2,526.61	
Office Equipment	433.04	
Office Supplies	613.84	
Educational Materials and Subscriptions	422.99	
Audit and Accounting Services	350.00	
Board Meetings	333.25	
Postage	260.00	
Insurance	15.00	
Answering Service	112.50	
Projects	13,766.16	
Miscellaneous	80.16	
Total Disbursements		41,685.32
BALANCE		$ 1,587.07

NOTE: This Balance is of December 11, 1967
Checks are still outstanding and books are open

Mississippi Council on Human Relations
Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements
For the year ended December 31, 1966

Cash Receipts:			
Southern Regional Council, Inc.			
Regular grant-in-aid	$14,050.00		
Expanded grant-in-aid	16,750.00		
Special research grant	6,050.00		
Travel assistance to M.C.H.R. Conference	400.00	$37,250.00	
Membership		754.00	
Meetings		1,134.00	
Gifts		615.00	
Others:			
Book Project	$ 1,894.42		
E. Y. E. Fund	85.01	1,979.43	
Total Receipts			$41,732.43
Cash Disbursements:			
Project Costs			
Educational Survey (Mr. & Mrs. Walter Smith)	$ 5,000.00		
Book Project	1,894.42		
Scholarships	2,625.00		
Special Project	100.00	$ 9,619.42	
Operating Costs and Expenses			
Office equipment purchased	$ 436.50		
Board expenses	1,022.56		
Meeting expenses	1,193.69		
Travel and entertainment	3,331.99		
Salaries:			
Executive Director	8,333.25		
Associate Director	2,999.97		
Others	4,712.74		
Equipment rental	156.28		
Equipment repairs	26.13		
Dues and subscriptions	41.75		
Legal and professional	400.00		
Office supplies and printing	1,020.46		
Employers share F.I.C.A. Tax	725.11		
Postage	470.84		
Bank service charges and miscellaneous	137.61		
Telephone	2,416.05		
Rent	1,440.00	28,864.93	
Total Disbursements			38,484.35
Excess of receipts over disbursements for the year ended 12-31-66			$ 3,248.08

Mississippi Council on Human Relations
Statements of Cash Receipts and Disbursements
For the year ended December 31, 1965

Cash Receipts			
Field Foundation		$ 8,000.00	
Southern Regional Council		5,200.00	
Memberships		1,641.99	
Gifts		1,575.92	
Others		277.68	
Meetings		1,929.41	
Total Receipts			$18,625.00
Cash Disbursements:			
Salaries			
Executive Director	$6,874.64		
Secretary	1,410.50		
Others	2,826.38	11,111.52	
Rent		1,200.00	
Memberships		80.50	
Office supplies		207.47	
Postage		326.44	
Travel		1,321.02	
Printing		233.00	
Telephone		1,142.88	
Board expenses		24.95	
Meeting expenses		2,641.16	
Employers share Blue Cross Ins.		27.64	
Travel - Accident insurance		15.00	
Contributions		10.00	
Employers share F.I.C.A.		131.69	
Bank service charges		8.96	
Office machine service		124.46	
Miscellaneous expense		145.88	
Disbursed for office maint. & asset additions			
2 desks, 1 table, 5 chairs, 1 file cabinet and 1 storage cabinet	$ 524.36		
1 used typewriter	106.14		
1 mimeograph machine and table	683.40		
Telephone deposit	100.00		
Petty cash	100.00	1,513.90	
Total cash disbursements			20,266.47
Operating deficit			$(1,641.47)
Non operating receipts:			
Unpaid deductions from employees for payroll taxes		$ 1,451.98	
Overdeduction F.I.C.A. - Mr. Dean		72.42	1,524.40
Bank overdraft at 12-31-65			$ (117.07)

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
302 First Federal Building
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

NAME	RACE	OCCUPATION
Class of 1968		
Aregood, Rev. John	White	Minister, United Church of Christ
Curet, Mrs. Marge	White	Community Relations Service, Department of Justice
Hall, Rev. Powell Jr.	White	Minister, Methodist Church
Hearn, Mr. H. Power Sr.	White	Businessman
Mays, Rev. E. A.	Negro	Minister, Methodist Church
Page, Dr. Matthew J.	Negro	Physician
Pettus, Mr. John B.	Negro	Personnel Officer, Keesler Air Base
Powers, Dr. George E.	White	Dentist
Price, Mrs. E. A.	White	Layworker
Sicotte, Mr. Sid	White	USO Director
Mallory, Dr. Arenia	Negro	College President
Class of 1969		
Bergmark, Dr. Robert	White	Professor of Philosophy
Branch, Mr. A. A.	Negro	Vice President, Tougaloo College
Brent, Mrs. Jesse	White	Housewife
Carroll, Rev. J. W.	White	Minister, Methodist Church
Crystal, Mrs. Emanuel	Jewish	Housewife
Derian, Mrs. Paul S.	White	Housewife
Harrington, Mr. Evans	White	Professor of English
Knight, Mr. Thomas	White	Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO
Machesky, Rev. Nathaniel	White	Catholic Priest
Mars, Miss Florence	White	Layworker
Pearson, Mrs. William	White	Housewife
Sanders, Mr. I. S.	Negro	Businessman
Class of 1970		
Brown, Rev. T. B.	Negro	Minister, Baptist Church
Clay, Rev. Henry	Negro	Minister, Methodist Church
Henry, Mr. Aaron	Negro	Druggist
Hunter, Rev. Charles	White	Catholic Priest
Smith, Rev. Colton	White	Minister, Episcopal Church
Shirley, Dr. Aaron	Negro	Pediatrician

Class of 1970 (cont.)

Summers, Mr. Frank	Negro	Businessman
Schutt, Mrs. Wallis I. Sr.	White	Housewife
Reiff, Dr. Lee	White	Professor of Theology
Young, Mrs. Jack	Negro	Professor of Music
Gray, Rev. Duncan M. Jr.	White	Minister, Episcopal Church

CHAPTER REPRESENTATIVE BOARD MEMBERS

Cantrell, Mr. E. C.	White	Civil Service Employee
Davidson, Mrs. Della	Negro	Teacher
Jones, Mr. James L.	White	Methodist Chaplin, Univ. of Mississippi
Martin, Mrs. Jack	Negro	Social Worker
Gilbert, Rev. James	White	Catholic Priest
Sister Donna	White	Catholic Nun

OFFICERS (1968)

President - Reverend Powell Hall, Jr.
Vice President I - Reverend J. W. Carroll
Vice President II - Mr. John Pettus
Vice President III - Reverend Nathaniel Machesky
Secretary - Mr. A. A. Branch
Treasurer - Mrs. Wallis I. Schutt, Sr.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL STAFF

ADMINISTRATIVE

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

BA, Sociology, 1948, University of Miami; graduate study, University of Miami and New School of Social Research; Honorary Doctorate Degree: Miles College; joined SRC staff in 1956.

Mrs. Ruth House Vick
Secretary-Treasurer

Graduate of Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Georgia; joined staff of SRC in 1954.

Pricilla Eddy
Assistant

James N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant

BA, Psychology, University of Virginia, 1950; employed in the grain export business in Mobile, Alabama prior to joining SRC staff.

William Roberts
Assistant to Executive Assistant

BS, University of South Carolina, 1965.

Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

Attended Spelman College for two years; graduate, Reid's Business College, Atlanta, Georgia; joined SRC staff in 1957.

Mrs. Katharine Martin
Assistant Secretary to the Director

BS, Farmville State Teachers College, Farmville, Virginia.

Janet Smith
Circulation Department

BS, Berry College, Mount Berry, Georgia; MA, Political Science, Emory University.

Mrs. Bernice C. Cook
Supervisor, Mail Room

Attended Spelman College; joined staff of SRC in 1958.

Willie Morris Reed
Clerk, Mail Room

Mrs. Luesta Knox
Receptionist

Served as receptionist in the office of Governor M. E. Thompson of Georgia.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROJECT

John Lewis
Director of Community Organization Project

BA, Religion, American Baptist Theological Seminary, 1961; MA, Philosophy, Fisk University, 1967; former chairman, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Mrs. Ruth Howard
Secretary

Attended Massey Business College, Atlanta, Georgia.

CRIME AND CORRECTIONS PROJECT

John O. Boone
Director, Crime and Corrections Project

BA, Morehouse College; MSW, Atlanta University School of Social Work; employed by the Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Prisons for fifteen years.

William Farmar
Clerk, Crime and Corrections Project

Attended University of Chicago.

Mrs. Virginia Brown
Secretary, Director of Crime Project

BA, Clark College.

FIELD ACTIVITIES DEPARTMENT

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

BA, Hampden-Sydney College, Hampden-Sydney, Virginia; Doctor of Divinity, Union Theological Seminary.

Mrs. Carolyn Lockhart
Secretary to Director of Field Activities

BS, Spelman College.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

BA, Reinhardt and Wesleyan Colleges; studied at Garrett Seminary, University of North Carolina.

Mrs. Ruth Howard
Secretary
(For biographical data see Community Organization)

INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

Pat Watters
Director of Information

BA, Emory University; MA, University of Iowa; employed as reporter and City Editor, Atlanta Journal from 1952-1963.

Mrs. Janet Shortt
Secretary, Director of Information

Attended Spelman College; graduate, Columbia Taylor Business School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Robert E. Anderson
Managing Editor

BS, University of Georgia; further study, Emory University Law School.

Marge Manderson
Editorial Assistant

Three years of work toward BFA Degree, University of Georgia.

Mrs. Glenda Bartley
Senior Research Assistant

BA, North Texas State University; MA, North Texas State University.

Mrs. Bernice Morrison
Librarian

Attended University of Chattanooga; formerly employed at Tennessee Valley Authority.

Mrs. Doris Kimball Reed
Research Assistant

Attended Morris Brown College for two years.

Susan Friedman
Research Assistant

BS, University of Florida, 1965.

Barnetta Jackson
Clerk, Research Department

BA, Clark College, June 1967.

Warren Pritchard
Assistant Managing Editor

Graduate, Duke University; Peace Corps, Turkey.

URBAN PLANNING PROJECT

Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA
Director, Urban Planning Project

B. Architecture, Auburn University; L'Ecole de Beaux Arts, Fontainbleu, France (Diplome, 1931); Massachusetts Institute of Technology, M. Arch., 1933; Balliol College, Oxford, England (Special Work, 1943); prior to joining SRC staff in November 1965, was senior partner in the architectural firm of Sherlock, Smith and Adams, Inc., Montgomery, Alabama.

Mrs. Virginia Brown
Secretary
(For biographical data, see Crime and Corrections)

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director, Voter Education Project

BA, DePauw University, University, Indiana, 1957; L.L.B., School of Law, Howard University, Washington, D. C., 1960.

Marvin Wall
Director of Research, V.E.P.

A.B.J., University of Georgia, 1949; Nieman Fellow, 1956-1957, Harvard University; Reporter, Atlanta Constitution.

Weldon Rougeau
Director of Field Activities, V.E.P.

Attended Southern University, Baton Rouge, La.; BS, Loyola University; Field Secretary, Voter Registration (CORE), 1962-1964 in Louisiana and Florida.

Thaddeus Olive
Administrative Assistant, V.E.P.

BA, Morehouse College, Business Administration, 1954; MBA, Atlanta University, 1959.

Mrs. Nobbie Morgan
Administrative Secretary, V.E.P.

Attended Morris Brown College; graduate, Miami Jacobs College of Business, Dayton, Ohio.

Mrs. Robin Ulmer
Research Assistant

Attended Western Michigan University; University of Mexico; University of Madrid; Michigan State University; Peace Corps, Nigeria.

Margaret Jennings
Office Secretary, V.E.P.

BA, College of William and Mary; Teacher's Certificate, University of Georgia.

Board of Directors Cont'd

Term Expires - 1969

Rev. C. T. Ashby - white
Community Organizer
Roanoke, Virginia

Victor J. Ashe - Negro
Attorney-at-Law
Norfolk, Virginia

Rev. H. S. Beckwith - white
Minister
Annandale, Virginia

Rev. Benjamin F. Bunn - Negro
Minister
Charlottesville, Virginia

Rev. Warner DuBose, Jr. - white
Minister
Norfolk, Virginia

Mrs. George A. Eddy - white
Housewife
Alexandria, Virginia

Mrs. Isabella Fey - white
Housewife
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. Arthur F. Goodwin - Negro
Virginia Beach, Virginia

Robert J. Habenicht - white
Atty. for Pharmaceutical House
Richmond, Virginia

Rev. Curtis W. Harris - Negro
Minister
Hopewell, Virginia

Dr. Thos. E. Holmes - white
Minister
Roanoke, Virginia

Dr. Douglas M. Lawson - white
Randolph Macon College
Ashland, Virginia

M. C. Martin, Pres., - Negro
First State Bank

Danville, Virginia

Dr. Reuben R. McDaniel - Negro
College Professor
Petersburg, Virginia

Dr. Sam M. Moffett - white
College Professor
Hopewell, Virginia

Winfred Mundle - Negro
Vice Mayor
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. Samuel Newman - white
Physician
Danville, Virginia

Dr. M. F. Robinson - Negro
333 S. Lexington St.
Covington, Virginia

Mrs. E. A. Smyth - white
College Professor
Blacksburg, Virginia

Carrel I. Tod - white
Arlington, Virginia

Re. P. T. Travis - Negro
Minister
Radford, Virginia

L. Douglas Wilder - Negro
Attorney-at-Law
Richmond, Virginia

Charles A. Womack - white
Publisher, etc.
Danville, Virginia

James B. Woodson - Negro
Leesburg, Virginia

Mrs. George Warden - Negro
Dir., Neighborhood Youth Corps
Richmond, Virginia

The major problem facing the Virginia Council on Human Relations can best be stated in terms of a question:

How can a human relations council, admittedly a minority, assist the white American majority to set aside those rigid barriers to genuine equality in our nation? Or, put another way, how can we, as an organization, better participate in the struggle for justice, not only because we should, but because we must? How can we put an end to the ideology which produces hungry children, second-class schools and jobs, inadequate welfare, racism?

It is the search for a response to this question which is the most important problem we face in Virginia as we go about the business of problem-solving.

Frank T. Adams, Jr.
Executive Director
January, 1968

Ford Foundation Review - Item 1.

The Georgia Council on Human Relations had its real beginnings in 1919 with the founding of the "Georgia Commission on Interracial Cooperation." The initially small organization of ministers and laymen strove to correct injustices and better conditions affecting Negroes and to improve interracial attitudes on the part of both Negroes and whites. Working on the principle that "we cannot know what is best for the Negro unless we consult him," the Committee sought Negro membership early in its existence.

In 1946 the Commission on Interracial Cooperation relinquished its work to the Southern Regional Council but the Commission continued to operate as a separate organization, increasing its staff and expanding its programs. In 1956 the name of the Commission was changed to the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

From its small beginnings in 1919, the Georgia Council has steadily grown both in numbers and in strength, and the programs have broadened considerably. Over the past two years especially great progress has been made. The number of chapters has increased from fourteen to seventeen and old chapters have shown a steady growth. Membership in the Council has increased from 1072 to 1807 since October 1965.

The Georgia Council as it exists today continues to work to improve relationship among all the citizens of Georgia, both Negro and white, and to correct the injustices that poverty and prejudice inflict. Our efforts in this direction have been and continue to be realized on many levels through the wide variety of programs sponsored by the

Council. Many of these programs were made possible solely or in large part by the availability of substantial funds granted SRC by the Ford Foundation.

One of the most urgent problems in Georgia today is in the field of education and school desegregation. Three years after the Supreme Court ruled that the schools of the nation desegregate "with all deliberate speed" we find that in Georgia integration is still strongly resisted in most areas. Because of threats and harassment, lack of cooperation on the part of many school officials, and innumerable barriers to parents who consider transferring their children to white schools, the Freedom of Choice method has proved totally unworkable.

The Council has handled countless cases of individual abuse against parents transferring children, and has been instrumental in filing many court suits. Believing that desegregation would procede more quickly and with fewer incidents if massive transfers were made, the Council has worked consistently to increase the number of transfers. A school desegregation meeting was held at Macon with over 200 people present from 59 Georgia towns plus Columbia, South Carolina and Tallahassee, Florida. This was a cooperative effort with SCLC, Friends, SNCC, United Presbyterian and NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund. In January 1967, in order to reach still more people and to overcome the apathy that was further slowing progress, the Council sponsored desegregation workshops in six areas: Brunswick, Macon, Rome, Thomasville, Covington and Augusta. These meetings were attended by delegations

from 63 towns in 44 Georgia Counties. These workshops were very instrumental in impressing upon parents the need for transfers and encouraging them to make transfers regardless of the problems and discouragement they experienced as a result.

To additionally encourage freedom of choice transfers, many local chapters set up tutorial programs to help students catch up and keep up with the often heavy load encountered in white schools. In 1965-66, the Georgia Council sponsored in conjunction with CBS, a film entitled "The Mercer Project," a school desegregation documentary which describes the tutorial program sponsored by Council members in Macon, Georgia. This film was made available by the U. S. Department of Education for utilization in many Southern areas.

Closely related to the problem of desegregating the schools is that of providing integrated texts that present an adequate and accurate picture of events and avoid subtle discrimination against Negroes and other minority groups. A Council Book Commmttee planned and set up a display of integrated books in the state office, and closely examined books on the state approved textbook list. On November 11 of this year a Book Conference was held in cooperation with Atlanta University for the purpose of explaining the merits and deficiencies of various books and encouraging the parents and educators of Georgia to press for integrated texts in their district.

In addition to the Book Conference, the Georgia Council sponsored independently and in conjunction with other organizations, workshops

on Credit Unions and Cooperatives, Citizenship Education, Welfare Rights Leadership Training, Community Problems and Federal Programs. These meetings have all proved to be of good value in their own areas, providing people with new sources of information and opportunities to discuss their individual problems and means of solving them together.

In the summer of 1965, work was begun on Voter Registration in Baker County, Georgia. There followed a series of beatings and arrests fully sanctioned by the white power structure; at this time, the director of the Georgia Council was forced to leave town when her life was threatened and police protection was denied. That fall Mr. Hubert Thomas joined the staff of the Georgia Council and began doing extensive work in that area of the state, conducting workshops on rural problems, Title III-B and V, and helping to get the new Southwest Georgia Council underway. In the summer of 1966, at the very courthouse that was the scene of bloodshed and violence one short year before, a meeting of that Chapter of the Georgia Council took place. The third summer saw the commodity food and home management programs functioning smoothly and, most wonderously, a Title III-B program successfully underway. Under this program, we have a completely integrated staff. Baker County participants, whites and Negroes, are sitting side by side working together in their basic education classes and at their vocational work. There have been no problems; sheriff, merchants, and participants are happy. Truly these are fruits of the dedicated labors of the Georgia Council working to build a better Georgia.

Item 1 - page 5.

The problems faced by the Georgia Council are many and varied, and each day brings to the Council its successes and failures; slow compliance with desegregation guideline, reports of police brutality and denial of rights, incidents of discrimination in every area from housing to welfare, to voter registration to awarding of loans, yet always there is progress toward the day when these problems shall no longer plague our state. We, in the Georgia Council, believe that day shall indeed come, for the situation is not hopeless. Rich and poor, black and white are working and can continue to work together to make the changes necessary to fulfill the dreams of Georgia becoming a state where reason and understanding can overcome ignorance and prejudice, and true justice and equality can begin to exist.

Item 2

Georgia Council on Human Relations
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

OPERATING STATEMENT - Regular fund
For the year ended September 30,1967

INCOME

Grants - Foundations		$ 20,975.00
Grants - Southern Regional Council		20,500.00
Individual contributions		8,392.03
Membership		5,776.50
Business contributions		4,500.00
Interest		1,201.80
Chapter contributions		595.00
		$ 61,940.33

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$ 25,297.87	
Travel	4,545.67	
Office expenses	2,845.85	
Inner city project	2,842.57	
Welfare project	2,500.24	
Telephone and telegraph	2,317.90	
Refunds to locals	2,066.75	
Postage	2,011.58	
Printing	1,680.02	
Payroll taxes	1,409.20	
Insurance	1,361.16	
Rent	1,270.00	
Meetings	1,133.14	
Legal and accounting	470.00	
Miscellaneous	280.74	
Books and subscriptions	183.29	
	$ 52,215.98	
Refund from Rural Advancement project	1,350.00	50,865.98
Excess of income over expenditures		$ 11,074.35
Balance in general fund October 1, 1966		8,832.75
Balance in general fund September 30, 1967		$ 19,907.10

Georgia Council on Human Relations
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

OPERATING STATEMENT

For the period October 1, 1965 through September 30, 1966

GENERAL FUND

INCOME		
Foundations grants		$ 16,500.00
Contributions		13,650.88
Grants-in-Aid Southern Regional Council		10,200.00
Membership dues		5,373.25
Interest		1,154.88
New South		8.00
		$ 46,887.01
EXPENDITURES		
Salaries	$ 21,032.79	
Travel	4,642.69	
Postage	2,611.03	
Office supplies	2,505.92	
Telephone	2,135.15	
Refund to locals	2,102.10	
Printing	2,059.78	
Local projects	1,760.86	
Payroll taxes	1,249.23	
Rent	1,100.00	
Meetings	704.98	
Insurance	456.83	
Legal and accounting	360.00	
Books and subscriptions	168.86	
Miscellaneous	132.55	
	$ 43,022.77	
Less: Reimbursement Rural Advancement project	1,350.00	41,672.77
	$	
Excess of income over expenditures		$ 5,214.24
Less: Additional equipment	$ 560.99	
Rural advancement project	871.06	
	$ 1,432.05	
Less: Know your rights project	272.80	1,159.25
Increase in current fund balance		$ 4,054.99
Less: Current fund deficit - October 1, 1965		92.78
Current Fund Balance - September 30, 1966		$ 3,962.21

Georgia Council on Human Relations
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

OPERATING STATEMENT

For the period October 1, 1964 through September 23, 1965

GENERAL FUND

INCOME		
Contributions		$ 19,486.16
Grants-in-Aid Southern Regional Council		5,100.00
Membership		4,992.00
New South subscriptions		50.00
Miscellaneous		42.50
		$ 29,670.66
EXPENDITURES		
Salaries	$ 21,045.78	
Travel	4,063.02	
Telephone	2,614.09	
Office supplies	1,832.81	
Printing	1,771.69	
Postage	1,534.46	
Meetings	1,498.52	
Grant to Atlanta Council	1,302.00	
Refunds to locals	1,254.50	
Payroll taxes	989.60	
Rent	880.00	
Books and subscriptions	388.33	
Legal and accounting	350.00	
Insurance	206.10	
New South	58.50	
Miscellaneous	29.45	
	$ 39,818.85	
Less: Reimbursement Field Foundation	4,067.90	35,750.95
Excess of expenditures over income		$ 6,080.29
Purchase of additional equipment		546.78
		$ 6,627.07
Overdraft Field Foundation in 1964		337.06
		$ 6,964.13
Current Fund balance October 1, 1964		6,871.35
Current Fund deficit - September 23, 1965		$ 92.78

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Ford Foundation Review - Item 3.

OFFICERS AND BOARD OF DIRECTORS - Race and Occupation:

Officers and Executive Committee, term 1967-1968:

The Rev. C. S. Hamilton, Augusta, Negro, minister & City Councilman
The Rev. Austin Ford, Atlanta, white, Episcopal minister
The Rev. C. H. Wilhite, Columbus, Negro, Methodist minister
Mr. C. W. Aycock, Rome, Negro, Teacher at Berry College
Mr. John Glustrom, Atlanta, white, businessman
Miss Franziska Boas, Kingston, white, civic worker
Mrs. Betty Boyd, Carrollton, white, civic worker & housewife
Dr. Lionel Newsom, Atlanta, Negro, Educator
Mrs. Emma Jean Frye, Atlanta, Negro, civic worker & housewife
Mr. Jack T. May, Athens, Professor at University of Georgia
Mr. Curtis Thomas, Thomasville, Negro, State Fire Inspector

Nominating Committee, term 1967-1968:

Mrs. LaConstance Taylor, chairman, Macon, Negro, teacher
The Rev. Austin Ford (see officers)
Mr. Carl Goodman, Mount Berry, white, Instructor at Berry College
Mr. Jack T. May (see executive committee)
Mr. Abram Odess, Savannah, white, businessman

Board of Directors, term to expire 1968:

Mr. Harry Adley, Atlanta, white, City Planner
Mrs. Carlton Binns, Atlanta, white, housewife
Miss Franziska Boas, Kingston, (see executive committee)
Mrs. Betty Boyd, (see executive committee)
Mrs. Nancy Collinson, Atlanta, white, housewife
Mr. Frank Hutchings, Macon, Negro, businessman
Mr. A. J. McClung, Columbus, Negro, Executive Secretary YMCA
The Rev. H. J. Mack, Chamblee, Negro, businessman
Mrs. F. M. Mosley, Macon, Negro, civic worker & housewife
The Rev. Carroll Payne, Chamblee, white, minister
The Rev. H. R. Payton, Statesboro, Negro, minister
Mrs. Nan Pendergrast, Atlanta, white, civic worker & housewife
Mr. David Snider, DeKalb, white, teacher
Mrs. Frank Spencer, Savannah, white, civic worker
Mrs. LaConstance Taylor, (see nominating committee)
Mr. Albert Thompson, Columbus, Negro, Attorney

(more)

Term to expire 1969:

Dr. R. L. Cousins, Atlanta, white, Asst. Dir. Sou. Education Foundation
Rabbi Alfred Goodman, Columbus, white, Rabbi
Mr. Raymond Head, Griffin, Negro, businessman
Dr. Vivian Henderson, Atlanta, Negro, President of Clark College
Mr. Donald Hollowell, Atlanta, Negro, Attorney, EEOC Director
The Rev. J. M. Hinton, Jr., Augusta, Negro, minister
Mrs. M. J. Jones, Rome, Negro, teacher
Mr. Osmos Lanier, Jr., Savannah, white, teacher
Mr. Jack T. May, (see executive committee)
Mrs. David Neiman, Atlanta, white, civic worker
Mr. E. F. Parrish, Brunswick, Negro, vocational teacher & businessman
Mrs. Fred Patterson, Atlanta, white, civic worker & housewife
Mrs. Frances Pauley, Atlanta, white, past Director of Georgia Council
Mr. J. M. Richards, Decatur, white, President of Columbia Theo. Sem.
Mrs. H. V. Richardson, Atlanta, Negro, civic leader & housewife
Mr. J. H. Ruffin, Jr., Augusta, Negro, Attorney
The Rev. J. N. Shopshire, Atlanta, Negro, minister
Mr. Curtis Thomas, (see executive committee)
The Rev. C. H. Wilhite, (see officers)
The Rev. Samuel Williams, Atlanta, Negro, Professor at Morehouse College

Term to expire 1970:

Mrs. Margaret Belcher, Columbus, Negro, businesswoman
Mr. R. L. Clark, Savannah, white, Professor at Armstrong College
The Rev. J. M. Ellis, Keysville, Negro, minister & teacher
Mrs. Emma Jean Frye, (see executive committee)
Mr. Joseph Hendricks, Macon, white, Dean of Men at Mercer University
Dr. Richard Hocking, Atlanta, white, Professor at Emory University
The Rev. J. C. Hope, Brunswick, Negro, minister
Mr. Vernon Jordan, Atlanta, Negro, Attorney, Director of VEP-SRC
Mrs. B. E. Mays, Atlanta, Negro, civic leader & housewife
Mrs. W. C. McNeely, Brunswick, Negro, teacher
Mr. L. D. Milton, Atlanta, Negro, President of Citizens Trust Company
The Rev. John Mulroy, Atlanta, white, Catholic Priest
Mr. James Nellon, Warwick, Negro, businessman
Dr. Lionel Newsom, (see executive committee)
The Rev. R. C. Pooley, Rome, white, minister
Mr. W. P. Randall, Macon, Negro, businessman

Ford Foundation Review - Item 4.

The Georgia Council find that its number one problem is in the area of fund raising. A total of seventy one (71) letters were sent to foundations and companies throughout the State of Georgia, with only two favorable responses. A total of six hundred and eighteen (618) letters of appeal were sent to foundations and companies in fourteen other states, only twenty seven responses as of this date. Twenty six indicating local interest only, with one indicating possible board consideration sometime after January 1968.

Another urgent problem in Georgia today is in the field of education and school desegregation. Three years after the Supreme Court ruling, we find that in Georgia, integration is still strongly resisted in most areas. The Freedom of Choice method places the full burden of integration upon individual parents who are often harassed, threatened, and even attacked for choosing to send their children to white schools, and most Negro children who do attend white schools are subjected to abuse and unfair treatment. Negro principals and teachers, lacking assurance of fair teacher integration programs and fearing loss of jobs in a state that provides no job tenure, have themselves been slow to encourage Negroes to transfer to white schools. Resegregation, especially in Atlanta, but also in the rural counties of Taliaferro, Wilkes, Hancock, Dougherty, etc, has thwarted attempts to integrate school systems in areas where substantial numbers transferred. Previously white schools have become Negro schools while white students attend 'private' schools or 'bootleg' to neighboring counties. The

transportation problem for students who, in spite of all deterrents, elect to transfer, is a final obstacle thrown in their path. Busses often will not pick up Negro children and transport them to white schools, and thus, yet another sacrifice is demanded of both child and parent.

Increased desegregation workshops are vitally needed in Georgia if desegregation is to ever be realized.

Mr. ... . Hoffman
The Ford Foundation
Pasadena, California

Dxxxx
My dear Mr. Hoffman,

xxxxxxxxxxxx Last year we wrote the Foundation, (February 9) July? ...?, and asked for some directions as to how we should ask a policy for aid. We were told that applications should be made after January 1, 1951.

We are preparing our request at thistime. Is there any special form in which you wish things submitted ? two copies, eight copies, Or is a simple Manuscript, detailing the proposal and xxx giving a budget break-down the sort of this you are [redacted] willing to scrutinize?

Sincerely,

Gm

A PROPOSAL FOR THE FIELD SERVICE OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A "consultative service in human affairs" might become the basis for a new approach through the field service of the Southern Regional Council to some of the problems of the Southern Region.

It should be a service available to any group or combination of groups - city governments, labor, management, college student groups, civic organizations and social agencies, who desired to work in their community upon any of the areas of the Council's concern.

The service would include making available professional consultants (staff) to the groups requesting the service. The function of these staff members would be to help the local group, (1) define its problem, (2) determine alternative courses of action, (3) determine the probable consequences of the possible alternative courses of action, (4) discover resources available locally which could be used in the course of action decided upon by the group, (5) initiate and get underway the program of action chosen.

The service in the beginning would require the full time direction of at least two field staff members - one white, one Negro. It would also require the short time service of other S. R. C. staff members - the public relations director, and social research specialists. It might also use other part time consultants with particular skills or knowledge who could be drawn from other assignments to work for short periods with the groups involved.

The field staff in most situations would work as a team, spending as much time as was necessary in the community to perform the functions listed above. A period of three to six weeks would probably be necessary in most situations. The staff members responsible for this aspect of the program would necessarily need to be individuals with skill in human relationships and community organization, with imagination, and with committment to the basic objectives of the S. R. C.

The service could be initially promoted by the public relations staff of the Council, and through its regular publications. It would probably be welcomed by local units of organizations whose objectives are related to those of the Council, but whose programs are limited in usefulness because of various factors. (The consultants would be able to move with more freedom and greater objectivity because of their short time relationship to the community)

Criteria would have to be developed as a basis for meeting requests for the service. Most important would seem to be its initiation with the hope that the first few situations in which the service was used would prove to be sufficiently successful to stimulate additional requests.

This is a proposal for ~~xxxx

Notes on draft of Ford proposal:

1. The proposal itself should be isolated from the background and pulled together in a punchy package. Perhaps a pin-pointed summary at the end of the general section, or perhaps a brief outline of the proposal at the beginning.

2. More emphasis on the unique virtues of the Council: the only surviving Southwide membership organization; the oldest, as a continuance of the CIC; the most deeply rooted, since it draws on indigenously Southern resources; yet in touch with the most modern thought in human relations. (We mustn't let them conclude that we are as uncritically pokey as some of the resources we have to tap.)

3. More on interaction between the regional office and the state personnel: how we service and guide them and how they strengthen the information and policy-making role of the regional office.

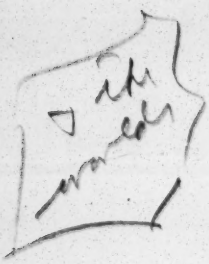
4. An appendix to sell the Council's program and approach, as carried on in spite of limited budget -- replete with exhibits of literature and "case histories."

5. More on effects of present national emergency.

HCF

Not a ~~problem~~ process, but the process

The roots of the program are in the South
The Southern Congressmen
officers
committee seniority
they block the nation
their weight is greater than their worth.
Deep Congressmen



they are b.k.
the So. are:
Their choice
the issues his
choice
elections
elect officers
edits field, be
officials, owner
& collaborate

2 ways
(a) by vote
(b) by money
the fundin
the N and the es

"nation's greatest problem
is none of the nation's
concern."

Rich + Quille + their delegation
Clergy
Fred Moore - pres Pres
R. McBill.

Enforce the law that is
equal schools
health service
courts (10%)
public funds
(Pub education)

(Veterans)

No other source of funds
not vert. not authorized
not worth. ~~$~~.
local

The negro in the so is
unappreciated.

4 yrs pre 9 ion
~~300,000~~ = 1½ million
150,000
190,000

Make it
clear to him
every right
as a citizen

on again
not a blueprint
a process

Veterans Project
Race in the News
Police
High Point

4000
4000
3000
3000
14.000
12
28
14
168,000
60,000
228,000

8000
12,000
16 000
58
97,000
100,000
50,000
140,000
150,000

50,000
20,000
70000

$ 175,000
175,000
150,000
$ 325,000

200,000 oregon
100,000 mexicanos

Whitney Memo

Substitute Hicock version

~~APPENDIX I~~

The Southern Regional Council; Organization and Program

The Southern Regional Council has by now some respectability in years. It goes back to the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1920 out of the racial troubles that came after the first World War. In the civic restlessness which came with the onset of the second war, the friends of the old Commission's work, with many others, set up in 1944 the Southern Regional Council. Its Stated goal is to obtain by research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all the people of the region.

Let it be said at the beginning that the Council is a practical organization. It works within a region having the broadest range of conditions, from plantation feudalism to Oak Ridge industrialism. It is composed for the most part of middle-class people -- some 3,500 members. They are nearly all well educated, and they hold responsible positions in their own communities. They are ministers, or teachers, or college presidents, leading church women, or business men, or doctors, and so on. Probably about half of them are white and half Negro. They are people whose conscience goads them to work and sacrifice for a better South. They are not people who move incautiously or who think dogmatically, and they are aware from daily contact of the burden of poverty and prejudice which the South still carries.

They have wanted an organization which would express modern democratic, equalitarian points of view and which would, by display of fact and by action, better matters, broadly and in detail, all over the South.

In the South today, and in the world today, such an organization rightly has its internal strains. Some within it, and many outside it, would like the Council to take sweeping stands. Thus far, it has seemed that, as to

most of the members, what is wanted is much more of what has been done in the past.

The day-to-day activities of the Council, both the Atlanta office and the local membership, have covered a broad range. A monthly publication, New South, keeps members and friends informed about current problems and progress. In addition, the Council has prepared and distributed pamphlets, running to hundreds of thousands of copies, which set out the facts about Southern health, housing, education, law enforcement, race relations, etc.; many of these are widely used in schools and colleges throughout the region. We have made our files available to the press, public and private agencies, and individuals who need to be informed; hardly a week goes by that we are not called upon to provide the background for an article or news story that will reach a large public. We have made public, too, the results of careful investigations of incidents involving mob violence.

The Council's members are useful in their communities in countless ways. They press for better schools and recreational facilities, impartial justice, fairer administration of public services, and generally those things which make for a common citizenship. Quite importantly, they provide a Southwide network of conscientious people who are alert to the signs of violence and know what to do to avert it. This is quiet, preventive work, which few people hear about, but it is essential to the peaceable conduct of a biracial society.

These are some of the steady, continuing functions of the Council. Added to them are the specific projects which are developed to meet special need or special opportunity. In the past, the Council has kept an ear close to the ground. Whenever it has seen a chance to speed growth and economic

equality, it has pushed hard at that point. Here are examples out of the last few years.

The old interracial commission pushed Southern towns and cities to take on Negro policemen. The betterment is obvious. Politics and prejudice stood in the way. In 1947, after correspondence with chiefs of police all over the South, we published a table of Southern places that use Negro police. There were 41 cities in 10 States, and a total of about 125 Negroes on the police forces. We printed also comments from police chiefs in various cities and the story of how it had worked out in Greensboro, N. C. That publication has been circulated in city after city over the South as the issue came to decision. By late 1949, the number of cities had grown to 62 and the number of Negroes on the forces to 338. We have just printed our 1950 review on this; the figures show 427 Negro policemen in 77 cities, and every Southern State uses them. We know, of course, that we did not get all these cities and towns to engage Negro policemen. The thing that tipped it in most places was the Negro vote. But we supplied the facts, we robbed the prejudiced of their arguments, and in place after place we converted a hope into a documented case for progress. It has been interesting to see the regularity with which people in the towns where the issue comes up write us and ask us for the materials which will enable them to persuade a reluctant police committee of their City Council.

On civil rights, the report of President Truman's Committee had a bad press in the South. Yet the document was certainly one which the South needed to understand. We went patiently about the job. We prepared a simple digest of the Report and have sold many thousands of copies of it each year. We did an accompanying manual called "The Condition of Our Rights" to back up points in the Report with facts from Southern places. The Report has been the main

subject of two Southwide meetings of church women which we arranged. We did some hard thinking and printed "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy" as an expression of our Executive Committee. Several Southern papers carried the whole long document in full, and most noticed it. We did not calm the tempest, but we continue to show what things will calm it.

A share in policy making. In 1949 the Governor of North Carolina took the unprecedented step of appointing a Negro to the State School Board. He happened to be the former Associate Executive Director of S.R.C. The appointment was of the very greatest significance, as the precedent, if followed, could work wonders in releasing the civic energies of the Negroes of the South, and in building among both races a responsible and understanding common citizenship. Our Executive Committee wrote in praise of this act to each of the Southern Governors, and published the letter widely. In other States, and in various cities, the precedent broadens (all too slowly). We notice each gain, list them all, and preach to the whole South the justice and wisdom of building in this way true democracy. At the annual meeting November 7 the Board of Directors adopted a detailed statement on this broad point. In it the doctrine is that mathematical equality between two sets of schools is a delusive and wasteful goal; everyone would be better off if we could achieve a running, administered equality. But that is only to be had at the price of full confidence of all concerned in the administrative bodies, namely the school boards. Thus, if the South is to have a flexible and a believed-in equality in school systems, Southern communities must concede and assist Negro representation on the appropriate policy boards. The statement has had a good press. We will send out copies of it pretty soon to school officials all over the South.

Self-Surveys. The local fact-finding survey is an old device, but the Council has added a new twist, and it works. We get our friends in a town to form, with the greatest care, a local, bi-racial committee. The committee then itself goes out and counts the houses and views the plumbing. It writes up the schools and the parks and the busses and the sewers. It prints a report (which the town really notices) and it makes itself a follow-up committee, to meet every six months and cross off the recommendations that have been accomplished, and decide on the next things to push for. Read what the Chairman said in Greenville, S. C., when the committee there had just finished its survey:

"The best thing about the survey was that it got people together. We didn't know each other well enough. Now we do. Meeting and working together -- not as people of two races, but as citizens with a common purpose -- has been a release and a relief."

We have published a manual for such surveys, and we pull and tug to get new towns to take it up. Rock Hill, S. C., is about to do one. Madison, Ga., and Earlington, Ky., and Shreveport, La., have done full or partial surveys. We hope many more towns will take it up. The Council simply shows how.

Race in the news. A couple of years ago we saw signs that some Southern newspapers would like to do a decent job in handling news about Negroes. None of the papers quite knew how. We wrote out to certain members, and asked for good and bad clippings. We saved them for a year, in a pasteboard box. Then we got an able young journalism teacher to take the box home, dump it on his bedroom floor, and sort out five piles of clippings. They turned out to be the five main ways to do harm with a newspaper in a bi-racial society. He wrote it up in a booklet, called Race in the News. It's in newspaper language, and it's persuasive, and it has a helpful dash of wit. When it had been

in print three days the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association asked us for enough copies for them to send one to every daily paper in the South. Time and Newsweek took it up. We begged ninety dollars, and sent a copy of the booklet to each of the 2,000 county weekly newspapers in the South. Then we got a local committee of our friends to call on editors, and be sure the pamphlet got read.

The change, in a year's time, is remarkable. The papers print pictures of Negroes not in the hands of the law. They use courtesy titles. They say Negro and not negro. They hunt for news of Negro activities. They accord dignity. Many papers do as they always did, but in most cities one or the other of the papers has ceased to be a daily fountain of prejudice, and is spreading acquaintace and respect.

Professional associations. We have watched for years the slow broadening of the principle that profession knows no color. The social workers saw it first, then the nurses, then the librarians. This year the Florida Medical Society opened up. We wrote out to people whom we could trust, and found the facts on each of seven major professional associations in each of the thirteen Southern States. Then we made it into a simple chart, printed it, and got it out to our members and to the papers. We don't know yet what the effects will be. But we think it will do quite a lot to speed the letting down of that heavy barrier to equality.

School facilities. Two years ago a series of Federal court decisions in Virginia made it perfectly clear that the law required entirely equal facilities wherever a State tried to maintain separate schools. We got the dramatic events in King George County, Va., carefully described by the Secretary of the race relations department of the Virginia Council of Churches. Then we calculated the cost of equal facilities, State by State, and printed that with the King

George story. We sent it to every County Superintendent of Schools in the South. It certainly put them on notice that they had a very heavy expense coming up, and it argued also for agreement with Negro citizenship as to a program to follow. It was the law, and the Judge, and the able Negro attorneys who fought through the case that did the real job. All we did was describe what happened, and tell what it meant. But we got the facts out, to the right people, in a way they could understand.

Here comes a war. If not World War Three, then World War Two-and-a-Half. Most of the things that accompany a regular war: privations, danger, patriotic exhortations, manpower shortage, a fluid population, overcrowding, military service, partial inflation, and so on. That always means strain, change, growth, new and difficult situations. The aftermath of World War I gave birth to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. It was started by people who tried to put down the race riots that followed that war. The Southern Regional Council was set up in '43-'44 out of the restlessness brought on by mobilization and war again.

This time, we are in for years of strain as this mainly Caucasian country pits its way of life against Communist revolution among dark-skinned peoples. Strain will grow apace at home. And ultimate peace and success will be greatly influenced by the way these strains within the South find release.

The adjustments are going to be pretty severe, and they will be made in many fields. Politics, education, government (including State and local), entertainment and recreation, private and public services to an unsegregated army, employment, travel, agriculture; in all these there will be innovation, growth, friction, and countless occasions for the courageous and prompt exercise of the best and most enlightened opinion our towns can muster. We know part, at least,

of what to expect, and we know whom to be in touch with -- ahead of time, while each matter is hot, and afterwards!

Here is the one movement of its kind in the South which is believed in and trusted. It is eager, experienced, and poor. And the need for its best work is here now.

Budgets & expln.

App. I – ~~Hicock Version~~

App. II – Hicock Version

App. III – Field Orgn (history) From main text

App. IV –